

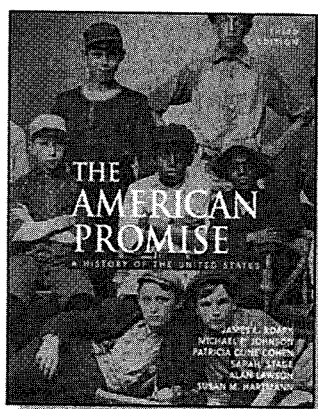
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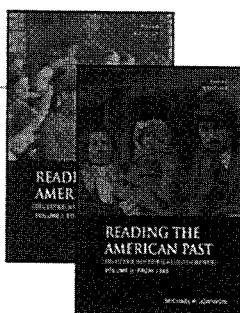
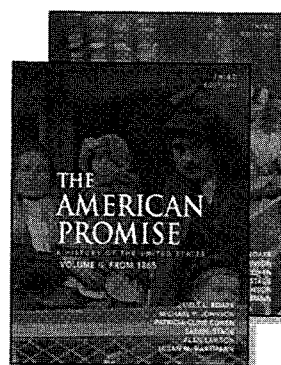
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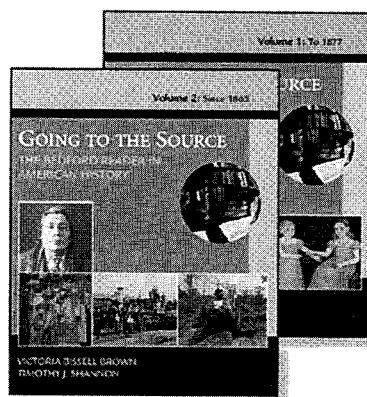
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## In This Issue

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This issue contains an American Historical Association presidential address, three articles, and a review essay. The presidential address analyzes the historical recreations of a Ming-dynasty Chinese intellectual. The articles examine the inquisition in medieval Europe, illustrations of crowds in the French Revolution, and truth commissions in Latin America. The review essay evaluates recent scholarship on the history of museums. In addition, the issue contains our usual array of book and film reviews. The issue, however, is unusual because the article on the French Revolution, "Imaging the French Revolution: Depictions of the French Revolutionary Crowd," is primarily a work of electronic scholarship. Consequently, the print version of the February *AHR* contains only a brief overview of the article; the full article is in the electronic version of the journal. The article is part of our continuing attempts to produce new forms of historical scholarship. It can be read at: [[www.historycooperative.org/ahr](http://www.historycooperative.org/ahr)]. Comments about the article and the larger subject of electronic scholarship can be sent to the *American Historical Review*, 914 E. Atwater Ave., Bloomington, IN 47401 or to our e-mail address: [ahr@indiana.edu](mailto:ahr@indiana.edu).

### Presidential Address

**Jonathan Spence** draws his presidential address mainly from the writings of the Ming-dynasty scholar, bon-vivant, and essayist Zhang Dai, who was born in Shaoxing in 1597. For forty-seven years he lived a sheltered, pleasant, and erudite life. But in 1644 the Ming dynasty was overthrown by a combination of peasant rebels and Manchu invaders from the north, and in the ensuing warfare Zhang lost his home and most of his library and other possessions. Thereafter, until his death in 1680 (or later) he concentrated on recreating by means of words and memory the many levels of the worlds that he had lost. Spence focuses on the varied ways that Zhang Dai chose to write about his own family. He did this in three blocks of short biographies, each devoted to different male relatives from within his immediate family, spanning four generations. Spence explains that Zhang wrote both literally and metaphorically about his family: much of what he wrote appears to be graphically presented social history at the micro level, concentrating on the achievements but also on the flaws and the obsessions of each of his subjects. At the same time, Spence notes, Zhang's various depictions of his family seem intended to

be also read as metaphors, as a way of describing both how and why the dynasty under which the Zhangs had lived for so long came to such a catastrophic end.

## Articles

**Christine Caldwell Ames** uses the religious mentalities of two ostensibly disparate groups—ecclesiastics who conducted or supported heresy inquisitions in medieval Western Europe, and the laypeople who protested these interrogations into faith—as a means to consider broader questions about historians’ constructions of their fields. She examines first the spiritual geography of medieval inquisitors, arguing that they understood and presented their work within a Christian framework of sin, penance, and divine governance and punishment. This work contributed to the Roman church’s new and ambitious program of spiritual discipline that sought to reach beyond the body and into the soul. Ames then analyzes an important incident of violent anti-inquisitorial resistance. She asserts that such violence resulted from and exhibited its initiators’ religious worldview, including a vision shared with inquisitors of God’s justice. Through this juxtaposition of how inquisitors and laity reconciled sincere belief and violence, Ames questions the dominant reading in medieval historiography of “persecution.” By explaining persecution in terms of power and political and social tensions, she argues, those explanations perpetuate a traditional reluctance to excavate the peculiar, historicized religious foundations of inquisition and its repression. Ames’s larger goal is to suggest how revisions of medieval inquisition and persecution should compel us to ask how historians’ constructions of, and suppositions about, “religion” drive their constructions of religious history.

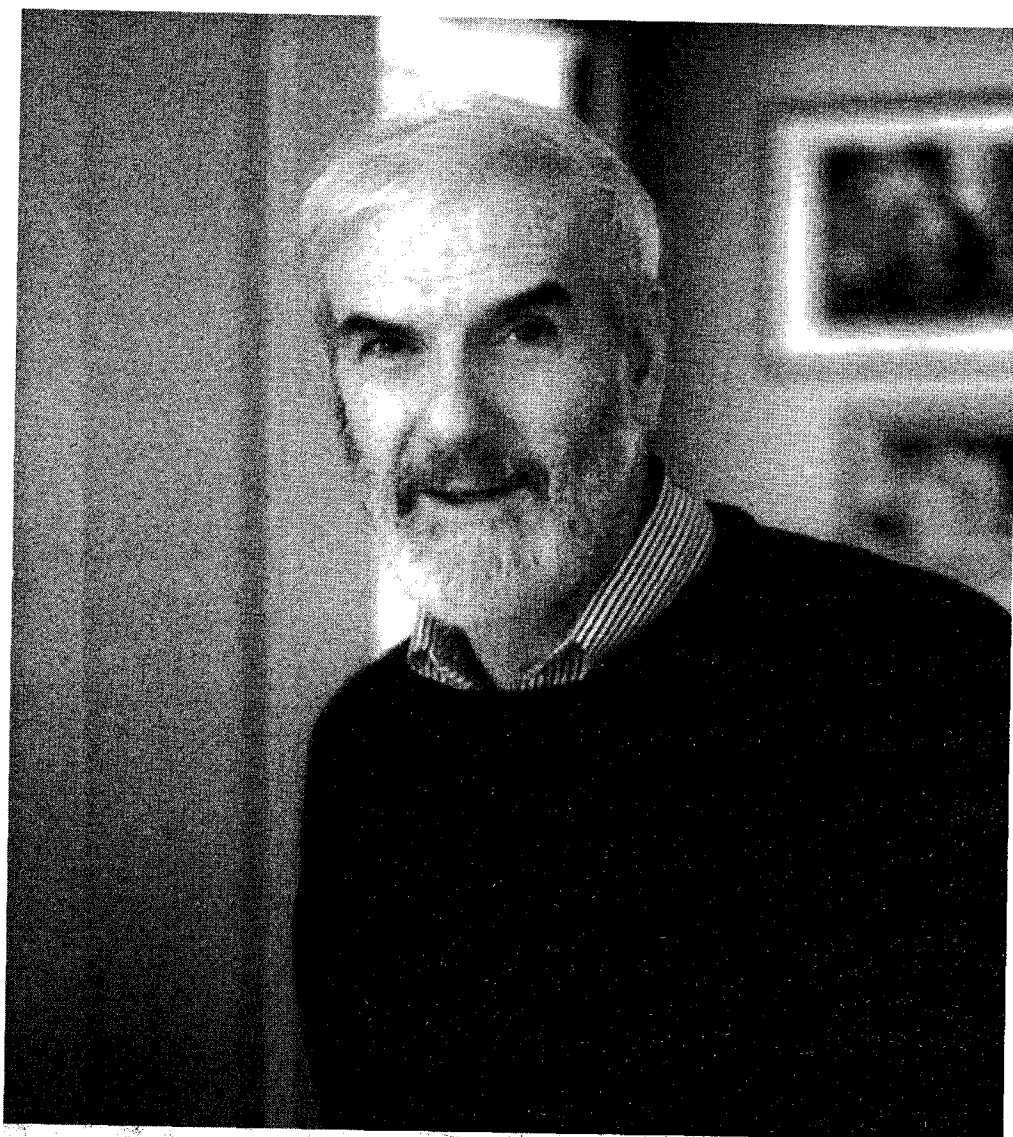
**Jack Censer and Lynn Hunt** present an overview of an electronic article on depictions of crowd violence during the French Revolution. The article includes the perspectives of six different scholars, both historians and art historians. Censer and Hunt explain that crowd actions have long been a subject of contention in the historiography of the French Revolution, but they contend that text-based sources have dominated the historiography. In contrast, the essays in this article take as their point of departure a bank of forty-two images selected to represent the variety of ways that crowds could be depicted. Censer and Hunt argue that visual evidence is particularly important in the case of the French Revolution: not only did thousands of images proliferate in a remarkable diversity of formats, but also those images often spoke to issues, such as crowd violence, that proved difficult for supporters of the Revolution to discuss frankly in speeches or newspaper articles. The electronic presentation makes it possible to view the images separately as well as within the articles, to read the discussion that took place among the authors about their findings, and to directly compare different authors’ interpretations of particular images.

**Greg Grandin** contends that discussions about the efficacy of truth commissions often confuse the task of commissions to document and interpret acts of political

violence with their function in promoting nationalism and consolidating state legitimacy. He analyzes the evolution of the way Latin American truth commissions have used historical analysis to examine political repression to chart the limits of the assumptions that underwrote Latin America's turn toward constitutional rule and free-market policies. In Argentina and Chile, he explains, Latin America's first truth commissions used to history not as an analytical tool to examine the origins and consequences of political terror but rather to create a dark backdrop on which to contrast the light of liberal tolerance and self-restraint. In Guatemala, however, state terror was so brutal that it shattered the conceit that future social solidarity could be constructed from a description of past human rights transgressions and instead lead the commission to present violence not just in descriptive or moral terms but in historical and social science ones as well. This methodological innovation, Grandin argues, allowed the Guatemalan commission to rule that the military committed acts of genocide because by definition genocide is a collective crime and thus demands social and historical analysis.

## **Review Essay**

**Randolph Starn** offers historians a brief guide to a large, self-consciously "new," and mostly critical literature on the theory, practice, and history of museums that has appeared since the early 1980s in the United States, the United Kingdom and Commonwealth, and continental Europe. He provides a taxonomy and a running commentary on the major themes of this museum literature: the genealogy of museums; the shifting status of museum objects; the politics of museum culture from the ideal of universality to "museum wars" over cultural difference; the past and future of the "consuming experience" of the contemporary museum-theme park-shopping complex. Starn's primary aim is to encourage greater interaction between historians and museum professionals. He reminds us that both have claims on the past that challenge and complement one another, and he argues they need to be brought into closer dialogue with each other at a time when the future of the past is at risk.



JONATHAN SPENCE



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*Presidential Address*  
Cliffhanger Days:  
A Chinese Family in the Seventeenth Century

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JONATHAN SPENCE

THE MAN WHO LIVED the cliffhanger days of my title was called Zhang Dai. He was born in 1597, in the prosperous city of Shaoxing, near the coast of central China. Zhang Dai was rich by the standards of his time (and perhaps by any standards in any time); he received a splendid education, and lived an extremely comfortable life except for a few short periods when he chose to vary the rhythms of his daily round by taking leisurely trips. Mostly these were to nearby Hangzhou, celebrated across Chinese history for the scenic beauty of its West Lake, where his family had a lakeside villa, or to the Yangtze River city of Nanjing (previously China's capital). Now and again he ventured over the river to the commercial hub of Yangzhou on the Grand Canal, or north again to the province of Shandong, where his father had a job for a while with a princely family. In Shandong he made a point of visiting hallowed tourist sites like Mount Tai and the home of Confucius, which lured visitors from all over China; but if he went to Beijing he left no descriptions of its glories.<sup>1</sup>

Zhang's pleasant life was rudely and permanently interrupted by the events of

This address draws from the work I have been doing at intervals over the last four years on the Chinese *bon vivant*, essayist, poet and historian Zhang Dai (1597 to 1680 or after). For important bibliographic assistance I am especially indebted to Antony Marr and Sarah Elman. For her unstinting help with translation and analysis of Zhang Dai's literary works over the entire period, my deepest thanks go to Anping Chin. And for major help at various times during these years with research and translation, my profound thanks also to Huang Hongyu, Anastasia Liu, Liu Shiye, Ma Xin, Danni Wang, and Zhang Taisu.

<sup>1</sup> I have greatly benefited from two recent studies on Zhang Dai by Hu Yimin, *Zhang Dai pingzhuan* (Nanjing, 2002) and *Zhang Dai yanjiu* (Hefei, 2002). Both of these give detailed analysis of Zhang's published and manuscript works and contain invaluable chronological summaries of Zhang's life—that in the *Zhang Dai pingzhuan* being somewhat fuller than that in *Zhang Dai yanjiu*. An earlier but also extremely useful study is Xia Xianchun, *Mingmo qicai: Zhang Dai lun* (Shanghai, 1989). In English, Fang Chao-ying's brief biography "Chang Tai" in Arthur W. Hummel ed. *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644–1912)*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1943) remains an admirable introduction to Zhang's life and character. The most comprehensive study in English of Zhang Dai's literary work and goals that I have seen is Philip Kafalas, "Nostalgia and the Reading of the Late Ming Essay: Zhang Dai's *Tao'an Mengyi*" (PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 1995). Kafalas, "Weighty Matters, Weightless Form: Politics and the Late Ming Xiaopin Writer," *Ming Studies* 39 (Spring 1998): 50–85, puts Zhang Dai's works in the context of his times. Zhang Dai's relationship to the Confucian tradition of thought is explored in Duncan Campbell, "'The Body of the Way is Without Edges': Zhang Dai (1597–?1684) and his Four Books Epiphanies," *New Zealand Journal of East Asian Studies* 6:1 (June 1998): 36–54. For English translations of lengthy passages from Zhang Dai's own account of his visit to Mount Tai (which probably was in 1628), see Pei-yi Wu, "An Ambivalent Pilgrim to T'ai Shan in the Seventeenth Century," in Susan Naquin and Chün-fang Yü, eds. *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992), 72–87; and Richard Strassberg, *Inscribed Landscapes: Travel Writing from Imperial China*



spring 1644, when peasant rebels seized the capital of Beijing and occupied the Forbidden City. Humiliated, and confronting an unknown fate, the last emperor of the Ming dynasty committed suicide. Forging a pragmatic alliance against these temporary peasant victors, several Ming generals united with Manchu troops based north of the Great Wall, and together they drove the peasants out of Beijing. In the summer of 1644 the Manchus established themselves as the new ruling dynasty, enfeoffing their collaborationist allies with giant territories in southern China. Several Ming survivors from the former ruling house tried to establish resistance groups, and Zhang Dai served briefly with one of these that was based in his hometown of Shaoxing during 1645 and 1646. But when Zhang changed his mind, and decided no longer to support the resisters, his property and possessions were looted and destroyed by local militarists.<sup>2</sup> Zhang was reduced to a life of poverty, initially hiding out in the hill country south of Shaoxing, and later moving to a run-down rented property on the edge of the city. He dedicated most of the long life that was granted to him—he was not to die until 1680, or perhaps a year or so later—to recreating in thought and in his writing the world that he had lost.

Zhang Dai tells us about his family with differing degrees of detail, deference, and intensity, in three collections of short biographies that have survived to the present day.<sup>3</sup> In the first collection are four biographies that focus on his own immediate ancestors in the male line, from great great-grandfather and great-grandfather down to grandfather and father—these last three ancestors were all the eldest sons of the eldest sons, as was Zhang Dai himself. In each of these four biographies some information about the primary consort of each ancestor is also included, along with her family of origin and one or two trenchant episodes that give us some insight into her character and accomplishments. This was true also for Zhang Dai's mother, who died in the early 1620s.

The second biographical block concentrates on three of Zhang Dai's uncles in the male line, his second, third, and seventh. In these biographies the focus is on the uncles' main actions as sources of illumination into their character, and there is little or no mention of their wives or their children. This is the only block to be clearly dated—Zhang Dai tells us that he began writing this cluster in 1651. The third cluster, consisting of five biographies, roams—though clearly not at random—across a selection of great uncles, uncles, and Zhang's younger cousins. Here the focus is on their extremes of behavior and their wildly ranging fates. In all cases,

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(Berkeley, Calif., 1994), 339–41. Strassberg, also translates an extensive passage of Zhang Dai's account of his visit to Confucius' former home, see pp. 334–39.

<sup>2</sup> Useful introductions in English to these tumultuous events are the studies by Frederic Wakeman, *The Great Enterprise: The Manchu Reconstruction of Imperial Order in Seventeenth-Century China*, 2 vols. (Berkeley, Calif., 1985); Roger V. Des Forges, *Cultural Centrality and Political Change in Chinese History: Northeast Henan in the Fall of the Ming* (Stanford, Calif., 2003); and Lynn A. Struve, *The Southern Ming, 1644–1662* (New Haven, Conn., 1984), and *Voices from the Ming-Qing Cataclysm: China in Tigers' Jaws* (New Haven, Conn., 1993).

<sup>3</sup> These three collections of short biographies can most easily be found in the anthology of Zhang Dai's poetry and shorter prose pieces, Xia Xianchun, comp., *Zhang Dai shi wen ji* (Shanghai, 1991) (hereafter ZDSWJ): 243–58 for the first collection on the direct male descent line; 259–67 for the second collection of three uncles; and 267–83 for the third collection on the five male relatives with flaws or obsessions.

with only one possible exception, the relatives discussed in a given biographical sketch had all died before Zhang began to write about them.

Nothing in that organization would strike us now as totally surprising, and one could find precedents for similar typologies in other collections of Ming dynasty biographical sketches—two of which Zhang Dai cites with a measure of approval.<sup>4</sup> The biggest difference from our current biographical modes of approach is that Zhang Dai tells us nothing about his wife or his other subsidiary consorts. A few of his surviving writings tells us that his primary wife died young, and he did not formally marry again; Zhang also tells us in a poem that two junior consorts survived the conquest years of 1644–1650, and rejoined him and his children in the rented property at Shaoxing. About his children, Zhang Dai is equally unforthcoming, except to tell us that they disappointed him. Miscellaneous surviving writings by Zhang list between eight and ten children—a roughly equal mix of boys and girls—but in most cases we do not even know their names.<sup>5</sup>

To what extent can things be as they seem? I have no doubt that at one, perhaps central, level, Zhang's biographical family sketches are about the members of his own family. We learn a lot from these sketches, much of it startlingly intimate and illuminating, for Zhang was a man of his times, and the favored literary mode of the later Ming was often frank, gossipy, reflective, psychologically revealing, and raunchy. One is reminded at times of the roughly contemporaneous European parallels that spanned the period from Michel de Montaigne to John Aubrey.

Yet even as I am accepting Zhang Dai's biographies on their own terms, I am conscious that they insistently point us to another level of interpretation, one in which these biographical family sketches are also—or could it be “are mainly”?—about the fall of the Ming and what came before that fall. The Zhang family is depicted as fragmenting, groping for standards, losing its sense—so clear in great great-grandfather's day—of where it is going. The rout and flight of the Ming is echoed by the rout and flight of the Zhangs. At least three of the relatives whose lives he sketches lost their lives in combat (with peasant rebels or the invaders) between the late 1620's and the early 1640's. Several others died absurdly. Zhang's biographies focus entirely on the pre-conquest period, and once the dynasty has fallen the stories cease. Only the children, as Zhang Dai writes, can give any meaning to the past that is now over. Zhang, in other words, writes as a fugitive and a survivor. His role is to conjure up the lives and the age that are gone, and to hold all of them up to rigorous standards of scrutiny.

Zhang Dai himself, he tells us insistently, is no model for anything or anybody. In a separate series of evocative personal reminiscences, written in the late 1640s when he was on the run from his enemies, hiding out in Buddhist monasteries and temples, he gives us a scattershot yet intimate list of the kinds of things that occupied his energies in the years before the conquest.<sup>6</sup> At different times, he

<sup>4</sup> ZDSWJ, 243–244. The two authors mentioned by Zhang are Li Mengyang and Zhong Xing.

<sup>5</sup> For the details on consorts and children see especially the poems and colophons in ZDSWJ, 31–37.

<sup>6</sup> The central source for the reminiscences Zhang wrote just after the fall of the Ming dynasty is Zhang Dai, *Taoan mengyi*, available in many Chinese editions. An especially convenient one with extensive annotations is Xia Xianchun and Cheng Weirong, comps., *Taoan mengyi, Xihu mengxun* (Shanghai, 2001). The *Taoan mengyi* has also been annotated and translated into French by Brigitte

writes, he was absorbed by collecting the finest hand-crafted and decorated lanterns; by the aesthetics of tea and the spring water from which to brew it; by learning how to play the horizontal zither-like instrument known as the *qin*, for which he formed a chamber group of five instrumentalists to give local concerts; by a crab-eating club, which sought out the finest fresh-water crabs from the waters around Shaoxing, and feasted on them during the tenth lunar month, when they were at their peak; by cock-fighting, on which he and his relatives bet heavily; by poetry and history; by cheese-making with fresh cow's milk; by boating and outings for moon or snow viewing; by dramatic performances of operas and the training of musical troupes; by pilgrimages to sacred Buddhist sites; by collecting art and antiques. Yet of all this elegant eclecticism, how little survived after 1644 save that which was lodged in his memory? And how dismally, Zhang Dai tells us, had he failed at the occupations that might have sprung from a tenacious pursuit of even a few. As he wrote in the late 1660s, shortly before his seventieth birthday, in an essay which he called "My Self-written Obituary":

"One can describe a person like me as being wealthy and noble or poor and famished; as wise or foolish; as stubborn or pliant; as impetuous or slothful. I failed to get anywhere in either my scholarly work or in my sword practice; I was never skilled in moral argument nor in belles lettres. I failed to understand Taoist longevity studies or Buddhism, I failed at agriculture and at gardening. So let my contemporaries call me a failure, a good-for-nothing; a stupid rustic or a dreary pedant, a soporific man, or one who has outlived his time—any of the above will do."<sup>7</sup>

Despite this self-denigration Zhang would not, I feel, have accepted the easy criticism that he was merely a "superfluous man." For he was, he knew, a chronicler of his lost dynasty, as well as of his lost family. He had started writing a history of the Ming dynasty in 1628, when he was just thirty, at a time when he can have had no certitude that the dynasty would fall, even though there were many signs of weakness at the center and encroachments from the peripheries. He was probably close to eighty when he completed the project, having carried the story onward into a second set of volumes detailing the series of events that culminated in the disaster of 1644. The passionate urge to complete this project, he wrote, was enough reason for him to keep living.<sup>8</sup> In the same way, the chronicling of his family was not without consequence, for such an act alone could lead his children to know who they were.

Considered in such a context, his three series of brief family biographies were

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Teboul-Wang, *Souvenirs rêvés de Tao'an, par Zhang Dai* (Paris, 1995). For further discussions of this fascinating text, see Kafalas, "Nostalgia"; Timothy Brook, *Praying for Power: Buddhism and the Formation of Gentry Society in Late-Ming China* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993), 37–53; Stephen Owen, *Remembrances: The Experience of the Past in Classical Chinese Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), 134–41.

<sup>7</sup> ZDSWJ, 295–296. For other translations of sections of this difficult "obituary" see Campbell, "The Body," 45–46, and Kafalas, "Weighty Matters," 63–64.

<sup>8</sup> Zhang's history of the Ming, *Shi gui shu* [*Book of the Stone Casket*] and the continuation covering the years after 1628, the *Shi gui shu houji*, have been recently published in facsimile in the collection *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, vols. 318–320 (Shanghai, 1995). There is also a punctuated edition of the *Shi gui shu houji* (Taipei, 1970). Zhang Dai's own preface to the vast work is published separately in ZDSWJ, 99–100.

indeed portraits of an age, seen through disparate lenses, yet tightly linked by the realities of a shared inheritance. The four preceding generations, descending from his great great-grandfather to his father, and thus culminating in himself, had achieved great things. In each of the first three generations, the sons had passed the fiercely competitive and intellectually challenging country-wide triennial examinations held in the capital of Beijing; great-grandfather, indeed, in the year 1571, had passed top among all the students sitting the exams in that year. Each of the three attained comparatively senior positions in the national bureaucracy. Even Zhang Dai's father, a less accomplished or diligent student, earned a passing grade as a "supplementary" scholar, which brought him a job for some years as the executive administrator of a Ming princely household.<sup>9</sup>

Yet read sequentially, the four sketches suggested an underlying rhythm of increasing futility—one that culminated, for better or worse, in Zhang Dai himself. At the peak of his career, having been posted to the far southwestern province of Yunnan, great great-grandfather refused to accommodate the provincial and military power-holders of the region. Incensed by his self-righteousness, they combined their energies to impeach him, and he narrowly escaped a shameful execution. Great great-grandfather's survival was achieved only by the Herculean efforts of his oldest son, whose own career also foundered despite his stunning first-place triumph in the national examinations. Grandfather, in love with scholarship, embarked on a series of academic labors that turned out to be of no consequence whatever, and indeed to have uselessly replicated work already more successfully completed by others. Father, dismissed from his job with the princely household, focused his studies in the arcane worlds of Taoist prognostication and the quest for longevity. He was also much given to lavish and greasy eating competitions—on one occasion he challenged his own younger brother to see who could eat an entire goose the fastest—and grew immensely fat. As a result, father suffered from agonizing and prolonged bouts of indigestion, one of which Zhang Dai discusses in unappealing detail.<sup>10</sup> If anyone showed sustained diligence and integrity in the Zhang family it was the senior consorts, whose good management and shrewd common sense were presented by Zhang as being the primary force holding the family together.

In some prefatory remarks to this first series of short biographical sketches, Zhang Dai described his own role as the composer of a family history by means of three different images.<sup>11</sup> When he was trying to write about the more distant ancestors such as great great-grandfather and great-grandfather, Zhang wrote, his actions were like those of a court astronomer. For the astronomer comes into his own at the time of an eclipse of the moon, when by his training and knowledge he is able to reassure people that the moon will soon return to its customary brilliance—the deep shadow cast during the eclipse is only a temporary phenomenon that will soon pass. In the case of his grandfather, to whom Zhang Dai had been very close in his childhood and youth, the biographer's role was different: although much of grandfather's earlier life had naturally been unknown to the

<sup>9</sup> ZDSWJ, 243–58.

<sup>10</sup> For his father's illness and indigestion see ZDSWJ, 112–14.

<sup>11</sup> ZDSWJ, 244.

young Zhang Dai, it became his mission to depict that half of the life that he had been privileged to witness. When dealing with father, the task was different again. Now the historian was like a fisherman, who cast his net over the side of the boat. The key factor here lay in the mesh of the net and what you were looking for. A coarse mesh might well be more helpful than a fine one, since from close scrutiny of the large fish in the net one could guess what one needed to know about the finer detailing. Zhang Dai knew his own limitations, he told the reader, and realized he lacked the skill to replicate every detail of the living faces of these progenitors. "My only goal," he wrote, "is not to lose sight of their true countenance altogether, and to bring to light the half of their faces that was filled in part with laughter and in part with sorrow."

In the second collection of brief family biographies, the one containing portraits of three uncles, Zhang presented a different organizational principle. As Zhang wrote in a prefatory note to this second collection, his goal in this particular grouping was to illustrate a basic principle that lay behind human relationships: what made people truly interesting, and hence worth recording in some kind of sustained form, was their flaws.<sup>12</sup> No one was interesting just because of their good points. As Zhang Dai phrased it, "My three uncles had both strengths and shortcomings—their strengths may not deserve biographies but their shortcomings do. An early Ming scholar once wrote, 'I would prefer to be an imperfect piece of jade rather than a perfect rock.' It is precisely because it has imperfections that it qualifies as jade. How dare I hide the imperfections of my uncles and thus disqualify them from being classed as jade?" Again, such a remark can be read as a wider commentary on the fate of the Ming dynasty as a whole.

In introducing his third collection, which included five other close relatives ranging from great uncles down to younger cousins, Zhang took the argument one step further: if those without flaws were not worthy of your friendship because they lacked true feelings, he wrote, similarly those without obsessions should never be taken as friends, because they lacked deep emotions. Thus this group of five relatives, Zhang wrote, "as youngsters all had flaws, but in maturity these flaws developed into obsessions," and thus it was that they were able to attain such deep emotions. "Probably not one of these five men," Zhang continued, "would have wanted their biographies to be written, and yet their obsessions had developed to such an extraordinary extent that it would have been out of the question NOT to write their biographies."<sup>13</sup>

Not surprisingly perhaps, these three groups of sketches make for absorbing reading, although even as we read we realize how hard it may be to assess other people's obsessions, either their nature or their impact, in any remotely objective way. However, the obsessions recorded by Zhang Dai do add up to a depiction of a society stretching the boundaries of the possible, and challenging many of the cherished formulations of conventional decency championed by the moralists of the time. Zhang Dai tells us that within the ranks of his own family one could find examples of men who carried the acquisition of rare curios and works of art beyond all reason, in terms of competitiveness and extravagance; of men whose passion for

<sup>12</sup> ZDSWJ, 259. The "early Ming scholar" was Xie Jin (alternate name Xie Dashen).

<sup>13</sup> ZDSWJ, 268.



money took them out into wild regions of greed, graft, and gambling; of men who lashed out at the world with uncontrollable rage and random careless cruelties, which at times were almost unspeakable; of men whose passion for something as apparently innocuous as garden design and landscaping led them to completely unthinking gouging and mauling of the land, to grotesque excesses of planting and placement, and the wastage of water, soil, and plants; and of men whose wild and sustained drinking took them on binges that made them a total menace to their families and neighbors, sometimes with fatal results. Echoes of these and similar obsessions had been latent in the earlier paternal line biographies, but here they were presented with a very different, harsher, and more focused attention to detail.

But, to return to an earlier theme, these sketches remained a part of a family history, of the Zhang's own family history to be precise, and they can be read for their detail as well as for their overarching metaphorical structures. To claim this, of course, the historian has to have some confidence that he is being told the truth. How can he be sure that this is so? Never with absolute certainty, perhaps, but with at least a strong feeling that there is a track here that leads into the recognizable zones of social history, that rests on something that we know from other societies and times, and thus has a kind of reliability for us later readers, trained in different traditions and different climes than Zhang Dai. The smallest detail thus sometimes has the power to hint at deeper truths. It is not just the strange thing that holds our attention but rather the touch of the familiar in the strange thing.

For those weary of metaphors, then, let us tease out some of the details tucked into these biographies—or artfully placed within them, for Zhang was an artist with words, and a scholar who knew full well what he was saying.<sup>14</sup> One detail, which recurs in several of the biographies of the direct male-descent line, is that protracted study can cause serious damage to one's eyesight. I do not believe Zhang Dai intended this to be read only as metaphor. I think he was telling us something about the smallness of print, the poorness of lighting after dark, and the countless hours that the young (and the not-so-young) men had to spend at their studies if they were to succeed. (Women were not allowed to take the exams, but we know from much recent research that they read and wrote with concentrated intensity, and surely those labors plus long hours of embroidery in poor light led to similar results for many.) At least two of Zhang's male ancestors, he tells us, almost lost their eyesight altogether—they were only saved when senior members of the family ordered their rooms kept dark twenty-four hours a day with curtains and shades. Even then, the afflicted males kept studying through their ears, hiring rotating squads of readers to recite the key texts again and again until they had memorized them completely. After three months, the shades were lifted, their eyes had recovered, and they could read again. In the case of Zhang Dai's father, the cure for his increasingly impaired vision—he had already completely lost the ability to read small characters—came when his family obtained for him what Zhang Dai describes as “western lenses to balance on the end of his nose,” clearly an early and datable reference to the use of reading glasses in late Ming China. One younger cousin of Zhang Dai's lost his sight permanently due to illness; but after prolonged years with

<sup>14</sup> Unless otherwise indicated, the following details are all culled from the three series of short biographies in ZDSWJ, 243–83.

readers serving him round the clock, he became an expert in medical texts and a specialist in the art of pulse diagnosis, which enabled him to establish a successful medical practice of his own.

Another detail concerns premature birth. Zhang Dai tells us that his favorite (and youngest) brother was born at the very beginning of his mother's sixth month of pregnancy. The infant was "tiny, sickly, constantly panting for breath," and the parents paid him little heed, stating that they had quite enough to do looking after the other children, who had a better chance of growing to maturity. Zhang Dai says that it was he (and his siblings?) who helped to keep the baby alive, which they did successfully so that he grew to manhood, and became a talented manager of the family's business and a skillful mediator of family and local disputes.<sup>15</sup>

Equally interesting to the historian is the reason Zhang Dai gives in the same piece for *why* the child was born so prematurely. It was because, although already entering her sixth month of pregnancy, Zhang Dai's mother wore herself out trying to manage all the countless details for the major birthday rituals and celebrations being planned in honor of her mother-in-law, Zhang Dai's grandmother. It was because she was exhausted by the work and by the pressures to behave in a correctly filial way that she gave birth prematurely.

Other details show how deep was the family's interest in medicine as a whole, how many doctors they consulted, and how many prescribed medicines they took at different times. Medical knowledge seems to have been widely shared: different regions were known for the efficiency of different drugs, and the family often showed real respect to the itinerant or downright eccentric doctors who came to call. Besides obesity, to which Zhang Dai's father and others in the family were prone, and eye troubles, there must have been many other cases of serious illness—Zhang Dai even discusses a "plague" from Manchuria afflicting the Shaoxing region, though this of course pushes us back into the shadowy area between metaphor and lived experience.<sup>16</sup>

In terms of family relationships Zhang Dai also has much to tell us. I have mentioned the powerful role he ascribed to the women who married into the Zhang family in keeping the family organized and prosperous. These women also shielded the boy children from their fathers' anger (sometimes by hiding the children in the women's quarters where the mature males, even if married, were not expected to venture). Zhang Dai writes elsewhere of his deep love for his mother-in-law, and of how, after his own mother had died comparatively young, his mother-in-law became a second mother to him, and a key source of love and affection.<sup>17</sup> Love between brothers was also powerful and enduring, and older members of the Zhang family who tried to separate their children for some reason—a grandfather, for example, might push to take one of his little grandchildren with him to Beijing—could be thwarted by the sustained opposition of the women in the family. Zhang recorded that concubines, too, and secondary consorts, feared for their own children's futures in the Zhang family, and did indeed face dismissal from the family, along with their

<sup>15</sup> On Zhang Dai's prematurely born younger brother Shanmin, see ZDSWJ, 292–94.

<sup>16</sup> For references to "plague" in Manchuria during 1636 see ZDSWJ, 46–47.

<sup>17</sup> Zhang's love for his mother-in-law is spelled out in his eulogy after her death, ZDSWJ, 348–50.

children, after the death of an older patriarch who had also served as their protector.

There were also, Zhang Dai tells us, examples of future marriage pledges made by the Zhangs with other neighboring families, and such pledges were honored. For example, when great-grandfather was young and studying with a close friend from the Zhu family, the two youths swore that if they married and had children of different sexes, those children would be pledged together in marriage. Each of the two men cut off and exchanged a small piece of their study robes as a token, and Zhang Dai tells us he saw one of these faded pieces of cloth many years later. Zhang tells us that his great-grandfather had indeed had a son while his friend Zhu had a daughter, and that these two children were later duly married. The fruit of that union was Zhang Dai's own father.

So the Zhangs did indeed live in a cliffhanger world, one that was dangerous and unpredictable but also comfortable and loving. And with that knowledge, we can circle back to seeing the Zhangs as metaphors for the Ming dynasty's fate, for its flamboyance and its exuberance, but also its excesses and its weaknesses. Although he did not make the point explicitly in his family biographies, Zhang Dai certainly used the universality of the medical metaphor in his vast history of the Ming dynasty, completed in the 1670s about a decade before his own death. During the rule of the Ming emperor in whose reign he was born, he tells us, China began to develop a dangerous malady, but it was one which was not apparent at the time. It was like a kind of lesion, one that grew behind the neck and on the spine of the imperial patient, so that it could not be seen. By the next reign, the lesion was spreading out from the back to the edges of the chest, but the extent of the illness was still not absolutely clear. Only under the last emperor, as the whole chest was shown to be affected, did the patient try for a cure. But by then it was too late. There were no doctors, Zhang Dai wrote, who could cure it now.<sup>18</sup> And so his central mission came to be telling those who came after how he had lost virtually everything except his powers of recreation.<sup>19</sup>

The family, in such a rendering, became the focal point for the shared memories of the polity as a whole, and for the attempt to hold on to the past as an integral part of the present and the future. Perhaps the most powerful of all Zhang Dai's images is one he drew from the great writer and philosopher Zhuang Zi, who lived in the fourth century B.C.E. "When the leper woman gives birth to her child in the middle of the night," Zhuang Zi had written, "the first thing she does is to hurry and find a light, trembling to see if her baby looks just like she does."<sup>20</sup> After quoting this brief parable, Zhang added these words: "As for my ancestors, thankfully none of them were lepers; and I myself lack the talent in my own biographies to give an exact depiction of my ancestors. So when in the middle of the night I fetch a light

<sup>18</sup> For the illness of the dynasty and the medical metaphors see especially *Shi gui shu*, 192 and 208.

<sup>19</sup> Zhang Dai's most famous passage on these acts of mental concentration and recreation is the preface to his book on the West Lake (*Xihu mengxun*), printed in ZDSWJ, 144. An especially fine translation can be found in Stephen Owen, *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911* (New York, 1996), 819–20. Owen, *Remembrances*, 134–35, also gives a fine translation of Zhang's preface to the *Taoan mengyi*.

<sup>20</sup> This Zhuang Zi parable is translated in Burton Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York, 1968), 140. Zhang Dai quotes and glosses the passage in ZDSWJ, 244.

to see what I have wrought, I am partly afraid that they resemble me, and yet partly afraid that they do not resemble me. So is my heart divided." With these words, I feel, Zhang Dai was talking to all historians, be they from whatever region, or whatever time.

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## Does Inquisition Belong to Religious History?

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CHRISTINE CALDWELL AMES

TO THE CATHOLIC Andreas Zaupser, writing in the late eighteenth century, the “Hag Inquisition” was the “plague of reason and religion both,” “murderess of the mind,” a “black” and “bloody” witch devilishly opposed to “Toleration, child of God.”<sup>1</sup> Who today would disagree with him? Almost uniquely for an institution birthed in the Middle Ages, heresy inquisitions have cast a dark shadow on our own period, reaching even popular imagination and serving as versatile shorthand for repression and control.<sup>2</sup> Few who do not specialize in medieval history may know the details: *inquisitio* was an ecclesiastical-legal strategy developed in the twelfth century with origins in Roman civil law, in which a supervisory authority both investigated and judged a suspected malefactor whose own bad reputation (*mala fama*) had acted as “accuser.”<sup>3</sup> Adopted by the church as one of several responses to heretical movements that emerged in the high Middle Ages, heresy inquisitions authorized bishops, or other papally delegated clerics, to seek out supposed religious deviants and their supporters and were most common in southern France and northern Italy.<sup>4</sup> Yet most are likely aware that heresy inquisitions involved the pursuit, arrest,

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<sup>1</sup> Andreas Zaupser, “Ode to the Inquisition,” quoted in Edward Peters, *Inquisition* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989), 186.

<sup>2</sup> See Peters, *Inquisition*, 296–315 on modern “inquisitions.”

<sup>3</sup> For an introduction to medieval inquisitions, see Peters, *Inquisition*, and Jean Guiraud, *L’histoire de l’inquisition au moyen âge*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1935–1938). Still extremely valuable, although thoroughly progressive, is Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, 3 vols. (New York, 1887). It is inaccurate to refer to “the Inquisition” in the Middle Ages. By the end of the thirteenth century, it was increasingly patent that individual appointments of inquisitors (plural “inquisitions”) were being supplanted by an institution (the singular “inquisition”). On this evolution, see Richard Kieckhefer, “The Office of Inquisition and Medieval Heresy: The Transition from Personal to Institutional Jurisdiction,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46 (January 1995): 36–61. Yet in the medieval period heresy inquisitions did not possess the structural and organizational cohesion and stability of the early modern Spanish, Roman, and Venetian Inquisitions. And while the formal strategy of *inquisitio* was not limited to the pursuit of heresy, in this article I use “inquisition” to denote solely an *inquisitio hereticae pravitatis*, or heresy inquisition.

<sup>4</sup> The most notable, and threatening to Catholic hegemony, of these groups were the chastely dualist Cathars and the Waldensians, a lay movement of strict “apostolic” poverty and evangelism. A classic on the animating commonalities of heretical and orthodox lay groups is Herbert Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages*, Steven Rowan, trans. (Notre Dame, Ind., 1995). The literature on medieval heresies is copious. For orientation and bibliography, see Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation*, 3d edn. (Oxford, 2002); Carl T. Berkhout and Jeffrey B. Russell, *Medieval Heresies: A Bibliography 1960–1979* (Toronto, 1981). Note



interrogation, possible torture, and punishment (most notoriously, with the death penalty) of those who persistently, after attempts at correction, refused to “believe as the Roman church teaches and preaches.” And many may concur that this effort constituted a “scandal,” a “centuries-old blemish” on that church. Inquisition stands as a bold offense not only to modern thinking on toleration, diversity, and individualism but also, to some, to a Christian faith foundationally and inherently irenic, forgiving, and uncoercive.<sup>5</sup>

This image took root in the Reformation, as Protestants—denying Catholicism’s ecclesiastical and theological authority and appealing to heretical groups as antecedent caretakers of the gospel—cited inquisitorial repression as proof of the Roman church’s spiritual bankruptcy, even while possessing their own methods of ensuring religious uniformity.<sup>6</sup> But the persistence and span in our own period of inquisition’s maculated, and even “unchristian,” reputation are especially remarkable for their provenance in modern Roman Catholicism and in the historiography of the Middle Ages. Andreas Zaupser was an anomaly. The Catholic Church’s recent frank apologies for inquisition—its blunt assertion that the office “sull[ied] . . . the face of the church”—have reversed centuries of defensiveness that likewise sprang from sixteenth-century, interconfessional polemic. They have also detached medieval inquisitions from the religious moorings constructed carefully throughout the premodern period. This self-reflection, the admission of “errors,” approximates, ironically, a venerable Protestant charge that inquisitors were ignorant of the “true” Christian message.<sup>7</sup> It gestures, then, toward the very dynamic that underlay inquisitions, as well as reactions to them, in the Middle Ages: the elusiveness of truth, its fluid congress with error, and the instability of religion itself.

Yet the endurance of inquisition’s “irreligious” reputation in historiography indicates that this matter does not merely affect scholars of medieval Europe or persons with confessional loyalties. That dynamic of instability raises for all historians, regardless of specialization or background, a problem of historical

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the recent and increasingly skeptical attention paid to medieval (and modern) constructions of “heresy” and of individual sects, as scholars have addressed the degree to which, and in what form, “heresy” existed independent of inquisitors’ constructions of it through media such as tracts and interrogations. According to this view, inquisitorial theory and practice constructed cohesive categories of heresy that could be imposed upon an individual’s testimony in an interrogation, or could redefine behavior. Mark Gregory Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels: The Great Inquisition of 1245–1246* (Princeton, N.J., 2001), challenges most particularly the “Cathar church.” See also Monique Zerner, ed. *Inventer l’hérésie? Discours polémiques et pouvoirs avant l’inquisition* (Nice, 1998); David Nirenberg, review of *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, by James B. Given, *Speculum* 75 (January 2000), 182–84; compare Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 213–15. For the early modern period, see Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, John and Anne Tedeschi, trans. (New York, 1982), and Ginzburg, *The Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, John and Anne Tedeschi, trans. (Baltimore, 1983).

<sup>5</sup> Jason Horowitz, “Vatican Downsizes the Inquisition,” *New York Times*, June 16, 2004. Compare a judgment of a Christian scholar of heresy: “These injustices remain a terrible indictment of the wickedness of mankind as a whole and of the Christian church in particular. For the Church does claim to speak for Jesus Christ and therefore has a responsibility for charity that greatly exceeds that of other institutions.” Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages* (Berkeley, Calif., 1965), 257.

<sup>6</sup> Peters, *Inquisition*, 122–54.

<sup>7</sup> John Paul II, “Letter to Cardinal Roger Etchegaray on the Occasion of the Presentation of the Volume ‘L’Inquisizione,’” [http://www.vatican.va/holy\\_father/john\\_paul\\_ii/letters/2004/documents/hf\\_jp-ii\\_let\\_20040615\\_simposio-inquisizione\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/letters/2004/documents/hf_jp-ii_let_20040615_simposio-inquisizione_en.html).



construction. For inquisition's claimed and controversial juxtaposition of repression and piety, and interpretations of it, ask us broader questions: What is "religious"? How do we align our definitions with those of the persons we study? Where do we draw the disciplinary boundaries of "religious history"? Historians have been traditionally reluctant to consider inquisition—this persecution of suspected religious deviants through methods that included violence—as a project of belief. Many premises, born from a variety of sympathies and perspectives, were long responsible: inquisitors were rank hypocrites, if not theologically mistaken (the Protestant charge); inquisitors were fastidiously uninvolved in the nastiest work of execution (a defensive Catholic argument); a "cruel" Middle Ages was simply, pervasively, bloodthirsty.<sup>8</sup> All of the above are equally unsupportable. Nevertheless, they collaborated in continuing in historiography, however inadvertently, the legacy of early modern polemics as well as of Enlightenment critiques of inquisition.<sup>9</sup> And this reluctance to link persecution and belief is instructive, as that continuity betrayed historians' assumptions about the content and character of "religion." Inquisition has long appeared not only "irreligious" but also, therefore, beyond the history of religion.

That scholarly disassociation of medieval heresy inquisitions from religious belief has persisted. A shift in historiographical focus in the 1970s to those who appeared before inquisitors, in order to spend the wealth of details about belief and practice found in trial transcripts, is one explanation.<sup>10</sup> But even when the focus of inquiry is inquisition itself, scholars have often dug chasms between this work of "outright intellectual terrorism" and sincere religious conviction.<sup>11</sup> Such a chasm has resulted most recently from a different interest, as historians have placed religious violence and the repression of religious minorities under the rubrics of power, authority, society, and politics. Reflected here is the influence of Michel Foucault and more broadly what Paul Freedman and Gabrielle Spiegel have called the development, within a newly demodernizing and defamiliarizing historiography of the Middle Ages, of a "dark, persecutory vision of medieval society."<sup>12</sup> Freedman and Spiegel alluded here to R. I. Moore, whose explosive *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250* famously asked why the persecution of heretics, Jews, and others increased dramatically in the High Middle Ages. Moore posited that a clerical, bureaucratic elite, newly prominent in institutions of increasingly centralized government, sought mecha-

<sup>8</sup> Peters, *Inquisition*, 155–88; see, for example, Maurice Bévenot, "The Inquisition and Its Antecedents, IV," *Heythrop Journal* 8 (April 1967): 152–68; Lea, *History of the Inquisition* 1: 234.

<sup>9</sup> According to the *Encyclopédie's* article on inquisition, the office proved that "jamais la nature humaine n'est si avilie que quand l'ignorance est armée du pouvoir" (Human nature is never so degraded as when ignorance is armed with power). Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts, et des métiers*, Tome 8 (1757; rpt. edn., Elmsford, N.Y., 1985), 773–76, quotation 775; Peters, *Inquisition*, 174–88, 247–48.

<sup>10</sup> For example, Jean-Claude Schmitt, *The Holy Greyhound: Guinefort, Healer of Children since the Thirteenth Century*, Martin Thom, trans. (Cambridge, 1983); Emmanuel LeRoy Ladurie, *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error*, Barbara Bray, trans. (New York, 1978).

<sup>11</sup> Norman Cantor, *Inventing the Middle Ages: The Lives, Works, and Ideas of the Great Medievalists of the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1991), 354.

<sup>12</sup> Paul Freedman and Gabrielle Spiegel, "Medievalisms Old and New: The Rediscovery of Alterity in North American Medieval Studies," *AHR* 103 (June 1998), 699. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Alan Sheridan, trans. (New York, 1977).

nisms to protect and to enhance its power and authority, collaborating with growing concerns over social control. To Moore, "persecution began as a weapon in the competition for political influence, and was turned by its victors into an instrument for consolidating their power over society at large." Subsequent work has complemented Moore by attempting to show further how social-psychological factors such as "anxieties," "fears," and "uncertainty" over outsiders, the disobedient, and the libertine led ecclesiastical and secular authorities to adopt repression.<sup>13</sup> This "dark vision" is not uncontested. Some historians have sought to revise Moore quantitatively, marshaling examples of "tolerance" in medieval literature or legislation that are intended to counter the better-known incidents of violence or polemic generated against religious minorities.<sup>14</sup> Others have differently nuanced a monolithic, structural vision of "persecution" by noting how violence and discourses of repression had dynamic malleability, protean characters, and local, immediate manipulations that permitted various roles.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, this depiction of medieval institutions as chiefly interested in normalization and repression has dominated and perdured.

Unsurprisingly, especially given its long "irreligious" pedigree, inquisition fits neatly into this persecutory model. While inquisition was not a focus of Moore's book, he considered charges of heresy as an important component of the new persecuting mentality's consolidation of power; persecution led to "heresy" and not the reverse.<sup>16</sup> More specifically, scholars have placed inquisition within a stable teleology and genealogy of power, characterizing it as a tool of social and political discipline and as a parallel to (and/or precursor of) secret police in modern totalitarian states.<sup>17</sup> Following Foucault's argument that power is complexly dialogic rather than a unidirectional imposition, James Given has sketched the power relations of inquisitions' frequent failure and the resistance it inspired, while using the office as a glimpse into methods of political authority, governance, and control. Similarly, John Arnold, attempting to negotiate historians' "ethical," non-inquisitorial relation to trial depositions, focuses on the inquisitorial discourse of power, both fashioned and reflected in the transcripts, that gradually trans-

<sup>13</sup> R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250* (Oxford, 1987), quotation 146; Scott L. Waugh and Peter D. Diehl, eds., *Christendom and Its Discontents: Exclusion, Persecution, and Rebellion, 1000–1500* (Cambridge, 1996), 1–15; Jeffrey Richards, *Sex, Dissidence, and Damnation: Minority Groups in the Middle Ages* (London, 1991).

<sup>14</sup> John Christian Laursen and Cary J. Nederman, eds., *Beyond the Persecuting Society: Religious Toleration before the Enlightenment* (Philadelphia, 1997); Cary J. Nederman, *Worlds of Difference: European Discourses of Toleration, c.1100–c.1550* (University Park, Penn., 2000). For the standard genealogy of religious tolerance in Western Europe that places its birth firmly in the modern period, see Perez Zagorin, *How the Idea of Religious Toleration Came to the West* (Princeton, N.J., 2003).

<sup>15</sup> David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J., 1996); Philippa Maddern, *Violence and Social Order: East Anglia 1422–1442* (Oxford, 1992).

<sup>16</sup> As Richard Kieckhefer has said, "Invocation of Michel Foucault on the dynamics of power is rarely more appropriate than in study of inquisitorial repression." Kieckhefer, review of *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc*, by James B. Given, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 53 (January 2002): 149. Moore, *Formation of a Persecuting Society*, 151; this position obviously resembles those arguments cited above about the constructions of "heresy."

<sup>17</sup> James B. Given, "Social Stress, Social Strain, and the Inquisitors of Medieval Languedoc," in Waugh and Diehl, eds., *Christendom and Its Discontents*, 67, and Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1997); Andrew P. Roach, "Penance and the Making of the Inquisition in Languedoc," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 52 (July 2001): 409–33.

formed individuals into “confessing subjects.” Carol Lansing’s *Power and Purity: Cathar Heresy in Medieval Italy*, while eliciting shades of religious belief among the laity that were neither strictly “Cathar” nor “Catholic,” located debates over heresy as a constituent part of social, political, and gender-role shifts that precipitated “the establishment of a political and institutional order.”<sup>18</sup>

Medieval persecution, and the inquisitions that helped to comprise it, have been credited, then, to social strain, factional jealousy, fear of community “infection,” doubt, and struggles over political power. Yet the present, dominant approach to inquisition in terms of the starkest, most earthly political and social power still lacks a crucial dimension: the religious world within which medieval inquisitions took place and the religious mentality that overwhelmingly informed their theory and practice.<sup>19</sup> And other recent studies that do not share this focus on the political and social dynamics of inquisition are nevertheless, for divergent reasons, uninterested in exploring the religious foundations of persecution.<sup>20</sup> Recent scholarship, while indeed considering inquisition within the history of the church as an institution of (restrictively defined) power and control, has been less interested in grounding it in religious belief, or within a broader, more complex, worldview mapped by faith. Current scholarly voices have echoed diversely that perdurant premise: a persecuting inquisition is not well reconciled with sincere religious belief.

Several factors may explain these historiographical echoes in our own time of inquisition’s distance from faith. Moore quickly dispatched religion as a motivating force in persecution, and his argument that heretics, Jews, and lepers were elided into a single imagined class, for the common end of political and social power, indicates his disbelief that religious conviction distinguished or read uniquely each persecuted group and its treatment. He apparently presumed that such an appeal to faith has implied, ahistorically, the necessity and normality of persecution, which his interest in historicizing its origins specifically resists.<sup>21</sup> And medieval inquisi-

<sup>18</sup> Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*; John H. Arnold, *Inquisition and Power: Catharism and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc* (Philadelphia, 2001); Carol Lansing, *Power and Purity: Cathar Heresy in Medieval Italy* (Oxford, 1998), quotation 5.

<sup>19</sup> For a rare example of scholarship treating an inquisitor as pastor, see Jacques Paul, “La mentalité de l’inquisiteur chez Bernard Gui,” in *Bernard Gui et son monde* (Toulouse, 1981), 279–316. Walter Ullmann’s introduction to the 1963 abridgement of Henry Charles Lea’s *Inquisition of the Middle Ages* indeed argued that “No assessment of the Inquisition can be complete or balanced . . . if the peculiar conditions of the European Middle Ages are not properly evaluated and taken into account. Amongst these the complexion of medieval Christianity must rank high.” But for Ullmann, “medieval Christianity” denoted chiefly the (worldly) interests and status of the institution of the papacy. Walter Ullmann, “Historical Introduction,” in Henry Charles Lea, *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages: Its Organization and Operation* (New York, 1963), 11–51, quotation 49.

<sup>20</sup> Mark Gregory Pegg’s *Corruption of Angels*, a close study of the protracted inquisition conducted in Toulouse by the Dominicans Bernard de Caux and Jean de St. Pierre in 1245–1246, emphasizes how inquisitors’ avalanche of questions restructured the very patterns of thought and behavior in Languedoc by translating the vibrant minutiae of daily life (gestures, actions, relations, customs) into ordered categories of heresy. Dyan Elliott’s analysis of how “inquisitorial culture” (an ecclesiastical dependence upon forms of proof such as investigation, interrogation, and confession) widely permeated ecclesiastical life in the later Middle Ages charts especially its restrictive and deleterious effects on women’s spirituality and religious status. Dyan Elliott, *Proving Woman: Female Spirituality and Inquisitorial Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J., 2004). Compare the discussion of the Cistercian order’s contributions to a “discourse of persecution” in Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy, and Crusade in Occitania, 1145–1229: Preaching in the Lord’s Vineyard* (Rochester, N.Y., 2001).

<sup>21</sup> “In recent generations the attempt to come to terms with the persecuting mentality by associating it with the religious convictions which, it is universally acknowledged, characterized and inspired the

tions were undeniably repressive. Inquisitors' imposition of diverse kinds of force—including the plainest violence—on bodies, communities, behavior, and thought is inarguable. The segregation of inquisition and belief has resulted perhaps from the presumption that sincere belief cannot coexist with (let alone produce) such repression. In the dark light diffused by the dominant historiographical vision of a “persecuting society,” any religious rhetoric present in our sources may seem cheap, strategic veneer to be polished away in order to discover the “real” rationales for repression and violence. Even if the invocation of such themes is not credited to knowing hypocrisy, it may nevertheless strike us as resulting ultimately, and unreasonably, from social and political panic.

But would inquisition's practitioners and advocates define similarly the “society” within which scholars have recently located the office's interests and motives? Another explanation for these echoes may be the difficulty of contextualizing others' religious visions—to acknowledge and to understand how, in different contexts and to different persons, our darkness could look more like light. Yet scholars of the Middle Ages have surely learned in past decades that “medieval religion” can encompass more than their predecessors believed. An irony of this strong focus on the social and political dynamics of inquisition, at the expense of the religious, is that it is contemporary with historians' expansion of what constitutes “medieval religion.” Scholars such as Caroline Walker Bynum have helped the field to evolve from an institutional history of the church to a more inclusive, and more generously imagined, history of religious practice and belief.<sup>22</sup> Can we, or should we, emulate that inclusiveness, shed any skepticism, and restore to inquisition its religious dimension? Can we place “the inquisitorial nightmare” within the history not just of politics, government, society, and institutions but also of religious practice and belief? Can we retreat from this emphasis on social and political power and ask also how churchmen who supported inquisition—the reintegration of supposedly contrite religious deviants and ejection of obstreperous ones—saw power, in *all* its guises, as unavoidably touched by the divine?<sup>23</sup>

Appeals to a religious mentality do not necessarily imply historical stability: one can argue for a sincere, but flexible, religious conviction that in the later Middle Ages, for historically definite reasons, was reconceptualized not only to permit but

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noblest minds and the highest achievements of medieval civilization, has stifled curiosity and . . . prevented us from giving due consideration to some of the profoundest changes in the history of Western society.” Moore, *Foundation of a Persecuting Society*, 3.

<sup>22</sup> Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987); Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991); Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York, 1995). For analyses of changes in the field, see Ann Matter, “The Future of the Study of Medieval Christianity,” in John Van Engen, ed., *The Past and Future of Medieval Studies* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1994), 169–72; Freedman and Spiegel, “Medievalisms Old and New”; John Van Engen, “The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem,” *AHR* 91 (June 1986): 519–52, and Van Engen, “The Future of Medieval Church History,” *Church History* 71 (September 2002): 492–522; Maureen C. Miller, “Religion Makes a Difference: Clerical and Lay Cultures in the Courts of Northern Italy, 1000–1300,” *AHR* 105 (October 2000): 1095–1130.

<sup>23</sup> “And in the authoritarian and paranoid abreactions of an apocalyptically insecure leadership . . . threatened by the advance of a culture that clipped their wings, we find . . . the inquisitorial nightmare.” Richard Landes, “The Birth of Heresy: A Millennial Phenomenon,” *Journal of Religious History* 24 (February 2000): 41, citing Moore's *Formation of a Persecuting Society*.



even to celebrate persecution. Churchmen's articulation of a peculiar kind of "power" that exceeded all earthly boundaries indeed sought ambitious forms of control and was responsive to circumstance. But their reconsiderations of the content of faith, even in a manner that may presently appear "irreligious," did not evacuate it. In various ways, religious conviction could build foundations for repression in particular circumstances, and violence could play diverse roles within an economy of belief.

In what follows, I would like to reconstruct the religious foundations of medieval persecution—occluded similarly by early modern polemic, recent apologies, and a historiography of power—through two groups with seemingly little in common: inquisitors and those who resisted investigations into supposed heresy. First, we will sketch broadly how inquisitors and their brethren from the Dominican Order, the religious order most closely associated in the Middle Ages with heresy inquisitions, themselves conceived of and presented this work. Second, we will consider in detail a protracted incident of violent opposition to inquisitions in southern France, glimpsing how those inquisitorial visions of pious persecution could manifest themselves among the laity. Finally, we will ask how these contextualized marriages of belief and violence raise provocative questions not only about the nature of medieval religion but also about how all historians of religious culture map their field. Andreas Zaupser, certainly, would describe as apologetics an investigation of how medieval inquisition, that "plague of reason and religion," was profoundly linked to both. But a reconstruction of the bond between *persecutio* and *religio* in the Middle Ages unsettles, not confirms, our confidence in the stability of religion and also of history.

MEDIEVAL HISTORIANS well know that Dominic Guzman founded his religious movement, confirmed as the Order of Preachers in 1216, as a response to heresy in southern France, seeking through an "apostolic life" of poverty and evangelism to return to the Catholic fold those who had embraced or sympathized with Catharism or Waldensianism.<sup>24</sup> The order's distinctive tasks of preaching, teaching, and pastoral care would serve a twofold purpose to this end: tending souls neglected by orthodox clergy and hence hungry for spiritual food; and offering a model of piety, simplicity, and probity to impugn that presented by heretics. But after the church recognized that the formal end of the Albigensian Crusade in 1229 had not meant the end of heresy in Languedoc, Dominican inquisitors almost immediately began to be active there. How could those friars who assumed the duties of inquisition, and their Dominican brethren, understand *this* work as a harmonious part of the apostolate? In 1233, Pope Gregory IX, long a patron of the fledgling order and also an enthusiastic proponent of the new office of "inquisition of heretical depravity," informed the prelates of France that he had appointed Dominican brothers to act

<sup>24</sup> Histories of Dominic's career and of the early Order of Preachers, however thorough, have come from within the order and thus are informed by its peculiar spirit; for example, William A. Hinnebusch, *A History of the Dominican Order*, 2 vols. (Staten Island, N.Y., 1966); M. H. Vicaire, *Saint Dominic and His Times*, Kathleen Pond, trans. (New York, 1964).

as inquisitors in that realm.<sup>25</sup> Gregory compared his commission to Jesus Christ, “who chose both the twelve apostles and seventy-two others, and sent them before him to preach two by two,” evoking precisely the gospel model that spurred and animated the “apostolic life.”<sup>26</sup> This allusion was not merely rhetorical, but rather reflected what Gregory and most Dominicans perceived to be structural and conceptual affinities between heresy inquisitions and the order’s apostolate traditionally defined.<sup>27</sup>

Dominic’s own ministry saw him reconciling penitent heretics to the church with penances later used by his inquisitorial heirs, and handing impenitent ones to the secular arm for execution.<sup>28</sup> This indicates the complexity, from the movement’s origins, of what it meant to “save souls.” Dominicans themselves viewed inquisitorial duties in smooth continuity with Dominic’s work and as one kind of pastoral care, which was at the time of their foundation an increasingly assiduous investigation into the individual soul. This effort, begun with the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) and its insistence on yearly confession for all Christians, likewise responded to heresy’s strength and the related weakness of the orthodox “care of souls.”<sup>29</sup> But

<sup>25</sup> Gregory first commissioned Dominicans as inquisitors with the bull *Ille humani generis* (1231), sent to the Dominicans in the city of Regensburg, and repeated this act for northern and southern France, various Italian cities, and the Iberian kingdom of Aragon. Under Gregory’s eventual successor John XXII, Dominican inquisitorial activity was extended to Bohemia, Poland, and Greece. See Thomas Ripoll and Antonin Brémond, eds., *Bullarium ordinis fratrum praedicatorum*, 8 vols. (Paris, 1729–1740), 1: 38, 41, 45–46, 79, 81, 95; 2: 138–40. On this formative period of heresy inquisitions, see Peter Segl, ed., *Die Anfänge der Inquisition im Mittelalter* (Cologne, 1993); Lothar Kolmer, *Ad capiendas vulpes: Die Ketzerbekämpfung in Südfrankreich in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts und die Ausbildung des Inquisitionsverfahrens* (Bonn, 1982); Henri Maisonneuve, *Études sur les origines de l’inquisition* (Paris, 1960).

<sup>26</sup> Matthew 10:1–42; Luke 10:1–20. *Nos considerantes* (April 13, 1233), in Kurt Victor Selge, ed., *Texte zur Inquisition* (Gütersloh, 1967), 47. In the interest of economy I have omitted original quotations; unless otherwise noted all translations are my own.

<sup>27</sup> There is extremely little evidence that the order’s leadership, or Dominicans generally, disapproved of their brother inquisitors’ pursuit of heretics. Inquisitorial activity could overlap with the life of the ordinary brethren in manifold ways, and critical references in the order’s legislation betray only concern that inquisitors could be lax in the order’s discipline, fail to attend provincial chapters, or traffic too often with money. B. M. Reichert, ed., *Acta capitulorum generalium ordinis praedicatorum*, 9 vols. (Rome, 1898–1904), 1: 181, 228, 273, 2: 130, 134, 141, 153, 158; Célestin Douais, ed., *Les Frères Prêcheurs en Gascogne au XIII<sup>e</sup> et au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1885), 63–65. For two rare cases of antipathy to inquisitors from within the order, see Alan Friedlander, ed., *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi: The Trial of Fr. Bernard Déléieux, 3 September–8 December 1319* (Philadelphia, 1996), 159, 163–65, 326, 331; Célestin Douais, ed., *Documents pour servir à l’histoire de l’inquisition dans le Languedoc*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1900), 2: 304–13; Douais, *Les Frères Prêcheurs en Gascogne*, 377.

<sup>28</sup> Vladimir J. Koudelka, ed., *Monumenta diplomatica sancti Dominici* (Rome, 1966), 16–18; Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda sancti Dominici*, H. C. Scheeben, ed., in *Monumenta historica sancti patris nostri Dominici*, fasc. 2 (Rome, 1935), 321–22. See the following debate on Dominic as inquisitor: Marie-Humbert Vicaire, “Saint Dominique et les inquisiteurs,” *Annales du Midi* 79 (1967): 173–94, and Vicaire, “Notes sur la mentalité de saint Dominique,” *Annales du Midi* 80 (1968): 131–36; Christine Thouzellier, “L’inquisitio et saint Dominique,” *Annales du Midi* 80 (1968): 121–30, and Thouzellier, “Réponse au R. P. Vicaire,” *Annales du Midi* 80 (1968): 137–38.

<sup>29</sup> On the Roman church’s program of pastoral discipline and on the requirement of yearly confession, see Peter Biller and A. J. Minnis, eds., *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages* (Rochester, N.Y., 1998); Mary C. Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners: Public Penance in Thirteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1995); Jean Delumeau, *L’aveu et le pardon: Les difficultés de la confession XIII<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1990), and Delumeau, *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture, 13th–18th Centuries*, Eric Nicholson, trans. (New York, 1990); Nicole Bériou, “Autour de Latran IV (1215): La naissance de la confession moderne et sa diffusion,” in *Pratiques de la confession: Des Pères du désert à Vatican II* (Paris, 1983), 73–92; Thomas N. Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* (Princeton, N.J., 1977).



inquisition and fellow ecclesiastical initiatives strove to do more than merely return to the pastoral status quo: rather, they formed a newly ambitious, single effort to extend to all Christians a kind of monastic discipline. This was a transportation beyond the cloister, to all the baptized, of the monastic community's hallmarks: an awareness of constant observation, thorough examination (and, when necessary, denunciation) of oneself and others, and correction and taming through the body. Overall, this was a shaping and a subjection of the soul that strove not to force one to obey, but rather to cultivate the sincere *wish* to obey.<sup>30</sup> This spiritual discipline of the Christian faithful meant a double insistence upon the individual soul and on the transcendent community to which it belonged, with no possibilities for seclusion or emigration.<sup>31</sup> A supervisory God, unlike any human abbot, always knew what lurked in one's heart. The intent of this pastoral strategy was inner desire, not mere outward conformity; a subjection in body and spirit to divine (and hence ecclesiastical) power that posited new territories for control.

Heresy both partly inspired that vision and also challenged it. Inquisitors approached heresy not simply as a social or political "crime" (although this word could indeed appear), but as an ultimately personalized *peccatum* or sin. As the Dominican Humbert of Romans said, heresy was in fact "the worst sin": to Humbert and his brethren, heresy was not simply a violation committed and defined *within* the Roman church's structure of earthly and divine order. Rather, it *rejected* that structure and proposed alternatives.<sup>32</sup> Yet churchmen insisted that heretics were mistaken in believing themselves outside that structure, able to stray from God and his church with impunity. Their repentance was both a salvific necessity and only possible through sacerdotal mediation; inquisitors were more powerful clerical investigators of a proportionally worse sin. As such, Dominicans did not segregate cleanly inquisitorial from pastoral spheres of action. Raymond of Peñafort, master general of the Dominican order from 1238 to 1240, composed an important and influential confessors' manual, the *Summa de penitentia* (1225–1235). In this manual, designed to assist his brethren when "judg[ing] souls in the penitential forum," Raymond included heresy as a pastoral problem all friars might confront. In addition, although not himself an inquisitor, Raymond composed an inquisitors' manual circa 1242.<sup>33</sup> As they would with other sins (or even more so), inquisitors maintained that all degrees of perceived commitment to heresy demanded the reintegration of the individual soul into God's community of faith

<sup>30</sup> This is inspired by Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore, 1993), 115–21, 125–67.

<sup>31</sup> Compare the "Christian anthropology" of the Cluniac abbot Peter the Venerable posited in Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom Face Heresy, Judaism, and Islam, 1000–1150*, Graham Robert Edwards, trans. (Ithaca, N.Y., 2002).

<sup>32</sup> Humbert of Romans, *De eruditione predicatorum*, in Marguerin de la Bigne, ed., *Maxima bibliotheca veterum patrum*, 28 vols. (Lyon, 1677), 25: 556. Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de iure canonico*, *Summa de paenitentia*, *Summa de matrimonio*, Javier Ochoa Sanz and Luis Díez García, eds., 3 vols. Tome B: *Summa de paenitentia* (Rome, 1976), 318; Paul Meyer, ed., "Le Débat d'Izarn et de Sicart de Figueiras," *Annuaire-bulletin de la société de l'histoire de France* 16 (1879): 254, 273.

<sup>33</sup> Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia*, 280, 318–327. The inquisitors' manual was initially intended for inquisitors in Aragon but circulated also among those in Languedoc. Célestin Douais, ed., "Saint Raymond de Peñafort et les hérétiques: Directoire à l'usage des inquisiteurs Aragonais" [hereafter *Directoire à l'usage des inquisiteurs Aragonais*], *Le Moyen Âge* 12 (1899): 305–315; see also Antoine Dondaine, "Le manuel de l'inquisiteur (1230–1330)," *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum* 17 (1947): 96–97.

through the standard penitential schema of contrition, confession, and works of satisfaction.<sup>34</sup> The sinner's reconciliation necessitated first that she define her behavior as indeed a sin, and then that she truly wish to atone and to rejoin the church "with a good heart and genuine faith."<sup>35</sup> Contrition should manifest itself in a confession that was more sacramental than juridical, a beginning of reconciliation rather than an end to investigation. To inquisitors, "confession" in the modern, legal sense (that is, admitting an action) was inefficacious; a confession without apparent contrition and an abjuration of heresy meant recalcitrance, and the consequent ejection from inquisition's office of repentance.<sup>36</sup>

Inquisitors were well aware that a suspect's confession might result simply from fear or evasion, and that it might consequently lack the "genuine faith" they sought. A willingness to perform penance supposedly helped to make manifest a confession's genuinely pious foundations. The common "penances" assigned by inquisitors, in combinations of diverse onerousness designed for an individual's exact degree of guilt, had precedents in regular sacramental penance; clerics also used them to reconcile heretics before the establishment of the inquisitorial office. For example, Raymond of Peñafort listed prayers, fasts, pilgrimage, hairshirts, and flogging—all common inquisitorial penances—as penances for sins generally in his confessors' manual. Dominic had assigned to penitent heretics these tasks as well as the equally common wearing of crosses on clothing.<sup>37</sup> The most serious penances assigned by inquisitors, flogging and imprisonment, were an importation to laypeople of monastic practice and of its conviction that bodily suffering both atoned for past sins and trained the soul to shun future ones. This flogging of heretics was explicitly liturgical and penitential; parish priests were to perform the beatings during masses and processions, praying that God welcome again one who had turned from his church through sin.<sup>38</sup> This echoed practice in the venerable Benedictine, and more recent Dominican, orders. In addition to the Dominicans' ritualized flogging at the nightly prayer office of compline, brothers who had committed particular infractions were publicly flogged with individual blows called

<sup>34</sup> Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia*, 802; Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Collection Doat (hereafter, Doat) 22, fols. 39r-40r.

<sup>35</sup> The phrase is originally from 1 Timothy 1: 5. For a few of the many examples in trial transcripts, see Doat 21, fol. 321v; Doat 28, fols. 68v, 72v; Douais, *Documents*, 2: 5, 9, 15, 18, 52, 68, 81, 87.

<sup>36</sup> Compare Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, esp. 90-110; Elliott, *Proving Woman*, 9-43. This conception that reintegration through atonement was spiritually necessary, that confession was its initial step, plus the assurance through *mala fama* that those who appeared before inquisitors were guilty, supported the use of torture, which Pope Innocent IV authorized for heresy inquisitions in *Ad extirpanda* (1252). See Selge, *Texte zur Inquisition*, 77; Edward Peters, *Torture*, 2d edn. (Philadelphia, 1996), especially 40-73; Mario Sbriccoli, "Tormentum idest torquere mentem": Processo inquisitorio e interrogatorio per tortura nell'Italia comunale," in Jean-Claude Marie Vigueur and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, eds., *La parola all'accusato* (Palermo, 1991), 17-32.

<sup>37</sup> Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de penitentia*, 835-39; Annette Pales-Gobilliard, "Les pénalités inquisitoriales au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *Crises et réformes dans l'église de la réforme grégorienne à la préréforme*, Actes du 115e congrès national des sociétés savantes, Avignon, 1990: Église au moyen âge (Paris, 1991), 143-54.

<sup>38</sup> Bernard Gui, *Practica inquisitionis hereticae pravitatis*, Célestin Douais, ed. (Paris, 1886), 162; "Directoire à l'usage des inquisiteurs Aragonais," 324-25; *Doctrina de modo procedendi contra hereticos*, in Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand, eds., *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1717), 5: 1803-1804; the anonymous manual in Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Fonds Latin 3978, fols. 26v, 31r, 34r.

*disciplinae*.<sup>39</sup> The inquisitorial penance of imprisonment similarly presumed that bodily pain and affliction especially remunerated God for offenses against him. Depending upon the degree of guilt, the putatively repentant heretic was sentenced either to more relaxed confinement or to a harsher form, where he or she was chained and fed with “the bread of grief and water of tribulation.”<sup>40</sup> In either case, prison was, to inquisitors, where the guilty performed “salutary penance . . . for those deeds committed,” and thus where “they may save their souls.” Like flogging, prison exchanged future for present suffering: if “to live in that place taste[s] to you of death,” then “the death that you suffer there [will] grant you eternal life.”<sup>41</sup> And as with flogging, the precedent and model for imprisoning penitent heretics was longstanding monastic tradition. Prison was not yet a secular penalty in Western Europe. The Dominicans themselves incarcerated wayward brothers guilty of grave sins (uncovered through confession, denunciation, or a process of *inquisitio*) in the prisons that local priors were obligated to build in their houses.<sup>42</sup>

Just as the Dominican inquisitor Bernard Gui (c. 1261–1331) adopted traditional pastoral imagery when referring to his heresy-hunting colleagues as “doctors of souls,” Raymond of Peñafort’s confessors’ manual encouraged every priest, every “spiritual doctor,” to be a “diligent inquisitor” in “interrogating” the sinner and ferreting out hidden details and intentions.<sup>43</sup> Pastorate and inquisition did not arise coincidentally in the thirteenth century, as practically and conceptually distinct responses to the single problem of solidifying the church’s boundaries in the wake of dissent. Both reflected a new insistence upon the close investigation of souls, the demand for contrition felt inside and manifested through oral confession, a divine vigilance that surpassed human vision, and the shaping of the soul through the body.<sup>44</sup> But because of that insistence upon the secret, inner level at which

<sup>39</sup> Humbert of Romans, *Expositio in constitutiones*, in J. J. Berthier, ed., *Opera de vita regulari*, 2 vols. (1889; rpt. edn., Turin, 1956), 2: 145–48; Reichert, *Acta capitulorum generalium*, 1: 8, 17, 24, 139, 220, 230, 241, 246–47, 259, 270, 311; 2: 36, 42–43, 140, 159.

<sup>40</sup> “Directoire à l’usage des inquisiteurs Aragonais,” 317; *Doctrina de modo procedendi contra hereticos*, 1798; Gui, *Practica inquisitionis*, 101.

<sup>41</sup> Doat 27, fols. 154r–154v. As Humbert of Romans asked, “Since in fact the sinner must endure either an eternal suffering or a present one, who, thinking about the conditions in which these sufferings take place, does not prefer to undergo it here below rather than there, unless he is crazy?” Humbert of Romans, *Le Don de crainte ou l’Abondance des exemples*, Christine Boyer, ed. and trans. (Lyon, 2003), 83.

<sup>42</sup> The case of monks, nuns, and priests found guilty of heresy and sentenced to imprisonment within convents illustrates the conflation of monastic and inquisitorial penances; for instance, Doat 27, fols. 160v, 154r–154v; Douais, *Documents*, 2: 31. On the early history of imprisonment, see Jean Dunbabin, *Captivity and Imprisonment in Medieval Europe 1000–1300* (New York, 2002); Edward Peters, “Prison Before the Prison: The Ancient and Medieval Worlds,” in Norval Morris and David J. Rothman, eds., *The Oxford History of the Prison: The Practice of Punishment in Western Society* (New York, 1995), 26–32; Nicole Castan, “La préhistoire de la prison,” in Jean-Guy Petit, ed., *Histoire des galères, bagues et prisons XIII<sup>e</sup>–XX<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Toulouse, 1991), 26–27.

<sup>43</sup> Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia*, 826–27; Gui, *Practica inquisitionis*, 236–37. Fourth Lateran’s canon 21, *Omnis utriusque sexus*, which mandated yearly confession for all Christians, shared this vision of priest as “doctor of souls”: Antonius Garcia y Garcia, ed., *Constitutiones Concilii quarti Lateranensis una cum commentariis glossatorum* (Vatican City, 1981), 68.

<sup>44</sup> Others have argued that given inquisition’s repressive character, any resemblances are merely cosmetic: Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 78–84; Elie Griffe, *Le Languedoc cathare et l’inquisition, 1229–1329* (Paris, 1980), 14–34; Annie Cazenave, “Aveu et contrition: Manuels de confesseurs et interrogatoires d’inquisition en Languedoc et en Catalogne (XIII–XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles),” in *Actes du 99<sup>e</sup> congrès national des sociétés savantes, Besançon, 1974. Philologie et histoire 1* (Paris, 1977): 333–52; Cyrille Vogel, “Le pèlerinage pénitentiel,” *Revue des sciences religieuses* 38 (1964): 129, 135.

contrition and repentance should exist, the emphasis on genuine desire, the problem of discernment was crucial for inquisitions. Inquisitors sought to persuade the laity that even unpopular Roman clerics were God's earthly delegates, with the power to bind and to loose; that, conversely, seemingly pious heretics were allied with the devil; and that the church inerrantly distinguished between true and false piety. An inquisition furnished several opportunities for persuasion, both communal and individual: the preaching that began and ended an individual *inquisitio*, interrogations, public sentences, and abjurations by former heretics. In his preaching manual, *De eruditione predicatorum* (c. 1266), the Dominican Humbert of Romans remarked that when inquisitorial sentences were imposed, "many . . . by a certain false piety" believed the church guilty of "excessive cruelty" toward heretics. It was thus "expedient to show in a public sermon" why they merited more strident and thorough treatment than did other sinners.<sup>45</sup> By requiring the careful articulation of this new disciplinary worldview, the very tension generated by inquisition was productive for it.

Most publicly controversial was the moment when, through recalcitrance (failure to confess with contrition and penance) or relapse (into a once-abjured heresy), a suspect refused inquisition's offer of reintegration and was left to the "deserved punishment" of secular justice. By the end of the 1230s, this meant, in most of Western Europe, death.<sup>46</sup> Although execution was infrequent and technically a secular duty (and Fourth Lateran reiterated in 1215 that clerics were forbidden to shed blood), there is scant evidence that inquisitors distanced themselves literally or ideologically from it. Rather, they responded to this perceived necessity, to principled arguments from heretics, and to lay crowds' objections to particular executions by avowing through various media that this new practice of executing heretics was not, in fact, a novelty.<sup>47</sup> Inquisitors and supporters "discovered" a biblical tradition that recounted, and thus ostensibly prescribed, the killing of those who contumaciously abandoned God and his

<sup>45</sup> Humbert of Romans, *De eruditione predicatorum*, 555.

<sup>46</sup> This penalty was established in the Iberian kingdom of Aragon in as early as 1197, but the second quarter of the thirteenth century witnessed its increasing commonness throughout the continent. On this legislation, see Charles Moeller, "Le bucher et les auto-da-fé de l'inquisition depuis le moyen âge," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 14 (1913): 722–26; Maisonneuve, *Études*, 243–57. Yves Dossat has estimated that execution comprised only about 1 percent of sentences in the first century of inquisition: Yves Dossat, "Le 'bucher de Montségur' et les buchers de l'inquisition," in *Le crédo, la morale, et l'inquisition* (Toulouse, 1971), 371. The low number can be explained by this penitential schema that prized inclusion rather than exclusion, and by the fact that most infractions that called persons before inquisitors were mild. Apologists for inquisition, eager to rend inquisitors in procedure and in culpability from the death penalty, have noted not only that executions were performed by the secular arm but also that an inquisitor could formally appeal to that authority for mercy. However, this appeal was not explicitly discussed in inquisitorial manuals nor necessarily made in practice; for example, Gui, *Practica inquisitionis*, 131, 136, 143–44; Annette Pales-Gobilliard, ed., *Le livre des sentences de l'inquisiteur Bernard Gui 1308–1323*, 2 vols. (Paris, 2002), 1: 542.

<sup>47</sup> Humbert of Romans, *De eruditione predicatorum*, 555; Anselm of Alexandria, *Tractatus de hereticis*, in Antoine Dondaine, "La hiérarchie cathare en Italie, II: Le *Tractatus de hereticis* d'Anselme d'Alexandrie O.P.," *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum* 20 (1950): 320; Raynier Sacconi, *Summa de catharis*, in François Sanjek, "Raynerius Sacconi O. P. *Summa de Catharis*," *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum* 44 (1974): 60; Moneta of Cremona, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses libri quinque*, Thomas Augustinus Ricchini, ed. (1743; rpt. edn., Ridgewood, N.J., 1964), 508–11. For testimony about opposition to the death penalty, see, for example, statements made in 1247 about Peire Garcias: Doat 22, fols. 94v, 98r, 101r; Douais, *Documents*, 2: 113; Pegg, *Corruption of Angels*, 52–56.



designated earthly community. This killing, performed by righteous, zealous authorities instituted for this purpose, constituted divine justice and punishment. Both Old and New covenants mandated such death.<sup>48</sup>

This argument of God's past killing was brought into the present and directly applied to contemporary heretics by collections of *exempla* (illustrative stories used to enliven sermons or to teach lessons in a more accessible manner) composed in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries by the Dominican inquisitor Étienne de Bourbon and by his fellow friars Humbert of Romans and Jean Gobi. Their collections included tales in which God, through miracle, endorsed executions and identified *moderni heretici* as the latest installments in his series of violent vengeance upon apostates. For example, Jean Gobi recounted a story in which a condemned heretic suffering execution by the stake in Toulouse was repeatedly saved by bursts of rainwater that doused the fire. When the crowd of spectators began to grumble that perhaps God was intervening to save a falsely convicted man, the inquisitor furnished a consecrated host and prayed that Christ "show [his] power over this member of the devil." A demon appeared, admitted that he had been responsible for the saving water, and conceded that after this call for divine intervention, he was now impotent. The flames instantly rose up again, and "the heretic was burned."<sup>49</sup>

In addition, these collections, by dwelling on the venerable concept of hell and the more recent, and increasingly frightening, site of purgatory, built a world of eternal, horrific consequences for adamant sin. What was the burning of an impenitent heretic other than a pale parallel of, and immediate preface to, God's own fierce and inescapable hellfire? The inquisitor Bernard Gui described the execution of two Dolcinite heretics with precisely this juxtaposition of earthly and divine punishment: "relinquished to secular judgment to be punished with death . . . they were handed over to the avenging flames, condemned to be burned up by the eternal fire."<sup>50</sup> God's otherworldly infliction (with merciless glee, according to

<sup>48</sup> References in inquisitorial literature included the stories of Moses and the idolaters (Exodus 32:28); Phineas (Numbers 25:6–18); Matthathias (1 Maccabees 2:24–26); Korah, Dathan, and Abiron (Numbers 16:1–50); Ananias and Saphira (Acts 5:1–11). See Gregory IX, *Vox in Rama* (1232), *Declinante* (1232), *Olim intellecto* (1234), in Ripoll and Brémond, *Bullarium ordinis praedicatorum*, 1: 38, 52–54, 66–67; Moneta of Cremona, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses*, 508–46; Carola Hoécker, ed., *Disputatio inter catholicum et patarinum hereticum* (Florence, 2001), 58–63.

<sup>49</sup> On this genre, see Jacques Berlioz and Marie-Anne Polo de Beaulieu, *Les exempla médiévaux: Nouvelles perspectives* (Paris, 1998); Claude Brémond, Jacques Le Goff, and Jean-Claude Schmitt, *L'Exemplum* (Turnhout, 1982); J. Th. Welter, *L'Exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du Moyen Âge* (1927; rpt. edn., Geneva, 1973). Étienne de Bourbon, *Tractatus de diversiis materiis predicabilibus*, Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub, eds. (Turnhout, 2002), 114–15. Jean Gobi, *La Scala coeli de Jean Gobi*, Marie-Anne Polo de Beaulieu, ed. (Paris, 1991), 319–20, 408; see also Marie-Anne Polo de Beaulieu, *Éducation, prédication et cultures au moyen âge: Essais sur Jean Gobi le jeune* (Lyon, 1999). Jean Gobi the younger composed his collection circa 1330 as a brother at the Dominican house of St. Maximin; his uncle, Jean Gobi the elder, had succeeded the inquisitor Jean Vigouroux as prior there in 1304. Bernard Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus conventuum provinciarum Tolosanae et Provinciae ordinis praedicatorum*, P. A. Amargier, ed. (Rome, 1961), 277; Polo de Beaulieu, "Introduction" to *Scala coeli*, 25–26.

<sup>50</sup> Gui, *Practica inquisitionis*, 351. See the *exempla* on hell in Humbert of Romans, *Le Don de crainte*, 55–86; and Étienne de Bourbon, *Tractatus de diversiis materiis predicabilibus*, 66–139. Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, Arthur Goldhammer, trans. (Chicago, 1984), especially 256–78, 310–18; Marie-Anne Polo de Beaulieu, "Recueils d'exempla méridionaux et culte des âmes du Purgatoire," in *La papauté d'Avignon et le Languedoc, 1316–1342* (Toulouse, 1991), 257–78. The linking of inquisitorial condemnation and divine damnation appears in many sources; for example, "Directoire à l'usage des



Dominican preachers) of pain, torments, and misery—all exceeding in design and degree their equivalents here below, and all interminable—matched his eagerness that the wicked be slain on earth. Inquisitions and their violence were to be understood within these resultant spaces, and again, this re-vision was intended to reach laypeople through conversations, interrogations, and preaching. By the early fourteenth century, Dominicans had fashioned a seamless garment of earthly and divine justice and violence, in which execution, appearing to some as most “unchristian,” putatively reinforced inquisition’s claim to holiness.

We should not then appeal reductively to a medieval mentality that simply viewed pain and death with impassivity, or to a thoughtless importation of strictly secular justice into a strictly ecclesiastical framework. We cannot ignore the ways in which clerics conceptualized in religious terms those acts and that justice.<sup>51</sup> Those reconceptualizations were part of a broader vision—which Dominicans articulated, and tried to implement, through various activities—of a community in which all were subject to a God who held a boundless power to watch, to shape, and to punish. Medieval churchmen’s discourse of belief, with which inquisition was bound, understood and presented power and discipline in historically located, religious ways, and conceived peculiarly the shaping of souls and bodies. The monastic heritage and sense of *disciplina*, extended to the laity through confession and inquisition, posited a very different “society,” and a different soul, than that about which Foucault spoke in sketching the creation of a pervasive “carceral” world. This discourse insisted on its own panopticon designed for the total diffusion of power and the soul’s self-governance: an omniscient God who imposed far greater consequences for infractions. Inquisition did not then gain power through the tactical exclusion of claimed deviants from earthly society, but instead through an insistence on their total *inclusion* within God’s transcendent community. This may have been more terrifying to the medieval believer, as its jurisdiction was not merely social and political, bounded by our familiar lines of time and space, but rather endless and expansive.<sup>52</sup> For this world, in which heresy inquisitions were a site where divine justice, discipline, and violence crystallized here below, one temporized and spatialized point on a putatively eternal spectrum of God’s jurisdiction, a binary of intolerance/tolerance is insufficient. Inquisitors themselves proudly used language of “persecution” to describe what they saw as the salutary work of re-placing souls in God’s right order.<sup>53</sup> Rather than simply compare the

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inquisiteurs Aragonais,” 320; Guillaume Pelhisson, *Chronique, 1229–1244*, Jean Duvernoy, ed. (Paris, 1994), 108.

<sup>51</sup> Jean-Louis Biget, “Un procès d’Inquisition à Albi en 1300,” in *Le Crédo, la morale, et l’inquisition*, 288; Jean-Louis Bruges, “L’inquisition et les Frères Prêcheurs,” *Documents pour servir à l’histoire de l’ordre de Saint-Dominique en France* 9 (1973): 27.

<sup>52</sup> Evidence that inquisitors sought reintegration and inclusion also comes from the requests made, and granted, to abandon humiliating punishments that hurt one’s community standing, and to the public warnings that those mocking or ostracizing penitents would be punished as persons impeding the work of inquisition: Doat 27, fols. 107v, 121r, 135v, 138r, 149r, 155r–155v, 160v; Doat 28, fol. 7r; Gui, *Practica inquisitionis*, 60–61, 89, 100–01.

<sup>53</sup> We might say that “persecution” was morally neutral, its culpability depending upon the identity of its actors and targets. Guillaume Pelhisson lamented attacks upon inquisitors, the righteous “persecutors of heretics” (*Chronique*, 48). To inquisitors, ecclesiastical persecution of a group *discounted* its claims to legitimacy and holiness. Interrogations commonly asked whether a suspect

weights of “good” and “bad” interaction between the Roman church and its supposed “others” in the later Middle Ages,<sup>54</sup> we should ask how and why the church asserted, through a variety of interlocked media that included inquisition, a new and inescapable authority over all souls and bodies.

THIS MENTALITY emphatically did not defeat or exclude all contemporary judgments on inquisition, on ecclesiastical power, or even on the nature of the Dominican mission. Nor is this evocation of inquisition’s religious meaning incompatible with the social and political dynamics of interest to many historians. But it is clear that the segregation of “belief” and “persecution” in inquisition’s historiography and in popular image does not wholly reflect the spiritual geography of the Middle Ages. And these variant readings of persecution—the religious themes and language with which medieval churchmen surrounded inquisition; historians’ emphasis on secular politics and power—are more than merely an intellectual disagreement between medieval inquisitors and modern scholars. Rather, they point to a broader problem of historical practice, namely the potential distance between our subjects’ conceptions of what “religion” could accommodate and our own. As medieval inquisitors themselves were regularly reminded, “religion” is not always what one thinks it is, or should be. “Religion,” etymologically born from the Latin *religare* (“to bind” or “to tie”) and signifying in classical Rome a reverent bond to the gods manifested both inwardly and through external cult, has mutated from the *religio* of the Middle Ages, which primarily denoted the monastic life but also (particularly in cooperation with companion words like “law” and “sect”) gestured toward the broader sense of a binding system.<sup>55</sup> Jonathan Z. Smith has surveyed the rapidly and consistently revised conceptions of religion since the medieval period, as confessional diversity, exploration, and colonialism saw the complete supercession of faith over practice.<sup>56</sup> In modern thinking, religion, burst from any antique and medieval

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believed he could be saved in a heretical sect despite his knowledge that the church “persecuted” them; for example, Doat 32, fols. 114r, 116v; “Directoire à l’usage des inquisiteurs Aragonais,” 322 (where execution was expressly linked to this “persecution”). On the other hand, Bernard Gui referred to Bernard Délicieux’s movement (see below) as a “persecution of inquisitors.” Gui, *De fundatione*, 204. The quality of “persecution,” then, was for these medieval ecclesiastics another matter for discernment, the authority to define, which they also possessed.

<sup>54</sup> A forceful expression of the quantitative terms and the starkness of the tolerance/intolerance debate is found at the conclusion of Cary J. Nederman, review of *Texts and the Repression of Medieval Heresy*, ed. by Caterina Bruschi and Peter Biller, *Speculum* 79 (October 2004): 1047–1048.

<sup>55</sup> And thus *religio* is related etymologically and in spirit and meaning to *obligatio*. P. G. W. Glare, ed., *The Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1982), 1605–1606; Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, eds., *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1879), 1556; J. F. Niermeyer, ed., *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus*, J. W. J. Burgers, rev. edn. (Leiden, 2002), 1182. Peter Biller, “Words and the Medieval Notion of ‘Religion,’” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 36 (July 1985): 351–69, responding to John Bossy, “Some Elementary Forms of Durkheim,” *Past and Present* (May 1982): 3–18, sketches the numerous ways in which the medieval use of *religio* transcended monasticism and approached the “system” presented by Bossy as an early modern development. See also Biller, “Popular Religion in the Central and Middle Ages,” in Michael Bentley, ed., *Companion to Historiography* (London, 1997), 221–46.

<sup>56</sup> Jonathan Z. Smith, “Religion, Religions, Religious,” in M. C. Taylor, ed., *Critical Terms for Religious Studies* (Chicago, 1998), 269–84. Philippe Buc has observed the pained cleaving of ritual and religion in the Reformation’s aftermath, from which was born the influential concept of religious ritual as chiefly a supremely functional integrator of society: Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between*

restraints, has become expansive and subjective. While Emile Durkheim argued that one should define religion “from reality itself” and proceeded confidently to do so, Smith has remarked that we can be confident only that scholarly attention constitutes and “creates” religion.<sup>57</sup>

And our delineations of “religion” necessarily govern our delineations of the field of religious history. Consequently, the history of religion has similarly altered in its constitution and in the topics falling under its purview. Although historians of religious life and practice have generally studied a process of “binding” between individuals or societies and the (diversely construed) divine, they have not uniformly defined the content and character of that bond. For example, as we see in medieval history, the once-dominant assumption that religious history meant the study of ecclesiastical institutions weakened as Americanists and Europeanists of various periods attended more closely to the role of belief as an agent in history.<sup>58</sup> We then see a double instability, as historians of religion are confronted by both the historical mutations of *religio* and the semantic vulnerabilities to which all taxonomic categories of historiography are susceptible. These twin instabilities of “religion” and of “religious history,” as in other analytical fields such as “society” and “gender,” then create space for the play of historians’ subjective assumptions. At all times the constructions of religion, and thence of its history, are reflective and indicative of the interests, premises, demographics, and even prejudices of their constructors. Because of *religio*’s consistently variable definitions, both in history and in historians’ conceptions, this process of construction risks disjunction between the “religion” of a period and the “religion” presumed by that period’s students. Historians of religion (with or without confessional allegiances) encounter not only this danger of mis-fit, but also more uniquely the difficulty of “‘understanding’ a time organized as a function of a standard of comprehension other than ours.”<sup>59</sup>

Both religion and its history are unstable and have changed in definition and character throughout their respective pasts. The very process of defining religion and its history thus opens gaps, implies exclusion. Medieval inquisitions, surely, have fallen into one gap between divergent constructions of religion. But even if we acknowledge that inquisitors could reconcile “belief” and “persecution” in their peculiar vision of souls subject to divine power, we have not learned enough about the religious dimensions of persecution in the later Middle Ages and thus have not

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*Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton, N.J., 2001), 164–202. Talal Asad critiques attempts to form a universalized definition of religion as occluding the deep interpenetration of religious practices and their status with “historically distinctive disciplines and forces.” Asad, *Genealogies of Religion*, 27–54, quotation 54.

<sup>57</sup> Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, Karen E. Fields, trans. (New York, 1995): 22; Jonathan Z. Smith, *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown* (Chicago, 1982): xi; and Smith, “Religion, Religions, Religious,” 281.

<sup>58</sup> Hans G. Kippenberg, *Discovering Religious History in the Modern Age*, Barbara Harshav, trans. (Princeton, N.J., 2002). On the field-wide incorporation of belief into the history of religion, see Thomas Kselman, ed., *Belief in History: Innovative Approaches to European and American Religion* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1991).

<sup>59</sup> This is the problem raised by Bossy, “Some Elementary Forms,” and taken up by Biller, “Words.” See also Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, Tom Conley, trans. (New York, 1988), 137–41, quotation 138.

fully confronted the larger problem and meanings of disjuncture among divergent conceptions of "religion." We cannot ignore the souls and bodies that were the targets of this discipline: those Christians whose souls were examined with such diligent care, whose bodies became tools of atonement, and who were presented with exactly one schema of divine and earthly order, which was only rejected at one's peril. For medieval heresy inquisitions saw violence inflicted *upon* inquisitors as well as *by* them. The resistance to which Humbert of Romans attested was manifested on occasion through violence—riot, sabotage, attacks, and murder—against inquisitors, their staffs, and even the religious communities to which inquisitors belonged.<sup>60</sup> Moreover, such violence was usually instigated by laypeople who professed little or no devotion to heresy. This violent resistance may seem easily explicable: an expression of political, social, or class tensions; hostility toward interlopers who divided communities with their blockades of questions; the plain desperation to halt cruelty, exploitation, and the imposition of religious uniformity. Certainly the historiographical premise has been that this relationship was thoroughly one of opposition, and it seems self-evident that people would chafe at such intrusive investigation into their faith, such punishment for divergence from religious norms, such power that was asserted by its holders to be ultimately holy.

But like inquisition, this violent resistance also took place within a distinct "society," a spiritual geography we may not share. It was itself religious.<sup>61</sup> It was housed in inquisition's structure of divine authority and punishment, vested in the same garb of justice, piety, and sin. Like that office, it originated within and responded particularly to (and perhaps in turn influenced) a contextualized "binding" to God, either disrupting or confirming not social, but rather divine, order. This resistance to inquisition, then, also opens a gap that helps to indicate further the very mutability of religion and belief by showing how religious worlds are made and remade, both by persons in the past as well as by their historians.

VIOLENCE AGAINST inquisition quickly followed its establishment in southern France, and the attacks upon inquisitors, their supporters, and their religious communities in the towns of Albi, Toulouse, and Narbonne in the 1230s all illustrate, among however much rage, that they were founded upon the reasoned conviction that the work was not only intrusive, but also unjust.<sup>62</sup> Later violence indicates that these events were not merely an instinctive response to the new office

<sup>60</sup> See the table in Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 113–15 and his discussion 91–140.

<sup>61</sup> Given has characterized such violence against inquisition as "the political practices . . . of subordinated groups within society," which were in turn part of a dialectical process of political power. Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 91.

<sup>62</sup> The Albi incident took place on June 15, 1234; after the inquisitor Arnaud Cathala ordered the exhumation and postmortem burning of a supposed heretic, he was seized and beaten by a large crowd. "Récit des troubles d'Albi," in Pelhissou, *Chronique*, 112–23. The Toulouse uprising against the inquisitor Guillaume Arnaud led to not only his expulsion but also the violent ejection of the entire Dominican community from the town. Pelhissou, *Chronique*; Gui, *De fundatione*, 49–50. The mob violence and civil strife in Narbonne, which began in 1234 after the Dominican inquisitor known only as Friar Ferrier attempted to arrest a suspect, lasted until 1236 and included the sacking of the Dominican house. Charles Delpoux, "L'inquisition à Narbonne," *Cahiers d'études Cathares*, 2d ser., 84 (1979), 29–37; Richard Wilder Emery, *Heresy and Inquisition in Narbonne* (New York, 1941); Guiraud, *Histoire de l'inquisition*, 2: 65–73.



of inquisition nor the result of lingering hostility and tensions after the anti-Cathar Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229). It demonstrates also the greater clarity, refinement, and complexity of the religious logic of lay violence against inquisition, which could well result from the induration of the spiritual geography presented by inquisition since the 1230s, itself a specialized heir of Christianity's autochthonic discourse of good, evil, sin, and repentance. Although instances of anti-inquisitorial violence surely interacted with local, disparate circumstances, connecting filaments weave imaginative texture that displays religious meaning. The fact that violence was inconsistent—inquisitions more often took place calmly without it—underscores that the issue here is not “violence against inquisition” per se.<sup>63</sup> It is exactly that inconsistency, the particular circumstances and judgments that spurred riots and attacks, that are fruitful for us.

Let us look in detail at one instance. The protracted tumult against inquisitions in Albi and Carcassonne that lasted from the mid-1280s to the early 1300s centered around charges of inquisitors' rank greed, corruption of records, irresponsible torture, and conscious punishment of the innocent. An early sally occurred in 1284, when, fearful of the inquisitor Jean Galand and recent testimony inculcating several citizens, some prominent men in Carcassonne plotted to steal inquisitorial registers.<sup>64</sup> After this plan failed, a subsequent appeal to Rome and to the Dominican prior in Paris charged the inquisitor with diverging from the lawful, traditional procedure of the office and of his predecessors. Jean unfairly prosecuted “Catholic and religious persons” in a town that was faithful and orthodox in its piety, charity, liturgy, and in “expelling all heretical pravity.” The doleful result was that “justice completely perishes, and iniquity rules.”<sup>65</sup> After what were perceived to be similar outrages by the inquisitor Nicholas d'Abbeville, two citizens of Carcassonne involved in the register plot led demonstrations against inquisitions that began in 1295. The inquisitor Bernard Gui, who wrote of these events in his history of the Dominican communities in southern France, was the local prior as “the mad sickness of Carcassonne” raged “against the office of inquisition and the brothers,” whom the citizens shunned “as excommunicates” and “derided” with “words and sometimes wounds.” After Nicholas d'Abbeville excommunicated the bourg, the town's consuls capitulated in 1299, and a formal reconciliation was prepared.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>63</sup> While Ullmann credited this rarity of “highly dangerous” resistance to the fact that “inquisitors were so elusive . . . they had an almost perfect organization,” this assertion of their sophistication and skill is untenable. Ullmann, “Historical Introduction,” 33.

<sup>64</sup> On Jean Galand and the 1284 plot, see Jean-Marie Vidal, *Un inquisiteur jugé par ses 'victimes': Jean Galand et les carcassonnais (1285–1286)* (Paris, 1903); Michèle Lebois, “Le complot des Carcassonnais contre l'inquisition (1283–1285),” in *Carcassonne et sa région* (Montpellier, 1970), 159–63; Guiraud, *Histoire de l'inquisition*, 2: 303–33; Georgene W. Davis, ed., *The Inquisition at Albi, 1299–1300: Text of Register and Analysis* (New York, 1948), 51–55; Lea, *History of the Inquisition*, 2: 59–60; Alan Friedlander, *The Hammer of the Inquisitors: Brother Bernard Délicieux and the Struggle against the Inquisition in Fourteenth-Century France* (Leiden, 2000), 16–18. Vidal was skeptical about the reality of this plot; Lebois and Friedlander argue for its existence.

<sup>65</sup> The Latin text of the appeal is in Vidal, *Un inquisiteur*, 39–43. It is difficult to maintain a dual lens of skepticism in interpreting these events: that is, to argue simultaneously that both inquisitors and townspeople misled, the former by protesting that they pursued genuine heretics rather than abused their offices for the ends of power and wealth, and the latter by protesting here that they were pious Catholics.

<sup>66</sup> Gui, *De fundatione*, 103. Bernard Gui (as prior of Carcassonne) and Foulques de Saint-Georges



However, Nicholas soon conducted a series of trials in collusion with the unpopular bishop of Albi, Bernard de Castanet, in which several leading citizens of that town were condemned. Heated opposition again arose in Carcassonne, and the Franciscan friar Bernard Délicieux assumed leadership of the anti-inquisitorial movement.<sup>67</sup> Around this time, Foulques de Saint-Georges, the Dominican prior of Albi serving as Nicholas d'Abbeville's lieutenant, and Estève Auriol, a criminal judge in Carcassonne, were met with violence when they tried to cite at the Franciscan house in Carcassonne some persons to appear before the inquisitor. After Bernard Délicieux and fellow Franciscans asked the men why they "maliciously" deemed "good and Catholic people" to be heretics, a "great commotion" of people arrived "with arms." Hemmed in by an angry crowd, and judging it preferable to attempt escape "than . . . be killed," the fearful Foulques and Estève "quickly receded, and . . . a great multitude . . . followed . . . shouting and throwing rocks at them."<sup>68</sup> In addition, Bernard Délicieux helped Albi's citizens appeal directly in 1301 to King Philip IV. Philip's subsequent restrictions on the bishop and the inquisitors, including a suspension of Foulques de Saint-Georges, did not prevent further violence.<sup>69</sup> Bernard Gui dolorously recounted the indignities that Albi's citizens, "stirred up" by the prosecutions of those they maintained to be "innocent and blameless," visited on inquisitors and bishop at the time of this appeal. Among other "vituperations," "threats," and acts, a crowd set upon the bishop and shouted for his death. Townspeople cursed and attacked local Dominicans, forcibly ejecting them from Albi's churches in 1302. According to Bernard Gui, who saw such actions as "perfidy" and "dementia," the brothers feared to go about the city.

On August 4, 1303, Bernard Délicieux preached a sermon in Carcassonne on the text "Jesus, seeing the city, wept over it, saying, 'If you had known . . .'" (Luke 19:41), and announced that according to the reconciliation of 1299, all the citizens were admitted heretics. He fumed against those who had "sold out" the town to injustice, and told the congregation "we must proceed against [them] by seizing, killing, and destroying them and their entire root."<sup>70</sup> A large crowd rioted and a

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(as prior of Albi) served as witnesses; Friedlander, *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi*, 313–18. This transcript of Bernard Délicieux's sensational trial in 1319 for a rash of charges that included impeding and defaming the inquisition, a failed plot to strip King Philip IV of his authority over Carcassonne, and the murder of Pope Benedict XI through poison and black magic is a key source on the protracted uprising.

<sup>67</sup> The record of these trials, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Fonds Latin 11847, has been edited: Davis, *Inquisition at Albi*. For background and narrative on the resistance, see Friedlander, "Introduction," to *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi*, 1–52; Friedlander, *The Hammer of the Inquisitors*; and Friedlander, "Bernard Délicieux, le 'marteau des inquisiteurs,'" *Heresis* 34 (2001): 9–34; Jean-Louis Biget, "Autour de Bernard Délicieux: Franciscanisme et société en Languedoc entre 1295 et 1330," *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 70 (1984): 75–93; Yves Dossat, "Les origines de la querelle entre Prêcheurs et Mineurs provençaux: Bernard Délicieux," in *Franciscains d'Oc* (Toulouse, 1975), 315–54; Michel de Dmitrewski, "Fr. Bernard Délicieux, O.F.M.: Sa lutte contre l'inquisition de Carcassonne et d'Albi, son procès, 1297–1319," *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 17 (1924): 183–218, 313–37, 457–88; 18 (1925): 3–32; Barthélemy Hauréau, *Bernard Délicieux et l'inquisition albigeoise (1300–1320)* (Paris, 1877); Lea, *History of the Inquisition*, 2: 61–103.

<sup>68</sup> Friedlander, *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi*, 250–51; for the dating of this incident, Dossat, "Les origines de la querelle," 325–26, and Dmitrewski, "Fr. Bernard Délicieux," 194.

<sup>69</sup> Friedlander, *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi*, 196–97.

<sup>70</sup> Friedlander, *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi*, 68, 78–79, 245. Bernard defended himself at his trial by pleading that this was the mandated lectionary text; Friedlander, *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi*, 84.

mob stormed the inquisitorial prison, forcibly freeing persons they believed were incarcerated unjustly. Numerous people shouted "let the prison be destroyed!" and one bystander "feared" that unless the captives were freed, "the tumult of the people would not cease."<sup>71</sup> Although the new inquisitor, Geoffroy d'Ablis, denied that the agreement named all townspeople as abjured heretics, more violence followed.<sup>72</sup> The Carcassonnais were so incensed that here, too, few Dominicans dared to go out. A mob attacked the order's convent during a conventual mass; images on the church's portico were defaced or destroyed; and men "threw rocks, breaking with them the stained glass and the windows." One citizen had seen "many rocks upon the altar of a certain chapel [in the church]," and credited the destruction to persons who had heard Bernard's repeated preaching against inquisitors and their Dominican brethren.<sup>73</sup> However, this anti-inquisitorial movement faltered with the accession of a Dominican pope, Benedict XI, and a related shift in Philip IV's eagerness to curb inquisitorial and episcopal efforts against supposed heretics. After a failed plot to usurp the king's authority in Carcassonne, the consequent hanging of fifteen consuls in 1305, and Bernard Délicieux's imprisonment by the Franciscans, the extended uprising ended.

Should we agree with Bernard Gui that this violence was "dementia" and "madness"? In both communities there were persistent and vocal reports of injustice, crime, corruption, licentiousness, rapacity: in short, of unholy malversation, where inquisitors wielded the office wickedly to oppress the good and to satisfy various material lusts.<sup>74</sup> The several sermons preached by Bernard Délicieux "to stir up the people" fomented and disseminated the public's charges—we might say *mala fama*—against inquisitors. Within this constant plaint sounded also the converse of inquisitorial wickedness, namely, the piety and orthodoxy of those punished. In one sermon, Bernard Délicieux bemoaned that "inquisitors conducted themselves falsely against many good and upright men and unjustly detained them;" they arrested not heretics, but those they knew to be "true Catholics." Inquisitors, in

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August 4 in 1303 was the tenth Sunday in Pentecost; Adriano Cappelli, *Cronologia, Cronografia e Calendario perpetuo* (Milan, 1930), 68–69. When mass readings became standardized in 1570, Luke 19:41–47 was prescribed for the ninth Sunday after Pentecost. It is difficult then to tell if later memory was faulty about precisely what week the sermon took place or if local custom fixed the readings differently. Regardless, whether resulting from lectionary or from choice, the pericope was an apt homiletic theme. While it superficially alluded to the townspeople's ignorance about the reconciliation in 1299, it also warned of divine retribution through earthly violence.

<sup>71</sup> Friedlander, *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi*, 252, 281.

<sup>72</sup> Geoffroy's defensive explanation to the citizens, issued on August 10, 1303, is contained in Doat 34, fols. 21r–24v. On this inquisitor, see Charles Peytavie, "L'inquisition de Carcassonne: Geoffroy d'Ablis (1303–1316), le Mal contre le mal," in Albaret, *Les inquisiteurs*, 89–99, and Annette Pales-Gobilliard, ed., *L'inquisiteur Geoffroy d'Ablis et les cathares du comté de Foix (1308–1309)* (Paris, 1984). The blanket inculpation as heretics was not just a matter of pride. It would mean that any persons found guilty of heresy in the future would be branded as relapsed and thus liable for the death penalty. As Bernard Délicieux reputedly said in the St. Vincent sermon, after the agreement, "nothing remains to the people of this town except fire." Friedlander, *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi*, 69, 245.

<sup>73</sup> Friedlander, *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi*, 70, 231, 296, 301; Gui, *De fundatione*, 102–103; Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 134.

<sup>74</sup> Friedlander, *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi*, 94, 96, 165, 189. It was discussed at the trial whether the charges of notorious wickedness were mere slander invented by Bernard Délicieux; regardless, they may have been believed by those who embraced violence.

fact, “decatholicized Catholics.” This neologism, to “decatholicize,” is crucial.<sup>75</sup> The scandal was not that inquisitors fulfilled their office by investigating and imposing penances upon those putatively deviating from orthodoxy. Rather, they inverted the language and structure of God’s order by branding good as evil, and, like heretics, masked with phantasmatic goodness their own “depravity” (as Bernard described it in a sermon, alluding however intentionally to the ubiquitous “inquisitor of heretical depravity”).<sup>76</sup>

Moreover, Bernard used some familiar imagery to present the metaphysical dimension of this conflict, in which inquisitorial abuses were not merely offenses by powerful men against vulnerable citizens, but ultimately bellicose strikes by the devil. In the riotous Carcassonne sermon, Bernard recounted an *exemplum* in which two butchers regularly pilfered rams grazing in a beautiful meadow, until the animals determined to use their horns to attack the marauders. Bernard helpfully glossed the text for the congregation: the meadow was Carcassonne, “green through the Roman Catholic faith;” the rams were its citizens. Finally, there were the “butchers, that is, inquisitors . . .”<sup>77</sup> The same sermon exhorted the “good gardener” to weed out the “wicked grasses” from among the good, which closely echoed the parable of the wheat and the tares (Matthew 13:24–30).<sup>78</sup> More directly, one citizen of Carcassonne heard Bernard warning the congregation in another sermon that

“The time has come about which it is written that there would come certain people dressed in clothing in the likeness of sheep, having within the hearts of wolves, eating and devouring people.” [The witness added that because] of [these] words . . . the populace was stirred up, the witness believing that friar Bernard meant by these words, that is, by “devouring wolves,” inquisitors and those favoring the office of inquisition.<sup>79</sup>

The layman Jean de Picquigny, who led the storming of the Carcassonne prison, echoed this imagery when he wrote to several town consuls about his excommunication for his role in the uprising. He reported he had been wickedly and “impiously” slandered by the Dominicans, “lying, perfidious, and iniquitous men, who under the garb of sheep hide on the inside the rapacity of wolves . . . not true Preachers but more truly prevaricators of divine law and of infallible truth.”<sup>80</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Friedlander, *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi*, 201, 303, 114. Similarly, “no Christian, however much a Catholic . . . could remain secure” if those inquisitors and the Dominicans generally had jurisdiction over the office. Bernard provocatively claimed that if Peter and Paul themselves appeared before inquisitors they would be found guilty of heresy. Friedlander, *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi*, 164, 174, 207. *Decatholicare* thus echoed *hereticare*, the procedure by which Cathars reputedly transformed a fellow-traveler *credens* into an elite *perfectus*. See, for example, the lengthy consultation in Doat 32, fols. 164r–240r, on a series of procedures conducted in 1330 against several dead putative heretics, which demonstrates the continuing force in inquisitorial imagination of this supposed rite.

<sup>76</sup> Friedlander, *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi*, 72.

<sup>77</sup> Friedlander, *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi*, 78–79, 195; for parallels in other *exempla*, see Frederic C. Tubach, *Index exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* (Helsinki, 1969), 404.

<sup>78</sup> Friedlander, *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi*, 195, 296. See also the testimony of Guillelmus Rabaudi, “the wicked grasses were to be rooted out from the garden by the good gardener, so that they could not suffocate the good grasses,” 238; and of Bernard Trevas, “the wicked grasses were to be rooted out by the good gardener, and he called the wicked grasses certain men from the *bourg* of Carcassonne who commonly were thought to support the office of inquisition,” 288.

<sup>79</sup> Friedlander, *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi*, 292.

<sup>80</sup> Friedlander, *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi*, 281–82.

Wheat and tares, sheep and wolves. Particularly since Pope Innocent III's *Vergentis in senium* (1199), which defined heresy as treason against God, the parable of the wheat and the tares was often repeated in inquisitorial literature, interpreted and presented as divine approbation—and even as active charge—to eradicate from the church unwholesome elements that refused correction.<sup>81</sup> The image of wolves clothed as sheep (Matthew 7) was also a topos in inquisitorial discourse, admonishing faithful Christians that heretics similarly masked their evil habits with a disguise of piety and, more seriously, served Satan in leading the good astray and sabotaging their salvation. Both texts, and their supposed mandate for expulsion and violence, also reached the laity. In the Dominican Humbert of Romans's instructions for inquisitorial sermons, he recommended that inquisitors cite the parable of the wheat and the tares in order to justify this work, and compare heretics to wolves disguised as sheep, in order to invert any conceptions that heretics were pious and Catholics unchristian. Bernard's *exemplum* of the rams seized by butchers even recalled Humbert's advice that preaching inquisitors inform listeners that heretics resembled the foxes who craftily stole their chickens at night, itself a homier version of the common ecclesiastical comparison of heretics to the little foxes who spoiled the vines (Song of Solomon 2:15).<sup>82</sup> Bernard Délicieux's sermons, then, adopted exactly the themes and strategies that inquisition had long used publicly to justify itself and to cultivate the agreement that its tasks were holy works, the reconciliation of sinners, the establishment on earth of God's own justice. While Bernard may have known Humbert's preaching manual, it is more likely that this imagery had long borne such public, inquisitorial currency that it had entered the cultural vocabulary of heresy and orthodoxy, good and evil.<sup>83</sup> Jean de Picquigny's deployment of such imagery in a letter to fellow laymen underscores this.

Here, as in other incidents of anti-inquisitorial violence, significant lay antipathy was the engine. Although the cleric Bernard presented this imagery, the congregation did its own work of glossing, determining that the "wolves" guised as sheep were not heretics, but instead inquisitors and their supporters. These events thus gesture toward the common inquisitorial problem of discernment: the constant, troubling need to discriminate true piety from false, alliances with God from those with the devil, orthodoxy from heresy. But discernment was not just the work of clerics. We see here the force, and some repercussions, of the laity's ability to disagree with ecclesiastical and inquisitorial identifications of the truly wicked, the rightfully punished, and the "legitimate authority" holding power from God. Some citizens saw a world inverted in justice and authority. And the alchemy by which

<sup>81</sup> Innocent III, *Vergentis in senium*, in E. Friedberg, ed., *Corpus iuris canonici*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1879–1881), 2: 782–83.

<sup>82</sup> Humbert of Romans, *De eruditione predicatorum*, 554–55. Inquisitorial sources indicate that some preachers indeed followed Humbert's advice and used this biblical imagery in practice; see, for example, Doat 28, fol. 193v.

<sup>83</sup> Friedlander refers to these references to evil grasses as "new, strange themes" in Bernard's preaching; they were neither new nor strange to inquisitors and those who heard *their* sermons. Friedlander, *Hammer of the Inquisitors*, 127. Bernard Délicieux appears to have been quite aware of their inquisitorial use; during his trial he argued unpersuasively that "by 'evil grasses' he meant heretics, whom he encouraged to be exterminated if they were discovered." Friedlander, *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi*, 195.



Catholics were transformed into heretics and divine justice into injustice constituted its own devilish crime. When inquisitors committed malfeasance, were so palpably unjust, and tormented Catholics, they not only abrogated their charge, but thence became "sinners," "heretics," and "devils."<sup>84</sup> The grave sin of deviation, of departures from God's right order, was then justifiably met with an earthly violence that both prepared for, and also mirrored, God's own violent punishment of transgressors. As we have seen, this rhetoric and reasoning underlay the inquisitorial office itself and more specifically execution, which glanced backward to biblical precedents and forward to eternal damnation. Violence against inquisition could thus constitute a thoughtful, righteous usurpation by laypeople of the inquisitorial office and of its putatively divine mandate to correct the errant and to punish the incorrigible. Just as inquisition should not be reduced to medieval "cruelty," impious hypocrisy, or political strategy, popular violence against inquisition was neither bound to an inescapable, monolithic mentality, nor was a mob's irrational frenzy. In these acts, careful choices were made and rationales formed: violence responded not to the very fact of inquisition in all places and times, but to exactly those events by which the office appeared to violate, rather than to implement, God's justice. They were the opposite of irrationality.<sup>85</sup>

Laypeople could invest what we may read as plain acts of protest with precisely the transcendently dazzling, anagogical meanings inquisitors had created. Violence against inquisition indeed echoes those polemical, popular, and even historiographical judgments, about which we spoke above, of inquisition's corrupt and "irreligious" nature. And this lay violence, of course, did not follow the formalized tracks of inquisitorial procedure, meeting inquisition at the point where that office had abandoned the reintegration of the contrite for the just punishment of the irredeemable. But there is nevertheless perceptible agreement here with inquisition's animating (and defensive) genius: that those who consciously abandoned God and his community had always been and ever would be punished by him, even with unimaginable pain, whether in the world beyond or here below. This substratal marriage of piety and violence in resistance to inquisition has significant consequences. If these acts indicate that some lay Christians accepted inquisition's spiritual geography of pain and punishment, that accord troubles our assumptions about inquisition, "orthodoxy," and "heterodoxy" in the later Middle Ages. It may blur an often sharp dichotomy formed in historiography between ecclesiastics and laity hopelessly divided by the different "cultural logics" that shaped and informed their respective religious mentalities. It disturbs a model of unfailing and mono-

<sup>84</sup> Lansing interprets another example of such naming, during the anti-inquisitorial resistance in Bologna in 1299, as rhetorical; it resulted from laypeople's recognition of "the political uses of heresy charges." Lansing, *Power and Purity*, 15.

<sup>85</sup> Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 46–48. This dynamic is, then, analogous to Natalie Zemon Davis's argument that the putative chaos and unthinking frenzy of Protestant and Catholic rioters in early modern France was, in fact, orderly violence that sought to defend doctrine and to supply, or correct, absent or failed mechanisms of justice. Faced with the perceived indolence or impotence of God's appointed deputies (magistrates, clergy) in the wake of profound religious deviation, men and women assumed for themselves the duty of exercising here below God's punishment through pain and death, rendering their violence not "pathological" and "mindless" but rather structured and perceived as legitimate. Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Rites of Violence," in Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays* (Stanford, Calif., 1975), 152–87.



lithic distance and opposition, in which inquisition only challenged and obstructed “genuine” lay religious beliefs.<sup>86</sup>

More importantly, by foregrounding the struggle over discernment, this pious violence points us to different questions, at a deeper level of interrogation, about what “persecution” tells us. James Given has shown that the religious violence of inquisition was not a unidirectional imposition of power and force upon laypeople by a clerical elite holding all legal and political cards. Yet the dramatically compelling dust kicked up by violent conflicts between inquisitors and laity hides other fruit. I would like to emphasize not the fact of mere “resistance” within a very real political-social matrix, but rather the assumption by laypeople of inquisitors’ religious authority perceptible in these disparate events and its repercussions for our knowledge of how religious worlds that uniquely understand “politics” and “society” are themselves defined and redefined. The dynamic of this resistance was more complex than “communities versus inquisitors”: the operations and contestation lay at a lower point where diverse people struggled over discernment and divine justice. Inquisitors’ assertions that only they could distinguish good from evil interrelated importantly with their claims to earthly (and heavenly) authority. But the religious meanings for inquisition and its violence constructed by clerics burst through the walls with which they were ideally contained within that office. Geoffroy d’Ablis’s frail response to Bernard Délicieux’s incendiary charges about the Carcassonne reconciliation insisted that he and his successors alone enjoyed the “power of interpreting” inquisitorial decisions and texts.<sup>87</sup> This was wishful thinking. Some laypeople agreed that heresy inquisitions could be conducted justly, and that the perfectly sincere Christian could adopt violence as religious duty, but were in emphatic discord that inquisitors were the sole, inerrant agents of divine justice. The multiform religious violence associated with heresy inquisitions was not only multidirectional. Its acts were also cogent articulations by all speakers in a heated, expansive conversation about the precise ways in which humans and their actions here below were bound to the divine.

Not all incidents of violence against medieval inquisitions necessarily shared a single, identical character, and this is not an exhortation that “religion” supplant “politics” or “class” as an essentialist, universal interpretive lens. It is rather an appeal to avoid reductive explanations and to acknowledge both the multiplicity of factors that led to rocks upon an altar and the peculiar religious world within which rocks were thrown. Complaints about the condemnation of a pious neighbor could interrelate with wider conflicts, say, over episcopal and civic powers and privileges.<sup>88</sup> But as with inquisition itself, it is worthwhile to consider how a believer’s

<sup>86</sup> Schmitt, *Holy Greyhound*, and Schmitt, “Religion, Folklore, and Society in the Medieval West,” in Lester K. Little and Barbara H. Rosenwein, eds., *Debating the Middle Ages: Issues and Readings* (Oxford, 1998), 376–87, quotation 377, the latter in response to Van Engen, “Christian Middle Ages.” Maureen Miller, while defending and limning the distinctive contours of clerical culture, remarks that this blunt opposition masks diversity and flattens out complexity; Miller, “Religion Makes a Difference,” 1095–1096. On the evolution of lay sentiment towards the prosecution of heresy, see Peter D. Diehl, “Overcoming Reluctance to Prosecute Heresy in Thirteenth-Century Italy,” in Waugh and Diehl, *Christendom and Its Discontents*, 47–66.

<sup>87</sup> Doat 34, fols. 24r–24v.

<sup>88</sup> Bernard de Castanet, the bishop of Albi, was unpopular not only because of his zealous support of inquisitions but also because of disputes over episcopal privileges; the uprising in Narbonne was

spiritual geography constituted another malleable and supple discourse from which acts could be born and with which they could be in negotiation. Within that geography, even the simplest and most transparent explanations for this violence—hate, vengeance, battles over influence and money—not only were unstable in themselves and in cooperation with other factors but also were colored by unfamiliar tints of meaning, embedded as they were in another, transcendent world with its distinctive character. Throwing rocks at an inquisitor and the flogging of a former heretic both occurred within a world that listed violence in the vocabulary with which God had ever spoken to those here below. In this divine-earthly grammar of pain were written permanent consequences, beyond terrestrial comprehension, for the sins of errant bodies and souls.

CAROLINE WALKER BYNUM has encouraged scholars to historicize exactly what shocks us. After the expansion of “religion” undertaken by Bynum and other historians of religious culture, we would not presume that, say, a starving saint did not mean what she said. We would not assume that she was only interested in social power, or that such a phenomenon is responsibly explained by comparisons to, or as a genealogical source of, modern anorexia. We would not discount a treatment of bodies unfamiliar to us as incompatible with belief.<sup>89</sup> We should similarly seek to contextualize the shocking subject of the religious character of persecution and violence in the Middle Ages, as we can open new vistas upon the medieval world by asking how they also reflected and formed a binding to the divine. To many lay Christians, perceived inquisitorial malversation, far from delegitimizing violence in God’s service, could instead prescribe it. Both inquisition and its resistance—however disparate in intention and justification they may initially appear; however much one may inspire sympathy more than another—may then equally disclose the peculiar ways in which a religious mentality undergirded (and mandated) persecution and repression in the particular world of the later Middle Ages. By acknowledging that framework, we may approach more closely both medieval *persecutio* and *religio*.<sup>90</sup>

Yet we cannot forget that “religion” is ever vulnerable and protean. Historians of religion practice not so much historicization as a strange kind of localization, a charting of the spiritual geography that is the true home of those they study, with its unique topography, culture, laws, and borders. But spiritual geographies, within which a diversity of acts take place and gain meaning, are not static and isolated. They are constructed by, and thence help to construct, their context; they are bound to “the world” as it stands in the peculiar present, but understand and shape it in particular ways. Historians should consider how the character and even the content of “religion,” and of specific religions, are themselves thoughtfully reshaped and

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bound up with conflicts between archbishop Pierre Amiel and the *bourg*, and between the *bourg* and the *cit  *.

<sup>89</sup> Caroline Walker Bynum, “Wonder,” *AHR* 102 (February 1997): 1–26.

<sup>90</sup> For an attempt to contextualize and to locate within belief another intersection of violence and religion, see Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999).

redefined in response to particular "institutional conditions" and individual wishes.<sup>91</sup> It is exactly the coexistence of multiple and mutable imaginings of power and piety in certain circumstances that is significant. Religion's persistent instability comes from that tectonic interpenetration of other world and real world, that pliancy of belief.

The final matter here is not, then, what we learn about the religious fabric of medieval persecution and how it was woven by churchmen and received by laypeople. Nor is it simply an exhortation for a historiography that looks past "power," "politics," and "society" to see also the force exerted upon their natures by belief. It is rather how the fashioning and refashioning of religious worlds is accomplished by historians as well as by our subjects. I appeal here for the contextualization of inquisition and its resistance, and of the marriage of violence and faith contracted by both. But that marriage, and inquisition's traditional distance from sincere belief in historiography, well evoke a problem far surpassing the European Middle Ages: the tension between the premises and interests of a period's students and their constructions of the past. Here we see the possible disjuncture between historians' visions of "religion" and those held by the persons in the past we have called before ourselves for interrogation. While all manifestations of these divine bonds are vulnerable, some, from ecstasy to suicide, are at greater risk of appearing utterly irreligious, of suffering from and contributing to that disconnect.<sup>92</sup> Yet few historians would necessarily evacuate all religious meaning from even the most destructive acts performed today in the name of belief. To do otherwise for our subjects is perhaps to disclose our lingering place within a discourse of enlightenment and progress, and the persistence, however unintentional, in our work of a pristine "true" or structurally stable religion. We may show ourselves to be the heirs of a teleological, almost apocalyptic, narrative in which religious faith has consistently "improved" by becoming increasingly reasonable, tolerant, irenic, and humane.

Yet "religion" and religions display not stability or linearity but instead immediacy, fragility, the reflections of contexts and desires, the variable uses of bodies and spirits. Whatever their convictions, historians of all periods and places should beware the instinct that prompted a reviewer to breathe a sigh of frank relief at evidence of a tolerant Middle Ages, praising "a book that makes the Middle Ages look good."<sup>93</sup> We should consider what investments we have in that image, what we are truly looking for when we look at the ways in which our subjects wove variegated bonds with variegated divines, or when we delicately avert our eyes from acts that

<sup>91</sup> Asad, *Genealogies of Religion*, 147.

<sup>92</sup> Another disturbingly cogent example from the medieval period is the collective suicide and murder (including infanticide) carried out by Rhineland Jewish communities in 1096, when they were threatened with forced conversion to Christianity by marauding bands inflamed by crusading rhetoric. While social strain or even hysteria may seem the most comprehensible explanations for this horrific violence, medieval Jewish chroniclers defined it specifically in religious terms. It was the choice of death rather than disloyalty to God, and hence was a "sanctification of the divine name." See Robert Chazan, *European Jewry and the First Crusade* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987). Jonathan Smith has noticed the recent adoption of the derogatory "cult," which serves as both a disciplinary boundary and a protector of "real" religion: Smith, *Imagining Religion*, 110.

<sup>93</sup> Gerald Christianson, review of *Worlds of Difference: European Discourses of Toleration, c.1100-c.1550*, ed. by Cary J. Nederman, *Church History* 71 (September 2002), 651.

seem too bizarre, too irrational, or even too cruel to be “religious.” Rather than the confident inquisitor, so sure of religion and master of its discernment, we must be the tremulous geographer, even as we discover that the world we have mapped is governed by a god who watches, torments, burns, and persecutes.

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## Imaging the French Revolution: Depictions of the French Revolutionary Crowd

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*An On-Line Collaboration Organized By*

JACK CENSER AND LYNN HUNT

POPULAR VIOLENCE DEFINED the French Revolution. Without crowds of lower-class people, there would have been no fall of the Bastille, no overthrow of the monarchy, no arrest of the Girondins, no spectacle of the guillotine. The middle-class deputies who led the French Revolution depended on popular support, which inevitably meant popular violence, but they also feared that violence, felt repulsed by it, and constantly maneuvered to get a handle on it. Popular violence pushed the Revolution forward, but it also threatened to dissolve it altogether in an acid wash of blood, political vengeance, and anarchic disorder.

Because of its centrality to events, the crowd drew a lot of attention during the French Revolution, though revolutionaries themselves did not use the term. Rather, they referred to the populace as simply *le peuple*, or “the people.” This nomenclature carried through most of the next century as historians still deployed this general term. Whether on the right like Edmund Burke and Hippolyte Taine or on the left like Jules Michelet or Alphonse Aulard, scholars saw the actions of the *peuple* as unified, almost mythic. The *peuple* “personified good or evil,” depending on the inclination of the author.<sup>1</sup>

Twentieth-century historians dismantled the dichotomy of romantic vs. villainous images and replaced them with a sociology. Who were these people? Why did they act as they did? George Rudé used the term “crowd” to break away from the unidimensional *peuple*, from the right wing’s terms of denigration (*la canaille* or dregs), and even from “the masses,” as Karl Marx had seen them in other contexts. Rudé showed that the French revolutionary crowd was composed of workers and the bottom rung of the commercial classes—master artisans, shopkeepers, and wage earners. Its members did not come from the bourgeoisie, which included

Many people contributed to this project, most significantly our collaborators—Vivian Cameron, Barbara Day-Hickman, Wayne Hanley, Joan Landes, and Warren Roberts—who penned essays, participated in on-line discussions, and helped shape the final product. In addition, the Center for History and New Media at George Mason University provided technical support, especially Mark Jones, Elena Razlogova, and Simon Kornblith. Center director Roy Rosenzweig was a great source of information, guidance, expertise, and general acumen regarding the marriage of history and media. Robert Townsend of the American Historical Association suggested this project, and Marjorie Censer helped in the final stages. Finally the University of California at Los Angeles Department of History and the Center for History and New Media provided crucial funding.

<sup>1</sup> George Rudé, *The Crowd in the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1959). The quotation is on page 4.



major merchants and manufacturers, members of the liberal professions, and the nobility.<sup>2</sup> Later in-depth studies undertaken by Albert Soboul and Richard Andrews sought to describe the crowd's attitudes, political views, and political structure in greater detail.<sup>3</sup> Even when they disagreed, Rudé, Soboul, and Andrews all participated in "history from below" and demonstrated that a focus on the crowd's members and their attitudes and political networks could transform the understanding of revolutionary politics. They insisted that the mobilized multitudes of ordinary people did not act incoherently or hysterically. Even the most horrifying violence often had some kind of rationale that could be explained by referring to the composition of crowds.

Although the pendulum has not yet swung all the way in the other direction, historians have begun to express a certain dissatisfaction with this view of the crowd as resolutely rational actor.<sup>4</sup> Rituals of violence did not always express, much less restore, community consensus. Large informal gatherings of people were sometimes mobs. Without returning to the discredited crowd psychology of Gustave LeBon, in whose view the member of a crowd "descends several rungs on the ladder of civilization" and becomes like "beings belonging to inferior forms of evolution," it is possible to make more of the ambivalence of contemporaries to crowd actions.<sup>5</sup> Colin Lucas took an important step in this direction in his 1988 essay comparing Old Regime and revolutionary crowds in France. He argued that "the crowd and the elites coexisted uneasily in the public space of power vacated by the monarchical state." While unable to do without popular pressure in the form of demonstrations and even attacks on public buildings (the Bastille and the Tuileries, for example), the revolutionary authorities nonetheless aimed to channel and eventually subdue crowd violence. They got control of the original spontaneous celebrations of revolution by orchestrating a system of coordinated revolutionary festivals, and in an unplanned but nonetheless significant nationwide movement, local revolutionary leaders set up a national guard to contain if not suppress crowd formation.<sup>6</sup>

We (Jack Censer and Lynn Hunt) propose to examine contemporary attitudes toward crowd violence in a very different manner. Lucas drew his analysis from the acts and pronouncements of the revolutionaries, even though as he admits, only the conservatives were willing to say what they really thought about the crowd. Mallet du Pan's denunciation of "the Huns, the Harudes, the Vandals, and the Goths . . . in our midst" would not have been ventured by an ardent supporter of the Revolution.<sup>7</sup> To get beyond this barrier of politically acceptable speech, we asked a group of specialists in French revolutionary imagery to write about depictions of

<sup>2</sup> Rudé, *The Crowd*, 178–90.

<sup>3</sup> Albert Soboul, *The Parisian Sans-Culottes and the French Revolution, 1793–4*, trans. Gwynne Lewis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964); Richard Mowery Andrews, "Social Structures, Political Elites and Ideology in Revolutionary Paris, 1792–94: A Critical Evaluation of Albert Soboul's *Les Sans-Culottes Parisiens en l'an II*," *Journal of Social History* 19, no. 1 (1985): 71–112.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Suzanne Desan, "Crowds, Community, and Ritual in the Work of E. P. Thompson and Natalie Davis," in Lynn Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989), 47–71.

<sup>5</sup> As quoted in Susanna Barrows, *Distorting Mirrors: Visions of the Crowd in Late Nineteenth-Century France* (New Haven, Conn., 1981), 169.

<sup>6</sup> Colin Lucas, "The Crowd and Politics between 'Ancien Régime' and Revolution in France," *The Journal of Modern History*, 60 (September 1988): 421–457, quote p. 451.

<sup>7</sup> Lucas, "The Crowd and Politics," 452.

crowd violence: Vivian Cameron, Barbara Day-Hickman, Wayne Hanley, Joan Landes, and Warren Roberts generously agreed to take a leap in the dark and join us in this experiment. Their essays constitute the heart of this project. The essays and the images and image tools are located on-line at <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/imaging>.

Rather than try to tackle the entire corpus of thousands of known images, most of them anonymous, many of them undated, and few of them cross-referenced between collections, we chose an initial group of some thirty prints, which was then revised to forty-two in consultation with the other authors. The number of prints is large enough to afford considerable variety of images and small enough to maximize intersections between the essays. These images do not constitute a representative sample in any statistical sense. Given the current state of knowledge about revolutionary visual images, a representative sample would be impossible to construct. No one knows exactly how many prints are extant. Michel Vovelle estimated that the Bibliothèque Nationale de France had in its collections approximately 55 percent of the visual images of the revolutionary period, but he meant 55 percent of the images available in France. The De Vinck collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale has 9,000 prints, the Hennin Collection 4,500, and the Qb1 Collection for the History of France 12,500.<sup>8</sup> Many of these are duplicates, but no one knows just how many. In addition, there are trophies, playing cards, cockades, calendars, maps, costumes, uniforms, crockery, snuffboxes, and letterheads, not to mention paintings that are held in various museums.

If the size of the corpus of images is unknown, then it is perhaps not very surprising that little is known about the audience reception of the images. Scholars know that the consumers targeted must have been various: prosperous subscribers to fine art commemorative collections of prints had little in common with artisans or shopkeepers who might just have afforded a 10 sous print when bread cost 3 sous a pound and a modest artisan earned 20 to 50 sous a day. Even more people would have seen engravings available in newspapers or pamphlets that could be purchased for as little as 2 sous, and no doubt many others still saw cheap woodblock prints pasted up along the walkways.<sup>9</sup> Attaching particular images to specific publics is very difficult, however, except where the artist, engraver, printmaker, and price are all known, which is true in very few cases. For the most part, audience has to be inferred from the medium, artistic quality, and thematic content of the image.

The chosen images come from two main sources: the Musée de la Révolution française in Vizille, France and the Library of Congress.<sup>10</sup> Without the generous collaboration of the Musée de la Révolution française, this study would not have been possible; they have a much larger collection of prints and other visual objects than any American institution. Our team picked many colored prints for our

<sup>8</sup> Michel Vovelle, ed., *La Révolution française: Images et récit, 1789–1799*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1986), 1: 13–14.

<sup>9</sup> Some of the research on audience is summarized in Vincent Milliot, *Les Cris de Paris ou le peuple travesti: Les représentations des petits métiers parisiens (XVII<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Paris, 1995), 322.

<sup>10</sup> The Bibliothèque Nationale de France has by far the largest collection of revolutionary prints, but the cost of reproducing them for our purposes was too high. Anyone wishing to carry out research on this topic must consult their collections, and we have on many occasions. The Musée Carnavalet in Paris also has many prints and engravings. These are now in the process of digitization and when available will be a marvelous on-line resource for researchers.

“sample” because these have not appeared very often in books and articles on the French Revolution; unlike illustrations in print forms, on-line reproduction of color images is no more expensive than black and white. We wanted to give some sense of the diversity of representations, so we included relatively unschooled black and white prints as well as more elaborate colored ones, coins and medals, and even a handful of German and English engravings for the sake of comparison. Some images do not focus directly on violent crowds, but they do all make some reference to violence, however oblique.

The usefulness of cd-rom and the World Wide Web for pedagogical and archival functions is now well established. Historians can find a wealth of digital representations of texts, pictures, film clips, and music for use in their classrooms, and many use electronic forms of periodicals, on-line text searching tools, or other kinds of on-line data collections for their research. Yet despite the explosion in these new electronic sources, scholarship in visual culture has benefited less from electronic media than scholarship in printed texts. It is much easier, for example to find every reference to “women” in Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s *Social Contract* than it is to trace changes in the representation of women in the work of an eighteenth-century French painter or engraver; visual images do not break down as nicely into comparable, searchable, syntactical units. Millions of images from every time and place have been digitized, but they still must be viewed one by one or at best as a “sheet” of thumbnail (miniaturized) versions. When images appear in on-line articles, they are usually called up as individual electronic pages. Comparison between images is still very undeveloped.

WE HAD THREE AIMS in organizing this on-line experiment: 1) to bring together a group of researchers for a discussion of images that is designed to advance scholarship, 2) to offer a new way of viewing and comparing images, and 3) to provide access to the images and the discussion of them to a much wider audience. It is already the case in mathematics, for instance, that mathematicians work on some problems collectively “on-line.” Is it possible to go beyond historians’ and art historians’ more customary model of the scholar-working-alone? We asked each of the authors to prepare an essay on depictions of the crowd using the preselected set of prints. Then we circulated the essays, including one co-authored by us, among the participants and began an on-line discussion of our separate but related findings. At the same time, a team of collaborators at George Mason University’s Center for History and New Media developed a useful method of presentation of images for this venture.

Although it is ultimately up to our readers to decide how well we have succeeded in achieving these goals, we do have some reflections to offer on the experiment as a whole. The last of our goals—wider dissemination of images and discussion of them—is easiest to evaluate: nothing compares to the resources made possible by the Internet. The Center for History and New Media had already made accessible hundreds of revolutionary images at <http://www.chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/>. Originally the companion to a textbook and cd-rom published by Penn State University

Press (co-authored by Censer and Hunt), the web site offers an essay on images for students and provides explanatory captions as well.<sup>11</sup> Although professors and students might use these images for further study, they would have to seek scholarly analysis of the images in print sources. In contrast, the essays here do not refer to as many different images, but they offer a more focused approach to one central aspect of revolutionary politics, even while emphasizing the variety of scholarly analyses that might be offered. Thus they disseminate not only the images themselves but also the scholarship about them.

Our second goal of offering a new way of viewing images is closely related to the wider dissemination of images and scholarship about them. The image tool offered on-line makes it possible to view many images side by side, to zoom in and out on any particular image, and even to drag one image over another for the sake of comparison. An unprecedented level of interactivity with the images is thus made possible; rather than the authors determining the order, magnification, or method of comparison of the images (the numbers assigned the images are merely cataloging devices), the reader has the capacity to make those decisions as he or she prefers. Moreover, the linking between image discussions in the different essays also makes it feasible for a reader to immediately see the points of agreement and disagreement, some of which the authors themselves might have missed. Theoretically, students and scholars anywhere on the globe can have access to the images and the scholarly discussion (although at this moment access is restricted to subscribers or users at subscribing libraries). In this way, a much wider conversation about history takes place, and the dialogue does not end with publication; it begins anew with virtually every "hit" on the site.

On-line presentation of images is not without its problems, however. Information that would be available to a researcher who saw the images in person is available only in captions: the size, the material or paper type, and the technique used (woodblock, etching, engraving, aquatint, mezzotint, gouache, to cite just some possible examples). Reading dimensions or names of techniques is very different from seeing them in person. Web presentation therefore tends to efface crucial differences between images even as it facilitates other kinds of comparisons. The Internet can serve as a gathering place for discussion and debate, but it cannot instantly remedy the defects in the sources. Much remains to be done in dating, describing, comparing, and interpreting the thousands of extant images from the French Revolution. The Bibliothèque Nationale de France has developed massive collections of prints and cartoons over the years, and some serious cataloguing was undertaken at the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>12</sup> But the "History of France" collection, for example, has never been systematically catalogued, and prints are often categorized according to the date of the event depicted rather than the date of the print itself. The celebration of the bicentennial of the French Revolution gave rise to a useful videodisk and many new scholarly works about revolutionary

<sup>11</sup> Jack R. Censer and Lynn Hunt, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Exploring the French Revolution* (University Park, Penn., 2001).

<sup>12</sup> The best known of these catalogues is Bibliothèque nationale (France). Département des estampes. Collection de Vinck, *Un siècle d'histoire de France par l'estampe, 1770-1871; Collection de Vinck; inventaire analytique*, 8 vols. (Paris, 1909- ).

prints and cartoons.<sup>13</sup> Yet no one has undertaken to compare prints across collections or to gather crucial information in one central place. Presumably the World Wide Web makes this dream a distinct possibility for the future.

THE WORLD OF SCHOLARSHIP does not usually move at a lightning pace, but the study of French revolutionary imagery may prove to be an exception to that rule. It is only in the last twenty years that scholars have shown much interest in the cartoons and political prints of the French Revolution. Most art historians considered politicization, terror, and constant warfare incompatible with the production of great art, and in any case, they did not consider prints or cartoons as fine art.<sup>14</sup> Historians rarely considered visual culture part of their regular repertoire of possible sources; at best, paintings or prints served as illustrations of points established through text-based research. In the last twenty years, this situation has changed dramatically. The fact that we could find so many collaborators already distinguished for their contributions to this field is a sign of how remarkable the change has been. But historians and art historians have all been laboring in our individual vineyards in isolation from each other.

What we as a group have gained from the scholarly collaboration is not so much definitive answers as newly pertinent questions. From the start we all agreed that prints and engravings could be considered just as significant sources of information as newspaper accounts or police archives. But the rules of interpretation of visual evidence are much less well developed, at least among historians. How, for example, did the tension between aesthetic and political concerns work in different media? Can political biases be deduced from aesthetic styles? Are engravings like paintings in this regard or very different because of their different audiences? In our on-line discussion, we spent considerable time (one cannot really speak of "spilling ink" on-line) going back and forth on interpretive issues: How important is determining authorial intent, even if you happen to know the name of the engraver or designer? How can we get at audience reaction in the absence of figures about print runs or text sources recounting reactions to the images, especially since such sources are virtually nonexistent? Does the very act of framing an event by depicting it somehow reduce both its immediacy and its threatening quality, or does it enhance these by fixing the event in memory? Readers will find different, if rarely entirely contradictory, answers to these questions in the essays.

Without anticipating the rich arguments of the essays available on-line, and endeavoring not to impose a Censer-Hunt line on all the others, we can offer a few preliminary conclusions. Artists and engravers, even those who had worked for the luxury market under the Old Regime, had no choice but to depict crowds in action once the Revolution began; the phenomenon simply could not be ignored, at least not before 1799 and the coming of Napoleon Bonaparte to power. Artists did have

<sup>13</sup> The videodisk accompanies *Images de la Révolution française* (Paris, 1990).

<sup>14</sup> "When the guillotine operates, when cannons and rifles talk, it is rare that art flourishes." Jean Tulard, Jean-François Fayard, and Alfred Fierro, *Histoire et dictionnaire de la Révolution française, 1789-1799* (Paris, 1987), the article Beaux-arts, p. 572 as quoted in Claudette Hoult, "La Gravure révolutionnaire et son impact sur les consciences," in Michel Grenon, ed., *L'Image de la Révolution française au Québec, 1789-1989* (Ville LaSalle, Québec, 1989), 173-82, quote p. 173.



considerable choice, however, in how they represented those crowds: at the moment of violence, before, or, more often, just after; as unruly savages or the well-ordered people; allegorically, satirically, or “realistically”; as commemoration or cautionary tale. Sometimes authorial intent mattered; other times, artists conveyed meanings almost inadvertently. The tension between intent and inadvertence is perhaps especially salient in depictions of women and lower-class men, since such representations had long been subject to stereotypes in popular prints. Could such stereotypes continue to exercise their power as the political landscape altered out of all recognition?

We see this collaborative experiment as part of a broader effort to expand the meaning of politics. Artistic representation of events and people was integral to the conflict over the meaning of the French Revolution. Political leaders in Paris or other cities did not just react to the individual artisans and shopkeepers making up the crowd or to the appearance and actions of large groups of people, especially when they turned violent. They also reacted to the celebrations, commemorations, and satires of them in visual images. Those images served as memory triggers and also helped build up competing narratives of the revolutionary process. Can anyone even now think of the French Revolution without recalling the guillotine, the women’s march to Versailles, or the Festival of Reason? These are not speeches or documents; they are actions immortalized in print and in printed images.

But we and our collaborators also learned some harder lessons in this process. Although students, and dare we say historians, sometimes like to think that they can read any visual image without help, in fact our exchanges forcefully reminded us that reading images is a skill much like reading texts. Individual political inclinations and general circumstances play a role. Convincing reading depends on knowing the codes of artistic representation in the late eighteenth century: the significant differences between genres and techniques, the generally accepted meanings of allegorical symbols, and even the specific visual rhetoric developed by individual artists and engravers. A woman is sometimes not just a woman but rather a Roman deity transformed into revolutionary symbol. Prints may communicate inadvertent and multivariate meanings, but scholars get those meanings wrong if they fail to learn the languages in which they speak. Historians may never find sufficient information about authorship or audience, but they can learn the collective codes that shape artistic representation, whether in a crude woodcut made for plastering on a wall or a fine line engraving sold by subscription to the well off.

Without claiming to have a last word, we do believe that these essays advance scholarship on the critical issue of crowd violence in the French Revolution. Studying images comparatively allowed our group of authors to “envision” the actions of crowds during memorable events, such as the fall of the Bastille. Though at times effaced by the artist or engraver, the emotions as well as the motions of the crowd become more evident in visual imagery. Even stylized images, particularly of women, tell us what contemporary image makers believed were recognizable roles in revolutionary society. Although perhaps more unstable in their meaning than texts, images give us a glimpse into states of consciousness that can be approached in no better way. But readers need not depend on our rendering of what this site

includes and ascertains; the essays, a conclusion that encapsulates the on-line discussion, and the visual images may all be consulted directly on the Web.

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# The Instruction of Great Catastrophe: Truth Commissions, National History, and State Formation in Argentina, Chile, and Guatemala

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GREG GRANDIN

TRUTH COMMISSIONS ARE curious, contradictory bodies.<sup>1</sup> They often raise hope of justice symbolized by the Nuremberg Trials yet operate within the impoverished political possibilities that exist throughout much of the post-Cold War world. They are rarely accompanied by prosecutions and often do not have the authority to subpoena or sanction. Rather than serving as instruments of justice, their value is seen, in the words of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, in their ability to construct a “historic bridge” between “a deeply divided past of untold suffering” and a “future founded on the recognition of human rights.”<sup>2</sup> Over the last two decades, truth commissions have been established in, among other places, Ghana, Nigeria, Chad, East Germany, and East Timor, where, it is commonly asserted, they marked the border between what those societies were—intolerant, fevered, arbitrary—and what they hope they have become—peaceful, impartial, protective.

Yet before being adopted as a universal rite to solemnize the distinction between political liberalism and diverse forms of violent, unrepresentative regimes, official inquiries, what came to be generally known as “truth commissions,” into human rights abuses indexed a unique moment in Latin American history, as the decline of socialist movements crossed paths with ascendant efforts to consolidate liberal constitutional rule. Often portrayed as a “transition to democracy,” Latin America’s move away from military dictatorships in the 1980s was less a transition than it was a conversion to a particular definition of democracy. In the decades after World War II, there prevailed throughout the continent a social understanding of the term, described by Leslie Bethell and Ian Roxborough as entailing a “commit-

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<sup>1</sup> For a summation of the history and work of truth commissions, see Priscilla B. Hayner, *Unspeakable Truths: Confronting State Terror and Atrocity* (New York, 2000). For legal and ethical debates surrounding their work, see Robert I. Rothberg and Dennis Thompson, *Truth v. Justice: The Morality of Truth Commissions* (Princeton, N.J., 2000).

<sup>2</sup> South Africa. Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report* (Cape Town, 1998), 1, chap. 5, par. 1.

ment to popular, more particularly working-class participation in politics, and social and economic improvements for the poorer sections of the population.”<sup>3</sup> By the 1960s, the violent suppression of the mass movements that stood behind this definition gave way to, on the one hand, militant, often armed, efforts, such as the Cuban Revolution, to restructure economic and social relations and, on the other, repressive anticommunist dictatorships that came to rule much of the continent. Beginning in the early 1980s and continuing over the next decade and a half, one country after another emerged from this cycle of crisis politics not only through a return to constitutionalism but also by abandoning social-democratic principles of development and welfare, opening up their economies to the world market, and narrowing their conception of democracy to focus more precisely on political and legal rights rather than on social ones.<sup>4</sup>

First instituted in Bolivia in 1982 with the modest Comisión Nacional de Desaparecidos and in Argentina in 1983 with the more extensive Comisión Nacional sobre la Desaparición de Personas, state-sanctioned investigations into past episodes of political terror were one part of this transition’s agenda to cultivate a notion of liberal citizenship that viewed the state not as a potential executor of social justice but as an arbiter of legal disputes and protector of individual rights. In their initial formulations in Bolivia and Argentina, truth commissions were to be supplemented with prosecutions of at least the worst atrocities. Yet in most countries, the military and its allies emerged victorious from the counterinsurgent wars of the 1970s and 1980s, disinclined to give up their self-assigned immunity. This intransigence brought about a shift in the logic that justified truth commissions, which moved their work out of the legal arena into the realms of ethics and emotions. Efforts to get at the “truth” of past episodes of political violence would have two functions, as José Zalaquett, a Chilean law professor who would go on to play an important role in Chile’s Comisión Nacional de Verdad y Reconciliación, argued in 1988. They would, first, repair the psychic damage caused by repression and, second, prevent such repression from occurring in the future. These two goals were said to be mutually dependent, in that officially sanctioned inquiries into the past, followed by public acceptance of the conclusions of those inquiries, would not only heal wounds but also help lay the foundation of liberal tolerance and thus prevent future transgressions. “The truth in itself is both reparation and prevention,” Zalaquett believed.<sup>5</sup>

Truth commissions therefore, while technically charged with examining the specifics of individual acts of violence according to accepted norms of national and international jurisprudence, came in fact to be concerned with the larger historical meaning of collective political repression.<sup>6</sup> Their final reports distill a violent past

<sup>3</sup> Leslie Bethell and Ian Roxborough, “Conclusion: The Postwar Conjuncture in Latin America and its Consequences,” in their edited *Latin America between the Second World War and the Cold War, 1944–1948* (Cambridge, 1992), 327–28.

<sup>4</sup> For the radicalization of postwar social democracy and its consequences, see Greg Grandin *The Last Colonial Massacre: Latin America in the Cold War* (Chicago, 2004).

<sup>5</sup> In Lawrence Weschler, *A Miracle, A Universe: Settling Accounts with Torturers* (New York, 1990), 243–45.

<sup>6</sup> Although methods and mandates differ from commission to commission, in general, commissions of inquiry into political violence in Latin America and elsewhere have gathered testimony from victims and witnesses in order to document the patterns by which state or non-state agents violated human

into a manageable, lucid story, one that portrays terror as an inversion of a democratic society, a nightmarish alternative of what lies ahead if it does not abide by constitutional rules. Yet the jurists who designed Latin America's first truth commissions approached historical interpretation with ambivalence, overtly denying, covertly embracing its import. As political liberals, they were suspicious of any effort to impose, softly or severely, a universal conception of the common good or to use history to justify militancy. Their liberalism demanded an acceptance of plural interpretations of the past.<sup>7</sup> But they also argued that a dramatic affirmation of liberal values was needed in order to prevent recurrences of state violence or institutional breakdown and they often turned to the past in order to define these values. Truth commissions therefore had to deal with history, but, being largely run by lawyers, they were concerned that too close an attention to realms of human activity comfortably associated with historical inquiry—an examination, say, of economic interests and collective movements, or the unequal distribution of power in society—might grant moral pardons or inflame political passions.<sup>8</sup> In most truth commissions, history was not presented as a network of causal social and cultural relations but rather as a dark backdrop on which to contrast the light of tolerance and self-restraint.

In other words, truth commissions, by presenting an interpretation of history as parable rather than as politics, largely denied the conditions that brought them into being. In Latin America, this meant portraying terror not as an extension of a reactive campaign against social-democratic nationalist projects, nor as an essential element in the consolidation of a new neoliberal order, but as a breakdown of social relations, as but one more instance in a repetitive cycle of "interruptions in democratic rule" that had taken place since independence in the early nineteenth century.<sup>9</sup> As such, truth commissions serve as modern-day instruments in the creation of nationalism and embody what Benedict Anderson describes as nationalism's enabling paradox: the need to forget acts of violence central to state formation that can never be forgotten. Among such acts, Anderson lists the Saint Bartholomew's Day and Paris Commune massacres in France, and, in the United States, the Civil War and the annihilation of Native Americans. To this inventory could be added the hundreds of thousands of individuals murdered, "disappeared," or tortured during Latin America's "dirty wars" of the 1970s and 1980s, victims of campaigns that put to a provisional end political conflicts and ideological debates over how society should be organized, particularly those concerning the relation-

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rights recognized by either national or international law. Commissions then made individual decisions on each case, similar to a panel of voting judges. When the investigative period ended, the commissions issued final reports that quantified violations, generally with the aid of a statistical database, and assigned global institutional responsibility. For a discussion of procedural questions related to the work of truth commissions, see Sanford Levinson, "Trials, Commissions, and Investigating Committees: The Elusive Search for Norms of Due Process," in Rotberg and Thompson, eds., *Truth v. Justice*.

<sup>7</sup> See the discussion in Mark J. Osiel, "Ever Again: Legal Remembrance of Administrative Massacre," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 144 (December 1995): 463–704, 501–520.

<sup>8</sup> For example, of the forty-five individuals, not including secretaries and computer specialists, that staffed the Chilean National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation, thirty-nine were lawyers, law school graduates, or law students.

<sup>9</sup> Carlos Nino, *Radical Evil on Trial* (New Haven, Conn., 1996), 32.



ship of the citizen to the state.<sup>10</sup> While such violence is an essential component of state consolidation, in order to serve the purpose of nationalism, it needs to be ritualized, as Anderson puts it, “remembered/forgotten as ‘our own.’”<sup>11</sup> The jurists who designed Latin America’s transition to democracy drew ethical instruction from violence in toto, but they refused, despite the protests of victims and their families, to sanction the collective political projects that were defeated by the violence.

This essay examines the role truth commissions play in “remembering/forgetting” exemplary terror, focusing on three examples, Argentina, Chile, and Guatemala. The evolution in the way that each approached the past emerged from, and thus revealed, the limits of the assumptions that underwrote Latin America’s turn toward constitutional rule and free-market policies, particularly assumptions regarding the relationship of violence to nationalism, state formation, and democratic rule. In the first instance, the intellectuals who designed Argentina’s post dictatorship human rights policy, while understanding political violence to be rooted in psychological and cultural patterns deeply entrenched in national history, refrained from making any historical judgment in either the trials or in the final report of the Comisión Nacional sobre la Desaparición de Personas (CONADEP). Criminal proceedings, it was believed, would serve as an alternative to dealing directly with the past, as their transparency and impartiality would contrast with the darkness and arbitrariness of the dictatorship years. In Chile, the second case, where the power of the military foreclosed the possibility of prosecutions, the Comisión Nacional de Verdad y Reconciliación had to confront history more explicitly. Yet the burden of reconciliation, which was now understood as the commission’s primary mandate as reflected in its title, demands a conception of history that takes national cohesion as its starting premise and posits violence as resulting from the dissolution of that unity. The commission’s final report, therefore, narrated the conflict leading to the 1973 coup that ended Chilean democracy and initiated Augusto Pinochet’s seventeen-year reign as resulting from an unraveling of the institutional and normative protections that bind society together. While the institutional repression that followed the coup was subject to scrutiny, the coup itself was redeemed as a tragic but necessary intervention that prevented complete national collapse. Finally, in Guatemala, the Comisión para el Esclarecimiento Histórico (CEH), which released its final report in 1999, operated in an even more constricted political terrain than its predecessors. Deep social divisions destroyed the conceit that either the past could be healed or future abuses prevented by appeals to national reconciliation. The commission likewise found the procedures used by previous truth commissions insufficient to account for the intensity of the violence that took place during a more than three-decade long civil war, which included an acute two-year phase of violence against Mayans that the commission ruled to be genocidal. The commission turned more fully to causal history to break out of this impasse. While it did posit authoritarianism, expressed

<sup>10</sup> For a definition of the Latin American Cold War as a struggle to define the relationship of the individual to society, see Grandin, *The Last Colonial Massacre*, 191–98.

<sup>11</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1991), 206.

in a virulent strain of racism, as propelling the violence, it situated this variable within a larger political economic framework and examined its radicalization in light of the imperatives of civil war. In so doing, it produced an analysis that understood terror not as a result of state decomposition, a failure of the institutions and morals that guarantee rights and afford protection, but rather as a component of state formation, as the foundation of the military's plan of national stabilization through a return to constitutional rule.<sup>12</sup>

FOLLOWING ITS DEFEAT by England in the Malvinas War of 1982, the disgraced Argentine military gave up power after six years of rule based on political terror.<sup>13</sup> Even before his 1983 election, Raúl Alfonsín, of the center-left Unión Cívica Radical, convened a human rights kitchen cabinet of intellectuals, drawn mostly from the law school and philosophy department of the University of Buenos Aires, to plan the policy he would follow to address the violence of the past regime.<sup>14</sup> After taking office, Alfonsín and his advisors, the most influential of whom were law professors Carlos Nino and Jaime Malamud-Goti, designed a legal strategy that attempted to reconcile a number of concerns: the need to respond to the demands, backed by large, vociferous street demonstrations, for justice; the desire not to provoke the still-powerful military high command; and their own understanding of the function of criminal jurisprudence in a liberal society.<sup>15</sup> In the first formulations of human rights policy by these politician-scholars, the establishment of a truth commission was part of a larger strategy that was to include prosecutions. They did not believe, as many later came to accept, that the quest for punishment had to be weighed against the search for truth. Although the new government insisted on the need to limit the scope of prosecutions, trials were nonetheless essential to their primary goal of preventing a return to military and repressive rule.<sup>16</sup> In setting their

<sup>12</sup> The CEH's historical analysis has implications for postmodern debates surrounding the validity of narrative as such, a debate this essay will not directly touch on but which was explicitly addressed by the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission. See Deborah Posel, "The TRC Report: What Kind of History? What Kind of Truth?" in *Commissioning the Past: Understanding South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Deborah Posel and Graeme Simpson, eds. (Johannesburg, 2001).

<sup>13</sup> Alejandro Dabat and Luis Lorenzano, *Argentina: The Malvinas and the End of Military Rule*, Ralph Johnstone, trans. (London, 1984).

<sup>14</sup> A group of moral and legal philosophers from the United States, including Ronald Dworkin, Thomas Nagel, and Owen Fiss, also became involved in the transition process, as observers and advisors. Nino, *Radical Evil*, 84.

<sup>15</sup> Mark Osiel, "The Making of Human Rights Policy in Argentina: The Impact of Ideas and Interests on a Legal Conflict," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 18 (May 1986): 135–80, 142. Both Carlos Nino and Jaime Malamud-Goti are the authors of a number of influential legal essays and books. See, for Nino, in addition to *Radical Evil*, *Los límites de la responsabilidad penal: Una teoría liberal del delito* (Buenos Aires, 1981); and *Ética y Derechos Humanos* (Buenos Aires, 1984) For Malamud-Goti: "Punishment and a Rights-Based Democracy," *Criminal Justice Ethics* 10, no. 2 (Summer/Fall 1991): 3–13, and *Game without End: State Terror and the Politics of Justice* (Norman, Okla., 1996).

<sup>16</sup> According to Nino, Alfonsín's primary objective was the "reinstatement of the rule of law and the prevention of such human rights violations in the future. Impunity was incompatible with these principles. While the pursuit of truth would be unrestricted, the punishment would be limited, based on deterrent rather than retributive considerations." Nino, *Radical Evil*, 68. By "retributive," Nino is referring to an opinion that "the evil caused by the violations of human rights should be met by the closest possible equivalent." It is a term that Alfonsín and his legal advisors generally used to describe what they felt was the absolutist position of human right groups that, "invok[ing] Kant," asked "for the

human rights agenda, Alfonsín and his advisors drew heavily from ethical social theory influenced by Emile Durkheim. Legal procedures, in their view, were more than agreed-upon rules to settle unavoidable conflicts. Rather, they formalized a common social cohesion, a cohesion that would strengthen and be strengthened by the application of liberal democratic procedures.<sup>17</sup> Nino argued that the prosecution of military officials was required “in order to inculcate in the collective conscience and in the consciences of the groups concerned that no sector of the population stands above the law.”<sup>18</sup> Trials would contrast the openness and fairness of liberalism with the secrecy and impunity of authoritarianism, thus building support for democracy. The establishment of a commission of inquiry was to be an important first step in the eliciting of public support for criminal prosecutions: it would establish the scope and institutional responsibility for atrocities, prepare preliminary cases for indictment, and help families of victims learn the fate of their disappeared relatives.

Alfonsín announced the formation of the Comisión Nacional sobre la Desaparición de Personas (CONADEP) within days of his inauguration. While indictments and trials were to be limited to those who either ordered the repression or conducted it with excessive cruelty—exempting lower level officers and soldiers who strictly obeyed orders—CONADEP was to provide a full as possible account of “disappearances,” the military’s preferred method of disposing of perceived enemies. Between December 1983 and September 1984, the commission collected thousands of testimonies and visited hundreds of detention and torture centers and clandestine graves. CONADEP presented its final report in November, documenting the disappearance of 8,960 Argentines but predicted that that number would rise with further investigation.<sup>19</sup> At the end of its work, the commission handed 1,086 cases to the judiciary and recommended that the government create a permanent office to continue filing cases in the courts.

While *Nunca Más* (Never Again), as the published version of CONADEP’s report was called, made no attempt to place political disappearances within a historical context, history was very much on the minds of the people who conceived the commission. In response to the spread, starting in the late 1960s, of military regimes throughout the continent, southern cone social scientists began to elaborate an analytical framework influenced by both Weberian sociology and Marxism to explain Latin America’s seemingly chronic resort to military dictatorships. Scholars such as Argentina’s Guillermo O’Donnell and Brazil’s Fernando Henrique Cardoso focused on the political and economic variables that contributed to

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punishment of every last individual responsible for the atrocities, even if society were at the brink of dissolution.” *Radical Evil*, 136. Prior to their becoming advisors to Alfonsín, Nino and Eduardo Rabossi, a member of the CONADEP, both adhered to retributive views similar to human rights organizations; see Nino, *Los límites de la responsabilidad penal*, and Rabossi, *La justificación moral del castigo* (Buenos Aires, 1976).

<sup>17</sup> Osiel, “Ever Again,” 478–89, describes Durkheim’s influence on the Argentine jurists.

<sup>18</sup> Carlos Nino, “Transition to Democracy, Corporatism and Constitutional Reform in Latin America,” *University of Miami Law Review* 44 (1989–1990): 129–64, 136.

<sup>19</sup> Argentina. Comisión Nacional Sobre la Desaparición de Personas, *Nunca más: Informe de la Comisión Nacional Sobre la Desaparición de Personas* (Buenos Aires, 1984).

patterns of bureaucratization along strongly authoritarian, militaristic lines.<sup>20</sup> Transitional-justice intellectuals borrowed from this framework yet departed from its institutional and economic focus to stress instead psychological disruptions supposedly caused by the modernization of social relations. Malamud-Goti, for example, argued that political violence erupted from a “dictatorial mind” chronic to Argentine history.<sup>21</sup> Nino, especially influenced by Durkheim and his concept of anomie to describe how the corrosion of social institutions by the forces of modernization led to a psychological tolerance of authoritarianism, identified a number of psychic or ideational factors to explain Argentina’s descent into terror: “ideological dualism” led to a clash between secular, universal liberalism and “closed, organic” conservatism; a tendency toward “corporatism” invested the Catholic Church, the armed forces, and business groups with an inordinate amount of power; “anomie” contributed to a “disregard for social norms, including the law.”<sup>22</sup> In his public pronouncements, Alfonsín invoked similarly tautological explanations to account for the violence that took place during the previous regime.<sup>23</sup>

The post-junta government designed a human rights policy aimed at breaking these historically rooted “insidious cultural patterns.”<sup>24</sup> Through trials and the commission, Alfonsín and his advisors hoped to summon images of a past gone awry both to establish a common set of social values and to provide a sober warning about what lay ahead if Argentines did not abide by institutional procedures. Yet they believed that to look to the past was dangerous, for while law may be adversarial in process, history is divisive in its conclusions.

“Great catastrophes are always instructive,” wrote CONADEP’s chairperson, the Argentine novelist Ernesto Sabato, who in a graceful prologue to the commission’s final report largely steered clear of history to extract from the sadism of the military the lesson that “only democracy can save people from such a horror, only democracy can protect the sacred, basic rights of man.” Argentina’s jurists saw themselves as mediating between dangerously volatile social groups that had competing yet equally passionate investments in assigning historical meaning to the “dirty war.” Grass-roots human rights organizations, such as the Madres de Plaza de Mayo, founded in 1979 by relatives of the “disappeared” to protest state terror, along with members and sympathizers of the insurgent *Montoneros*, an urban guerilla group operating in the 1970s made up of supporters of the late Juan Domingo Perón, insisted on interpreting the war as a struggle to achieve social justice in the context of a society that was deeply unjust. The military, for its part, demanded that human rights violations be understood as painful but necessary

<sup>20</sup> See Guillermo O’Donnell, *Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism* (Berkeley, Calif., 1973), and Fernando Henrique Cardoso, *Autoritarismo e democratização* (Rio de Janeiro, 1975).

<sup>21</sup> Malamud-Goti, *Game without End*, 183.

<sup>22</sup> Nino, *Radical Evil*, 44–46. For “anomie,” see Emile Durkheim, *Suicide* (New York, 1951), 250–54. In *Un país al margen de la ley: Estudio de la anomia como componente del subdesarrollo argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1992), Nino lays out in detail his understanding of the historical relationship between institutions, values, authoritarianism, and violence, drawing directly from Durkheim as well as from subsequent modernization theorists, such as Samuel Huntington and Seymour Martin Lipset, and Latin American sociologists such as O’Donnell and Cardoso.

<sup>23</sup> Osiel, “Ever Again,” 612.

<sup>24</sup> Malamud-Goti, *Game without End*, 183.

measures taken to defend the homeland against foreign subversion.<sup>25</sup> In response, the Alfonsín government adopted what eventually became known as the “doctrine of the two demons”: a refusal to attach historical importance to the repression conducted by the previous regime apart from the belief that political violence is a symptom of illiberal intolerance. The political extremism of both the military and the armed Left was held equally responsible for Argentina’s plunge into chaos. “During the 1970s,” goes the first sentence of the report, “Argentina was torn by terror from both the extreme right and the far left”—this despite the fact that the violence catalogued by *Nunca Más* was nearly exclusively committed by the military against, as Sabato’s prologue admits, “trade unionists fighting for better wages, members of student unions, journalists who did not support the regime, psychologists and sociologists simply for belonging to suspicious professions, young pacifists, nuns and priests who had taken the teachings of Christ to poor neighborhoods, the friends of these people, too, and the friends of friends.” Many have noted the influence of Max Weber’s “Politics as Vocation” essay, with its advice that politics above all else entailed a “responsibility towards the future,” on southern cone jurists.<sup>26</sup> In particular, Alfonsín’s refusal to be drawn into historical debate echoes Weber’s suggestion, made after World War I, that the best way to avoid future conflict was to avoid imposing a judgment on the causes of the war, which would then force contending parties to dissipate their passions arguing the war “*ad absurdum*.”<sup>27</sup> Weber’s rejection of attempts to justify political militancy through appeals to an “ethic of ultimate ends” reverberates in Nino’s condemnation of the Argentine insurgency as “the product of an epistemic elitism regarding facts and morality.” “Left-wing terrorism,” Nino writes, provoked “foreseeable consequences” that were “far worse than the evils it sought to eradicate.”<sup>28</sup>

Such a position expectedly angered those who suffered or committed acts of violence in the name of a higher ideal, either in pursuit of social justice or in defense of the nation. Julie Taylor has suggested that the legalistic procedures of CONADEP, which abstracted human rights violations from the dynamics of social power and conflict, reproduced the logic of a repression that was intended to break down networks of political solidarity. She writes that all “who passed through this process, then, accused and accusers—actors in highly political dramas where they had represented clashing world views and collective strategies for implementing them—were refigured as innocent or transgressing individuals with individual rights and obligations.” The truth commission’s “opposition of the order of law and the chaos of violence further led to the omission of collective motivation not only of

<sup>25</sup> Horacio Verbitsky, *La posguerra sucia: Un análisis de la transición* (Buenos Aires, 1985), 30.

<sup>26</sup> For the influence of this essay on transitional justice jurists, see José Zalaquett, “Introduction to the English Edition,” in Chile. National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation, *Report of the Chilean National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation*, Phillip E. Berryman, trans., 2 vols. (Notre Dame, Ind., 1993), 1: xxx. For Weber’s influence on the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, see Posel, “The TRC Report,” 159; for his influence in Uruguay’s return to constitutionalism, see Weschler, *A Miracle, A Universe*, 186.

<sup>27</sup> Max Weber, “Politics as Vocation,” in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, eds. and trans. (New York, 1946), 120.

<sup>28</sup> Nino, *Radical Evil*, 170.



victimizers . . . but of victims as well, who were defended as individuals whose human rights had been violated rather than as political activists.”<sup>29</sup>

That was exactly the point. During the first years of Argentina’s transition to democratic rule, the trials—which barred any reference to political ideals or collective identities from being introduced as testimony—were to serve as the primary theater of procedural conflict in the new liberal order. For Nino, prosecutions were needed to dilute the “corporatism” that he held responsible for Argentine authoritarianism, to “enable victims of human rights abuses to recover their self-respect as holders of legal rights”—not as members of social groups engaged in cooperative struggle.<sup>30</sup> To the degree that history was needed to evoke a brutal past to contrast with a dispassionate future, this contrast would be represented by the impartiality and transparency of the court procedures. Trials, Malamud-Goti writes, were to “provide a particular way, a means, to come to terms with the past, to instill individual responsibility, to establish the scope and depth of the truth, and, most of all, to write the country’s recent history in the language of moral responsibility.”<sup>31</sup>

The new government underestimated both the desire for retributive justice and the obstinacy of the armed forces. Alfonsín took office in December 1983. Within a year, victims and victims’ families had filed approximately 2,000 criminal complaints against the military.<sup>32</sup> In 1985, the “big trial,” as the prosecution of a number of high military officials was called, resulted in the conviction of General Jorge Videla and Admiral Emilio Massera, who both received life sentences. But by 1986, as criminal investigations continued, Alfonsín came under increasing pressure from the military. In the face of a series of failed but formidable coup attempts, he passed the “full stop” law, which imposed an absolute cut-off date for the trials. In 1987, Alfonsín called a halt to military prosecutions and signed the law of “due obedience,” which allowed military officers to argue in their defense that they “had acted under orders and thus were not punishable.”<sup>33</sup> Full capitulation came in 1990 when Carlos Menem, Alfonsín’s successor, pardoned in the name of “national reconciliation” all those either awaiting trial or already convicted, including Videla and Massera.<sup>34</sup>

IN THAT SAME YEAR that Menem pardoned the junta leaders, Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet left office. In March, Patricio Aylwin was elected to the presidency under more constrained conditions than was Alfonsín, and made no

<sup>29</sup> Julie Taylor, “Body Memories: Aide-Memoires and Collective Amnesia in the Wake of the Argentine Terror,” in *Body Politics: Disease, Desire, and the Family*, Michael Ryan and Avery Gordon, eds. (Boulder, Colo. 1994), 197.

<sup>30</sup> Nino, *Radical Evil*, 147.

<sup>31</sup> Malamud-Goti, *Game without End*, 183.

<sup>32</sup> Alejandro M. Garro and Henry Dahl, “Legal Accountability for Human Rights Violations in Argentina: One Step Forward and Two Steps Backward,” *Human Rights Law Journal* 38 (1987): 283–344, 311, n. 115.

<sup>33</sup> Nino, *Radical Evil*, 101. See Kathryn Lee Crawford, “Due Obedience and the Rights of the Victims: Argentina’s Transition to Democracy,” *Human Rights Quarterly* 12, no. 1 (1990): 17–52.

<sup>34</sup> Mark Osiel, *Mass Atrocity, Ordinary Evil, and Hannah Arendt: Criminal Consciousness in Argentina’s Dirty War* (New Haven, 2001) 20.

effort to prosecute military officers for human rights violations committed during Pinochet's seventeen-year dictatorship. Despite losing the plebiscite, which would have allowed him to continue in power, Pinochet, unlike the Argentine military, ended his tenure much on his own terms. An amnesty law protected those responsible for political repression, while Pinochet remained in charge of the military and a number of his associates became senators-for-life.

Aylwin convened the Comisión Nacional de Verdad y Reconciliación, known more commonly as the Rettig Commission from its president Raúl Rettig, in 1990 to investigate political disappearances and extrajudicial executions that occurred during Pinochet's rule. As in Argentina, the commission was to mark the transition from dictatorial to procedural rule and to help reestablish political pluralism and liberal morals—*reestablish* in the sense that prior to Pinochet's September 11, 1973 coup that resulted in the death of Salvador Allende, Chile was one of Latin America's most stable democracies. José Zalaquett, a professor of ethics and human rights at the University of Chile and prominent member of the commission, writes that the commission was to "help to create a consensus concerning events about which the community is deeply divided . . . The purpose of truth is to lay the groundwork for a shared understanding of the recent crisis and how to overcome it."<sup>35</sup> The Rettig Commission, however, unlike in Argentina, was not part of a larger policy of indictments and trials. Chile, in other words, retained the notion that official inquiries into past abuses were needed to reinforce social solidarity but jettisoned, due to political exigencies, the required mechanism that, according to Nino and others, bestowed those inquires with legitimacy: the ability to hold the worst abusers legally accountable.

The shift in emphasis from truth and justice to, in the words of President Aylwin, "truth, and justice as far as possible," brought history to the fore.<sup>36</sup> Absent the possibility of using legal procedures to undermine historically derived "invidious cultural patterns," recent Chilean history had to be confronted directly rather than through the proxy of trials. Zalaquett writes that "our report was basically about facts and their circumstances. Of course these are ethically relevant facts. They signify the transgression of fundamental societal values." The commission, he continues, "was the cornerstone of a transitional policy aimed at the moral (and political) reconstruction of our society after a period of tragic breakdown . . . To that end we felt we had to refer not to human rights violations and acts of violence but also to the ideological/doctrinary basis which prescribed, directly lead to, or attempted to legitimate such deeds."<sup>37</sup> The Rettig Report explicitly laid out, through a description of events leading up to the 1973 coup, a vision of the past similar to Nino's and Malamud-Goti's intentionally vague conjectures concerning the roots of political violence.<sup>38</sup> In the case of Chile, a lawyerly ambivalence toward

<sup>35</sup> José Zalaquett, "Truth Commissions: A Comparative Assessment," Interdisciplinary Discussion, Harvard Law School (May 1996), at [www.law.harvard.edu/programs/HRP/Publications/truth3.html](http://www.law.harvard.edu/programs/HRP/Publications/truth3.html) (accessed November 3, 2004).

<sup>36</sup> Militza García, "Patricio Aylwin: El Adversario Clave," *Qué Pasa* (Santiago, Chile), September 5, 2003.

<sup>37</sup> Zalaquett, Personal communication, February 2001.

<sup>38</sup> The report does not cite any primary or secondary sources to indicate how its accounting of "some characteristics of the climate" that preceded the coup was compiled. It is commonly known that

historical conjecture augmented the opacity of such an approach, as manifested in the final report's disclaimers that the commission is "aware that all events are subject to diverse and contradictory versions and interpretations" and that while it recognizes that the "crisis has deep roots, of a socioeconomic character, it would go beyond its mandate to explore them."<sup>39</sup> Adding to this modesty was a concern that too close an attention to past conflicts could be used to excuse or justify political violence. The Rettig Report, Zalaquett states, is a "circumscribed historical approach. It is the history of doctrinary justification of ethically unacceptable means in political action."<sup>40</sup>

The starting point of the commission's historical section is the "extreme polarization" engendered by the Cold War. In Latin America, the 1959 Cuban Revolution "overflowed its borders" and pitted throughout the continent "Cuban-Soviet 'insurgency' against North American 'counterinsurgency,'" with Chile being "no exception."<sup>41</sup> The 1970 election of socialist Salvador Allende, who presided over a coalition government of left parties that pursued an agenda of nationalization and land reform, initiated what the commission described as the "final phase" of this polarization in Chile. The Rettig Report compellingly describes a breakdown of state sovereignty during Allende's tenure, which contributed to the propulsion of ideas and actions toward an ever greater militancy. Centrist and rightist groups, fearing that Allende had betrayed the state's very reason for existence—the protection of private property—applied tactics to make the country "ungovernable." Left political parties, even those who rejected armed struggle and remained committed to electoral politics, became "seduced" by those who insisted on the "inevitability" of confrontation. Violence "was spurred on," the report writes, "because, as a result of deep polarization, each individual believed that they were transgressing the law only in response to, and as a defense against, someone else who had already done so . . . The only defense (they thought) was self-defense, thus spreading the idea of irregular armed groups in both city and countryside to defend the ownership of properties and companies and personal security."

Yet while the passions, particularly "fear" and "hatred," are amply represented in this history of "ethically unacceptable means in political action," absent is any discussion of interests and power. The final report captures well the contingent exigencies of political crisis, yet its refusal to analyze the "socioeconomic" roots of that crisis led it to present militancy in the passive tense, as latent in the body politic and called forth by forces beyond Chile's borders: national political movements and parties became "ideologized" by global polarization and began to insist on "total models for society" unable to admit any but the "slightest modifications, postponements, or negotiations"; individuals and groups lost faith in democratic institutions and began to advocate violence and force as a means to power; "extreme groups of

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conservative Chilean historian and commission member Gonzalo Vial, who had previously served in Pinochet's government, wrote the first draft of the section describing events leading to the coup.

<sup>39</sup> Chile. Comisión Nacional de Verdad y Reconciliación, *Informe de la Comisión Nacional de Verdad y Reconciliación*, 3 vols. (Santiago, 1991) 1: 33, 38.

<sup>40</sup> Zalaquett, Personal communication, February 2001.

<sup>41</sup> The following quotations come from *Informe de la Comisión*, 1: 35, 36, 38.

whatever political persuasion do not need a reason or pretext for becoming armed. And so the fever spread throughout Chile."

Chilean historians have criticized the report for its insistence on the need to establish moral equivalency between the Left and the Right, and for ignoring Allende's demonstrated commitment to political pluralism and willingness to compromise.<sup>42</sup> The report is evidently more sympathetic to the fears that motivated opposition to Allende in defense of private property than those of the "extreme left political groups" that spread an "ideology of armed struggle." Yet the commission went further. A depiction of Chile as caught in the maelstrom of world politics and a reflexive rendition of ideological hardening led to the suggestion that the military's overthrow of Allende prevented a larger catastrophe: military officers, divided between constitutionalists and those who opposed Allende, "had to consider the possibility that their failure to act might entail a greater evil: civil war, as a result of their own internal division." History here fulfilled its exculpatory potential, for the forces that drove the military to intervene were inexorable: "Until their decisive intervention in September 1973, the armed forces and the police, notwithstanding the ideologies and debates stirring in their ranks, stayed out of the crisis and maintained their professionalism, discipline, obedience to the civilian power and political neutrality, as assigned to them by the Constitution. Nevertheless, the very exacerbation of the crisis—slowly but surely, continually and increasingly—drew them away from this role."<sup>43</sup>

The historical sensibility that motivated the Rettig Commission approximates that of the Argentine jurists. In both, visions of the past were less historically specific than mythically timeless—touchstones of unacceptable worldviews and behavior by which to measure a democratic society. In the case of Chile, a refusal to examine ideological polarization as mediated by political interests and social power provides a no less psychologically determined account of a friend-enemy disassociation than that offered by Nino or Malamud-Goti. "The dictatorial mind," writes Malamud-Goti, "sets itself up to generate this split: allies versus foes, conspiratorial accounts of political reality that turn themselves into a cause for further authoritarianism."<sup>44</sup> In the case of Chile, absent the possibility of pursuing retributive justice that could fortify the rule of law, the Rettig Report emphasized the contrast between the dispassionate procedural liberalism of a restored democracy and the ideological rigidity and intolerance not only of the Pinochet regime but also of the events claimed to have necessitated that regime. In the process, the coup is revalued as a required moment of primal violence that both rescued the nation from dissolution, a "tragic breakdown," as Zalaquett put it, and justified the constraints in which the new democracy operated.

<sup>42</sup> Sergio Grez Toso and Gabriel Salazar Vergara, eds., *Manifiesto de historiadores* (Santiago, 1999).

<sup>43</sup> *Informe de la Comisión*, 1: 39–40. The report was obliquely referencing a plan by a left-wing group not formally part of the Popular Unity coalition to organize support for Allende within the military to forestall a coup. See John Dinges, *The Condor Years: How Pinochet and his Allies brought Terrorism to Three* (New York, 2004), 43–44. The report also lists other reasons the coup could be interpreted as a defense of national sovereignty, including the escalating disruptions of public order, the threat such disruptions posed to the country's food supply, and the "whetting foreign appetites" eager to take advantage of political instability (a reference to territorial conflicts with Argentina and Peru).

<sup>44</sup> Malamud-Goti, *Game without End*, 187.

BASED ON THE COLLECTION of over 8,000 testimonies from victims and their relatives, Guatemala's Comisión para el Esclarecimiento Histórico (CEH) concluded, in 1999, that over the course of a nearly four-decade civil war that pitted the state against a left insurgency, the military had committed 626 massacres and was responsible for 93 percent of human rights abuses, including roughly 200,000 political murders. The commission blamed the guerrillas for 3 percent of the violations and thirty-two massacres. Yet *Guatemala Memoria del silencio*, as the CEH's final twelve-volume report is titled, goes well beyond divvying out responsibility for the violence to the state and the guerrillas. Starting with an introduction that displays little of the epistemological hesitation of similar bodies, the CEH provides statistical evidence of extreme social inequality—the country's health, education, literacy, and nutritional indicators are among the most unjust in the world despite an abundance of national wealth—and spends the rest of its first volume chronicling the “causes and origins” of Guatemala's armed conflict.

Administered by the United Nations, the CEH was staffed mostly by lawyers drawn from the transnational human rights community, many of whom were from or had previous advocacy experience in southern cone countries. They shared with their Argentine and Chilean counterparts a reluctance to contextualize human rights violations either in reference to social inequalities or historical struggles. Yet a number of factors pushed them in that direction.<sup>45</sup> The most important was the success of the counterinsurgency. Unlike in Argentina and Chile, Guatemala's truth commission was not negotiated by civilian reformers hoping to broker a guided transition to democracy. In Guatemala, that “transition” took place a decade earlier, under the tight supervision of the military as the civil war continued. Rather, the one-page document that established the CEH was an afterthought, negotiated by an enervated guerrilla leadership and a triumphant army high command as part of peace talks that in 1996 finally drew the war to an official close. The commission did not have the power to subpoena witnesses or records, and its final report could not “individualize responsibility”—that is, name names—nor could it be used for prosecutions.<sup>46</sup> In a strategic avoidance of potential deal-breaking specifics, negotiators left vague other aspects of the commission's work. Unlike the strict mandates of CONADEP and the Rettig Commission, the CEH's instructions did not define the crimes to be examined, the period to be considered, or the commission's methodology. This ambiguity, it turns out, allowed the commission to define its work broadly and to use social science and historical analysis to greater extent than did previous truth commissions. The diversity and composition of the CEH's staff and three-member commissariat, comprised of both foreigners and nationals, likewise contributed to a more vital engagement with historical analysis. Confronted with ongoing social cleavages and an unrepentant military and oligarchy, foreigners, including head commissioner Christian Tomuschat, a German human rights jurist, and Marcie Mersky, who edited the final report, had little incentive to turn the CEH into an incurious promoter of nationalism.

<sup>45</sup> Head commissioner Christian Tomuschat describes his interpretation of the CEH mandate in “Clarification Commission in Guatemala,” *Human Rights Quarterly* 23, no. 2 (2001): 233–58.

<sup>46</sup> The accord is in the commission's final report: Comisión para el Esclarecimiento Histórico, *Guatemala: Memoria del silencio*, 12 vols. (Guatemala City, 1999), 1: 23–26. (Hereafter, CEH, *Memoria del silencio*.)



Guatemalan nationals, drawn from the country's embattled human rights movement and shut out of the negotiations that brought the CEH into being, had little faith that an affirmation of shared social values would be sufficient to overcome the injustices of the past. In addition, an emerging pan-Mayan cultural rights movement—in many ways the most vibrant element of Guatemala's postwar civil society—was beginning to interpret not just the war but all of national history through the prism of racism and demanding that the CEH do the same. The influence of this movement led to the appointment of Otilia Lux de Cotí, a Mayan educator, to the commission. Lux, along with Mayan rights groups, pushed for an investigation of genocidal intent to describe the military's targeting of indigenous communities between 1981 and 1983, an investigation that likewise contributed to the CEH's turn toward historical analysis.<sup>47</sup>

As did southern cone jurists, the CEH drew on theories that focus on the effects of skewed modernization to explain authoritarianism and political violence, tracing the roots of a "political culture where intolerance defined the totality of social interaction" back to the Spanish colonial period.<sup>48</sup> In Argentina and Chile, though, there was no attempt to think through the connection between intolerance and terror. Psychological variables allegedly responsible for political violence, such as, say, anomie, are simply deduced without any specific attention to how radicalization emerges from the interplay between ideas, social structures, and political interests. The CEH, in contrast, presented intolerance as the product of polarization and not its a priori cause. The prohibition against naming names led to vague phrasing and contorted sentence constructions, yet *Memoria del silencio* nonetheless insisted on examining the mediation between what it identifies as systemic causes of state violence—economic exploitation, racism, and political exclusion—and the ideas and actions associated with challenges and defenses of that system.

Since the end of the nineteenth century, according to the CEH, "the landed class," particularly coffee planters, "imposed its economic interests on the state and society."<sup>49</sup> Planters gobbled up vast amounts of land and relied on the state to ensure the cheap supply of labor, mostly Mayan Indians from highland communities. A series of forced labor laws combined with land loss to "increase the economic subordination" of Mayans and poor Ladinos (Guatemalans not consid-

<sup>47</sup> From commencement of operations in August 1997 to the issuance of its final report in February 1999, the CEH drew on multiple resources to compile its historical section: individual testimonies; U.S. declassified documents; secondary sources; "context reports" from fourteen regional field offices; inputs by a group of Guatemalan social scientists convened by the commission to serve in an advisory capacity; "illustrative cases" described in detail (as opposed to the 8,000 "ordinary cases," based on testimony and not investigated at great length). When the commission moved to the writing-up stage, four teams—corresponding to the four major sections of *Memoria del silencio* (1. an interpretation of the "causes and origins" of the armed conflict; 2. a description of the techniques of violence and the establishment of institutional responsibility; 3. an account of the social consequences of the violence; 4. the elaboration of a series of policy recommendations)—synthesized this voluminous information. A team of editors then produced the final report which, unlike the Rettig Report, is copiously cited. Reluctance on the part of the lawyers who ran the CEH to formulate preliminary working hypotheses, however, led to a certain degree of methodological incoherence and a figure-it-out-as-needed approach to data collection, as Marcie Mersky, the coordinator of the final report, describes in "Some Initial Thoughts on the Commission for Historical Clarification in Guatemala," paper presented at Yale University (April 7, 1999).

<sup>48</sup> CEH, *Memoria del silencio*, 1: 79.

<sup>49</sup> CEH, *Memoria del silencio*, 1: 81.

ered Mayan). This model of coercive development intensified forms of colonial exploitation, racism, and authoritarianism and militarized the republican state, which devoted itself to enforcing labor servitude. The mainspring, according to the commission, of the Guatemalan crisis was the conflict between efforts to reform society and measures taken in its defense: "State violence has been fundamentally aimed against the excluded, the poor, and the Maya, as well as those who struggled in favor of a just and more equitable society . . . Thus a vicious circle was created in which social injustice led to protest and subsequently to political instability, to which there were always only two responses: repression or military coups." Confronted with movements demanding "economic, political, social, or cultural change the state increasingly resorted to terror in order to maintain social control. Political violence was thus a direct expression of structural violence."<sup>50</sup>

This dynamic eased and even reversed for a ten-year period starting in 1944, when two reformist administrations attempted to democratize Guatemala's economy and polity by ending forced labor, legalizing unions, enacting workplace protections, establishing a social security and public health care system, expanding the vote, and passing a far-reaching land reform. The CEH's analysis of the Central Intelligence Agency's (CIA) 1954 coup that ended this democratic decade stands in opposition to the Rettig Commission, which blamed Allende's 1973 ouster on Cold War polarization. *Memoria del silencio*, while careful to document the U.S. role in the coup, focused squarely on domestic political and class interests. Threatened by the rapid extension of rights to the country's disenfranchised, the "defenders of the established order," identified in the report as planters, the military, and the Catholic Church, joined with a middle class threatened by increased peasant and indigenous mobilization to oppose the government of Jacobo Arbenz, the reform period's second president.<sup>51</sup> And while the Rettig Report salvaged the military's assumption of power in Chile as a moment of nationalist sacrifice, the CEH presented the CIA's 1954 intervention as a national "trauma" that had a "collective political effect" on a generation of young, reform-minded Guatemalans. "So drastic was the closing of channels of participation and so extensive was the recourse to violence" by those opposed to democracy, *Memoria del silencio* argued, that it is "considered one of causes of the guerilla insurgency" that roiled Guatemala for nearly four decades. The overthrow of Arbenz reinitiated Guatemala's "exclusivist dynamic," and the state once again put "itself at the bidding of a minority at the expense of the majority."<sup>52</sup> Expectations raised and struggles fought during the ten years of democracy reverberated throughout Guatemala's subsequent civil war, and the CEH traced a number of the human rights violations that it recounts in detail back to the 1954 coup.

THE SHARPEST BREAK between *Memoria del silencio* and its predecessors was not the CEH's methodological description of unfolding crisis politics but its analysis of the relationship between terror and state formation. In most truth commissions, as well

<sup>50</sup> CEH, *Memoria del silencio*, 5: 21–22.

<sup>51</sup> CEH, *Memoria del silencio*, 1: 103–05.

<sup>52</sup> CEH, *Memoria del silencio*, 1: 86, 107.

as in the commentaries that justify them, the morals that allow political terror to take hold are taken as the inverse of liberal pluralism. Tolerance is mirrored by intolerance, civic trust by anomie. Where there should be proceduralism and open-mindedness, there is arbitrariness and fanaticism. In many accounts of crisis, what makes possible the prevalence of these dark values is state and social decay, a weakening of the institutions that generate the norms that hold society together.

The CEH, in contrast, took a different approach in its understanding of Guatemala's descent into terror, particularly in its analysis of an intense two-year phase of violence. Of the 626 massacres committed by the military or its allies documented by the CEH, nearly 600 occurred in rural Mayan communities between late 1981 and 1983. In the majority of massacres, the CEH found "evidence of multiple ferocious acts preceding, during, and after the killing of the victims. The assassination of children, often by beating them against the wall or by throwing them alive into graves to be later crushed by the bodies of dead adults; amputation of limbs; impaling victims; pouring gasoline on people and burning them alive; extraction of organs; removal of fetuses from pregnant women . . . the military destroyed ceremonial sites, sacred places, and cultural symbols. Indigenous language and dress were repressed."<sup>53</sup> In some departments, soldiers drove upward of 80 percent of the population from their homes, breaking the highland's agricultural cycle, leading to hunger and widespread deprivation. *Memoria del silencio* depicted this campaign, which it ruled to be genocidal, not as state decomposition but state formation, a carefully calibrated stage in the military's plan to establish national stability through an incorporation of Mayan peasants into government institutions and a return to constitutional rule.<sup>54</sup>

A willingness to employ historical methodology and make historical judgments allowed the commission to examine the racist fury that underwrote this killing not as an unchanging value but as one element of a dominant, elastic ideology radicalized by the circumstances of war. The CEH was particularly interested in the strategic thinking of a group of young, modernizing military officers who, beginning in the late 1970s, increasingly identified the kind of chaos that plagued Guatemala as an obstacle to national security. The strength of the insurgency, the officers concluded, could not simply be blamed on communism but rather on social "problems that have very long and deep roots in the social system."<sup>55</sup> They began to sketch out a doctrine that sought to achieve national security through nation building. Codified in a National Plan of Security and Development and executed through sequential campaign policy papers, the doctrine, which the CEH dubbed "strategic democracy," represented a breakthrough for an army that had long served as the corrupt private gendarme of the landed oligarchy.<sup>56</sup> Its short-term goals included the temporary suspension of indiscriminate urban death squad violence, improvement in the administrative functions of the government, and an anti-corruption campaign—all designed to increase the legitimacy of the state. Long-term objectives (all achieved by the time the military agreed to negotiate an

<sup>53</sup> CEH, *Memoria del silencio*, 5: 43.

<sup>54</sup> CEH, *Memoria del silencio*, 4: 75.

<sup>55</sup> CEH, *Memoria del silencio*, 1: 198–99.

<sup>56</sup> CEH, *Memoria del silencio*, 1: 188–201; 3: 321–25.

end to the war) entailed convening a constituent assembly, adopting a new constitution, presidential elections, demilitarization of certain state agencies, and normalization of diplomatic relations, which in many instances had been suspended in reaction to government repression.

The first step in implementing such a project was to destroy the insurgency. In late 1981, army detachments moved into the western highlands and initiated a campaign of massacres and executions in Mayan communities, identified by the army as the support base of the rebels. Campaign plans analyzed by the CEH identified the integration of indigenous communities into government institutions as a primary counterinsurgent objective. Military strategists focused on what they identified as the “closed,” caste-like isolation of Mayans as the reason for their supposed collective susceptibility to communism: “the existence of diverse ethnic groups, with different languages and dialects demonstrates the partial nature of national integration due to a lack of a common identity.” Mayans, said a 1982 military policy paper, “have joined the guerrilla due to a lack of communication with the state.”<sup>57</sup> The National Plan of Security and Development called for nationalism to be “disseminated in the countryside,” particularly through a literacy campaign that would make Indians more “susceptible” to “new ideas.”<sup>58</sup> Another 1982 action plan called for the establishment of a “spirit of nationalism and the creation of channels of participation and integration for the different ethnic groups that make up our nationality.”<sup>59</sup> To these strategic considerations, the CEH argued, officers added racist fears, amplified by Guatemala’s apartheid-like social system, about Mayans: that they were susceptible to manipulation by outsiders, for example, or that their participation in the insurgency was driven by an “atavistic” desire to take revenge for centuries of abuse.

A historicized understanding of the relationship between ideas and actions led the CEH to rule that the military, between 1981 and 1983, had committed “acts of genocide.” Genocide is a notoriously difficult crime to prove. Its collective nature—the need to establish that perpetrators were driven by hatred of a targeted group and acted in concert to “destroy in whole or in part” that group—means, as legal theorist William Schabas writes, “evidence of hateful motive [is] an integral part of the proof of existence of a genocidal plan, and therefore of genocidal intent.” But the introduction of “motive” as a probative requirement is daunting, for where the “defence can raise a doubt about the existence of a motive, it will have cast a large shadow of uncertainty as to the existence of genocidal intent.”<sup>60</sup> Yet racism, or “hatred of the group” as Schabas puts it, is a historical category, and efforts to present it not as such but as a stable, isolated value open the door to exculpation based on historical justification. In Guatemala, for example, government officials refused to accept the CEH’s conclusion that the state committed genocide against Mayans, instead arguing that the military acted in defense of national security. Guatemalan president Alvaro Arzú Irigoyen dismissed the CEH’s ruling, stating that “genocide is the desire to exterminate an ethnic group, and this

<sup>57</sup> CEH, *Memoria del silencio*, 3: 322.

<sup>58</sup> CEH, *Memoria del silencio*, 1: 98.

<sup>59</sup> CEH, *Memoria del silencio*, 3: 323.

<sup>60</sup> William A. Schabas, *Genocide in International Law: The Crimes of Crimes* (Cambridge, 2000), 254–55.

was not the cause of the conflict.”<sup>61</sup> The CEH’s turn to history allowed it to reject such a defense. Rather than arguing that racism is a certain manifestation of a determinative eliminationist ideology and psychology (an argument difficult, in any context, to sustain) the commission instead examined how racism came to be deeply embedded in state structures and discourses over time, in relation to land distribution, labor practices, and political struggles. The imperatives of war, both civil and class, accelerated nationalism, anticommunism, and racism into a murderous fusion: as a “contextual ideological element,” *Memoria del silencio* writes, racism allowed the army to equate Indians with the insurgents and generated the belief that they were “distinct, inferior, a little less than human and removed from the moral universe of the perpetrators, making their elimination less problematic.”<sup>62</sup>

DISCUSSION ABOUT THE efficacy of truth commissions often confuses the task of commissions to document and interpret acts of political violence with their function in promoting nationalism and consolidating state legitimacy.<sup>63</sup> Debates between critics and celebrants often turn on the proper balance between the pursuit of justice through prosecution of human rights violators and the need to establish national unity through a cathartic process of testimony, forgiveness, and reconciliation. Proponents of the latter position emphasize the therapeutic benefits of public confession, both for victims and perpetrators. “The chance to tell one’s story and be heard without interruption or skepticism is crucial to so many people, and nowhere more vital than for survivors of trauma,” writes legal theorist Martha Minow, as is the “commitment to produce a coherent, if complex, narrative about the entire nation’s trauma.”<sup>64</sup> Skeptics, however, either question the suitability of applying psychoanalytical concepts to political and social relations or argue that the best way to cultivate patience for proceduralism is through trials that hold perpetrators accountable.<sup>65</sup> This debate has been vigorous in South Africa, where the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), in contrast to the powerlessness of most other truth commissions, wielded both moral and legal authority yet often decided, in principle, to use the language of forgiveness and the practice of amnesty to advance national harmony. Commissioners Alex Boraine and Desmond Tutu have defended this approach, suggesting that it could serve as model for crisis regions around the globe.<sup>66</sup> But others describe the work of South Africa’s TRC as a lost opportunity. Richard Wilson argues that its interpretation of political

<sup>61</sup> *El Periódico* (Guatemala) July 1, 1999.

<sup>62</sup> CEH, *Memoria del silencio*, 3: 325.

<sup>63</sup> As such, they replicate what Manu Goswami has identified as an operating assumption that handicaps many studies of nationalism: they mistake categories of analysis with categories of practice. Goswami, “Rethinking the Modular Nation Form: Toward a Sociohistorical Conception of Nationalism,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44, no. 4 (2002): 770–99.

<sup>64</sup> Martha Minow, *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence* (Boston, 1998), 58.

<sup>65</sup> Stephan Landsman, “Alternative Responses to Serious Human Rights Abuses: Of Prosecution and Truth Commissions,” *Law and Contemporary Problems* 59, no. 4 (1996): 81–92.

<sup>66</sup> Alex Boraine, *A Country Unmasked* (Oxford, 2000); Desmond Tutu, *No Future without Forgiveness* (New York, 1999).



violence through a narrative of struggle and liberation, tempered with a Christian ethos that demanded an abandonment of vengeance for the sake of reconciliation, undermined the establishment of liberal jurisprudence. An uncompromising language of compromise failed to take seriously popular demands for justice, to move a desire for revenge toward an acceptance of proportional retribution, thus greatly delegitimizing the concept of human rights in the eyes of many, often the most marginalized, South Africans and contributing to the pursuit of extralegal forms of rough justice.<sup>67</sup>

Such arguments, even those from the skeptical side of the aisle, avoid a more rigorous analysis of the role of truth commissions as an agent of nationalism. The merits of values such as national harmony and reconciliation are assumed rather than examined, reproducing the ideological work carried out by truth commissions and leaving that work unquestioned. Truth commissions, as we have seen in Argentina and Chile, perform an indispensable task in the establishment of politics. Since violence is always present in the founding and preservation of political societies, the trick of nationalism is to turn that violence into, as Hannah Arendt put it, "cogent metaphors or universally applicable tales."<sup>68</sup> Truth commissions sequester the "violence of foundation"—transmuting the atrocities of military regimes into touchstones on which to affirm a new liberal order—while concealing the "violence of conservation" that maintains that order, which in the cases discussed here mean the ongoing power and impunity of the military.<sup>69</sup> In Chile, as we saw, the Comisión Nacional de Verdad y Reconciliación, forced to deal more directly with the past than its immediate Argentine predecessor, mythologized the coup that brought Pinochet to power as a regrettable yet necessary measure needed to prevent national ruin.

Carlos Nino and Jaime Malamud-Goti consciously offered a notion of political violence decontextualized from all but the most hazy history and social relations, with a valuation of liberal morals transcendent of those relations. Yet they knew that for those values to have force and legitimacy, they would have to be reinforced by some measure of retributive justice. The reality of political power in which subsequent truth commissions operated, not just in Chile and Guatemala but in Uruguay, El Salvador, and Peru as well, broke this link, leading to what Nino described as a "second-best" option: commissions and no trials.<sup>70</sup> Yet subsequent Argentine and Chilean history suggests that the fortification of liberal institutions and norms has indeed come about through the pursuit of criminal justice, both in national and international court systems, affirming Nino and Malamud-Goti's original insight. Human rights groups in both countries, made up largely of victims and their relatives, have refused to allow truth commissions to put "paid" on the debate over the past. They have instead waged an ongoing battle for some degree

<sup>67</sup> Richard A. Wilson, *The Politics of Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Legitimizing the Post-Apartheid State* (Cambridge, 2001).

<sup>68</sup> Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution* (New York, 1963), 20.

<sup>69</sup> Arno J. Mayer, *The Furies: Violence and Terror in the French and Russian Revolutions* (Princeton, N.J., 2000), 75.

<sup>70</sup> Nino, *Radical Evil*, 146. Hayner, *Unspeakable Truths*, 38–40; 53–54, describes the work of commissions in Uruguay and El Salvador. For Peru, which presented its findings in August 2003 and in many ways is not comparable to the commissions here under examination due to the particular nature of insurgent and state violence, see <http://www.cverdad.org.pe/>.

of legal accountability, astutely appealing for international help in pressing their case. Pinochet's 1998 arrest in London and subsequent attempts to extradite him to Spain—while occasioning a reaction on the right—has sparked a revitalization of Chile's legal system. In the wake of the dictator's capture, human rights advocates have creatively circumvented his amnesty law, arguing that, since no corpses have been recovered, political disappearances are ongoing crimes and hence not protected by the amnesty.<sup>71</sup> Courts have recently convicted a number of officers, while hundreds more face trial. In addition, some fourteen years after Chile's transit to democracy, the state, in response to ongoing demands by the victims of torture during the dictatorship, has convened a Comisión Nacional sobre la Detención Política y la Tortura, which received testimony from more than 35,000 Chileans whose experiences, because they survived their detention, were not documented in the previous Truth and Reconciliation commission, which addressed only disappearances, political executions, and torture leading to death. It is anticipated that the new commission's conclusions will offer a far more damning interpretation of the military's actions than that provided by its predecessor.<sup>72</sup> In Argentina, the recent repeal of the "full stop" and other amnesty laws, likewise in response to pressure from political groups, has reopened legal investigations into rights violations committed during the "dirty war."<sup>73</sup>

In Guatemala, state terror was so brutal, so successful in destroying political opposition, that it shattered the conceit that future social solidarity could be constructed from a description of past human rights transgressions or the supposed collective healing that comes from telling one's story to an official body, leading the CEH to break with past commissions and present violence not just in descriptive or moral terms but in historical and social science ones as well. This methodological innovation, in turn, allowed the commission to rule that the military committed acts of genocide, for genocide is, by definition, a collective crime and, as such, demands social and historical analysis. This was particularly true in the case of Guatemala, where the imperatives of counterinsurgent state formation melded seamlessly with a racism politicized by anticommunism. Rather than dissolving moral or legal responsibility in a larger structural solution, as Argentine and Chilean jurists feared it would, the CEH's historical interpretation both unearthed the racist premises that motivated the 1981–1983 scorched-earth campaign and provided support for the elaboration of a set of policy recommendations that sought to prevent the reoccurrence of political violence through the creation of a more equitable society. It called for the adoption of a progressive tax system, increased state spending on human needs, a dismantling of the repressive intelligence apparatus, along with the implementation of unfulfilled political, legal, and economic reforms agreed to, but not implemented, in the peace accords. Attention to structural analysis and causal history also allowed the CEH to avoid constituting itself as an unreflective instrument of nation building. Unlike commissions in Argentina and Chile, it

<sup>71</sup> Sebastian Brett, ed., *When Tyrants Tremble: The Pinochet Case* (New York, 1999); Roger Burbach, *The Pinochet Affair: State Terrorism and Global Justice* (New York, 2003).

<sup>72</sup> "Documento de Cheyre se anticipa a duro informe sobre la tortura," *La Tercera*, November 6, 2004.

<sup>73</sup> Human Rights Watch, Monthly Update, "Argentina Faces its Past," August 2003, <http://hrw.org/update/2003/08/#1>.

acknowledged that the roots of the violence lay in the clash between those who fought for a more equitable society and those who defended, with increasing viciousness, the established order. It also refused to draw too clear a line between a past marred by unspecified intolerance and a contemporary polity based on pluralism and proceduralism. The implication, of course, is that the new constitutional order the CEH sought to fortify was an extension of the counterinsurgency.

Some would argue that this is too much knowledge, that in a country such as Guatemala, where democracy enjoys but a tenuous hold and the conflicts of the past continue into the present, to overexpose history is to court disaster. *Memoria del silencio* could be criticized for focusing too much on institutional and historical analysis, on not devoting enough of its energy in exploring the ethnographic or psychological dimensions of terror, or how violence was experienced by individuals and communities. Such an approach would have aligned the CEH more closely with what many say should be the primary task of truth commissions: the promotion of individual and collective healing to bring about national cohesion.<sup>74</sup>

Yet preliminary evidence suggests it was just the commission's epistemological certainty that, even while exposing divisions, has reinforced those organizations that work to strengthen the rule and value of law. The CEH presented its findings in Guatemala's National Theater in early 1999 to a front row of military and government officials and an overflowing crowd made up of victims, their relatives, and members of human rights and Mayan organizations, many of whom were survivors of political movements decimated by state repression. Chief Commissioner Christian Tomuschat summarized the CEH's conclusions. While he condemned violations committed by the Left and criticized Cuba for supporting the rebels, his remarks, backed up by overwhelming statistical evidence, left little doubt as to responsibility: "the magnitude and irrational inhumanity of the violence . . . cannot be understood as a consequence of a confrontation between two armed parties" but rather of the "structure and nature" of Guatemalan society; the U.S. government and U.S. corporations acted to "maintain Guatemala's archaic and unjust socio-economic system"; the army carried out a "blind anticommunist crusade, without regard to a single juridical principle or the most basic ethical or religious values, resulting in a loss of all human morality."<sup>75</sup> The audience greeted the speech with tears and deafening applause.<sup>76</sup> The cathartic power of the event rested not in the elision of social division and political struggle through an avoidance of history and appeals to forgiveness but rather in their accentuation: Guatemala's president refused to climb the stage to accept the report, sitting instead, along with government officials and military officers, in stunned silence. A few days later, the U.S. ambassador dismissed charges of Washington's complicity; it was "better," he said, "to focus on the future and not the past."<sup>77</sup> Over the last four years, successive governments have ignored the CEH's findings and recommendations while human rights groups, initially dismissive of the commission's enabling mandate, have claimed its final report as their own. As in Argentina and

<sup>74</sup> See Minow, *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness*, 61–90.

<sup>75</sup> "Palabras del Sr. Christian Tomuschat, Coordinador de la CEH en ocasión de la entrega del informe de la Comisión para el Esclarecimiento Histórico," Guatemala City, February 25, 1999.

<sup>76</sup> Tomuschat, "Clarification Commission in Guatemala."

<sup>77</sup> CERIGUA News Wire, Weekly Briefs, March 4, 1999.

Chile, these groups have helped strengthen the rule of law through rare legal victories in the country's shaky criminal system, often citing *Memoria del silencio* as contextual evidence.<sup>78</sup>

Following other truth commissions, the Comisión para el Esclarecimiento Histórico used a variety of methods to approach the past, resulting in a twelve-volume report weighted with statistical charts and analyses, pages upon pages of victims' names, typologies of violations, and lengthy and opaque discussions of national and international jurisprudence. But its influence and legacy resides in the confidence and lucidity of its historical conclusions. Such interpretive certainty has not, contrary to the fears of transitional-justice intellectuals, ended the debate over Guatemala's past but rather reinforced, however tentatively, those fighting to define its future.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Charles Hale *et al.* "Democracy as Subterfuge: Researchers under Siege in Guatemala," *LASA Forum* 33, no. 3 (Fall 2002): 6–10.

<sup>79</sup> Elizabeth Oglesby's study of the short and long-term impact of the CEH argues that the report did not "fix" a particular "version of history, but rather [established] some parameters within which future discussions can take place. In a context like Guatemala, where until recently it was extremely dangerous to raise the issue of human rights violations in public venue, this means establishing some firm ground, the Truth Commission report is out there with the imprimatur of the United Nations, it's impossible now to deny certain realities." Yet Oglesby points out that the interpretation of those realities are still debatable. For instance, the U.S. Agency of International Development-funded project to disseminate a summary of the report omits any mention of the United States' role in the violence, including the CIA's actions in 1954, and ignores the report's structural analysis, instead portraying the violence as the byproduct of armed struggle—a clear contradiction of the CEH's conclusions. Oglesby, "The Truth Commission and Teaching History in Guatemala," paper presented at Carnegie Council History and the Politics of Reconciliation Workshop, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, November 8, 2003.

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## A Historian's Brief Guide to New Museum Studies

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RANDOLPH STARN

IN 1989, THE EDITORS of the first book on history museums in the United States complained about a “blanket of critical silence” surrounding the subject. In 1992, the British museum specialist Eilean Hooper-Greenhill observed that the museum as a historical institution had not received “any rigorous form of critical analysis.” Other scholars and critics chimed in around the same time.<sup>1</sup> As it happened, a tidal wave of museum studies was just beginning to crest, many proclaiming critical agendas while complaining about their absence. The problem these days is how to navigate a flood of literature on the theory, practice, politics, and history of museums.

This should matter to historians. Museums and history are close kin, each with proprietary claims on gathering and interpreting materials from the past. By assembling objects outside everyday time and space, all museums are in some sense historical. According to some estimates, history museums and historic sites account for two of every three museums in this country; they are also the most widespread and accessible museum type, from the great public collections down to the small town's roomful of memorabilia. It is no stretch, except perhaps for our professional egos, to suppose that museums actually deliver more history, more effectively, more of the time, to more people than historians do. My guess is that many historians first got the itch for history from museums, surely more than from the textbooks they read at school. In today's conflicts over the purposes and means of representing the past, the museum has become (sometimes literally) the battlefield of choice.<sup>2</sup>

Special thanks to my colleagues at the National Humanities Center for sharing their thoughts about museums and many other things during my tenure there (2003–2004) as John T. Birkelund Fellow; the center's administration and staff could not have been more helpful. At Berkeley, Sarah Horowitz was the perfect research assistant and a museum enthusiast to boot. For their reading and encouragement on versions of this Brief Guide, I am indebted to Svetlana Alpers, Jordanna Bailkin, Mario Biagioli, Paula Findlen, Ivan Gaskell, István Rév, Frances Starn and Orin Starn; Michael Grossberg, editor extraordinary, and the *AHR*'s anonymous readers provided the keen and helpful comments that contributors expect and value from the journal.

<sup>1</sup> Warren Leon and Roy Rosenzweig, eds., *History Museums in the United States: A Critical Assessment* (Urbana, Ill., 1989), xi-xii; Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London and New York, 1992), 3. G. D. Lewis writes, “The story of the development of museums is still largely unwritten.” Lewis, “Introduction,” in J. M. A. Thompson, ed., *Manual of Curatorship: A Guide to Museum Practice* (London, 1986), 5. See also Krzysztof Pomian, “Museum und kulturelles Erbe,” in Gottfried Korff and M. Roth, eds., *Das historische Museum* (Frankfurt, 1990), 54; and on the near “invisibility” of the “museum industry” to academic research, see Sharon MacDonald, “Posing Questions about the Purposes of Museums,” review of *The New Museology*, Peter Vergo, ed., *Current Anthropology* 31, no. 2 (April 1990): 225.

<sup>2</sup> As of 2001, there were approximately 25,000 accredited museums in the world, more than 8,000 of them in the United States; the actual number including those not certified by or belonging to



The fact remains that navigation aids to recent museum studies are few and far between.<sup>3</sup> Sheer quantity is partly responsible for this, but so are the disconnects in the literature. Museum history is a case in point. Since the 1970s, history in the museum has become a thriving branch of public history, with publications and training programs aimed at museum work in public or corporate settings; academic historians, by and large more recently, have done important work on the cultural history of the museum. Even so, museum history is still written and taught primarily by museum professionals and people working in cultural and visual studies.<sup>4</sup> There are good historical reasons, if not necessarily good excuses, for these divisions of labor. Since the late nineteenth century, museum work and historical scholarship, often overlapping and interconnected before then, have followed different professional tracks. The academic historians had their archives and documents, the museum curators their objects and aura. Discursive prose was history's main medium, the collection and the catalogue were the museum's. Although the monumental "temples," "palaces," or "castles" of the great nineteenth-century public museums towered over their seminar rooms, the historians outflanked the competition; from their newly won university positions they relegated museum specialists, archivists, and other "auxiliaries" or "amateurs" to subaltern status as

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national or international organizations such as the UNESCO-affiliated International Council of Museums and Sites must be several times larger. The number of museum visits in the United States alone was estimated at 865 million between 1987 and 1998. American Association of Museums, *Museums Count* (Washington, D.C., 1994), 33; Jane Lusaka and John Strand, "The Boom—and What to Do about It," *Museum News* (November-December 1998): 59. The number of history museums is uncertain, in large part because definitions are slippery, but a 1989 survey estimated that there were 9,200 history museums and historic sites of a total of 13,800 museums in the United States. *American Association of Museums Data Report* (Washington, D. C., 1992), exhibit 9, no. 29. Opinion polls suggest that people in Europe and the United States trust museums over other sources about the past, more than eyewitnesses, elders, or high school teachers. David Lowenthal, "National Museums and Historical Truth," in Darryl McIntyre and Kirsten Wehner, eds., *National Museums, Negotiating Histories: Conference Proceedings* (Canberra, 2001), 164–65, citing Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life* (New York, 1998), 21; Magne Angvik and Bodo von Borries, eds., *Youth and History: A Comparative European Survey on Historical Consciousness and Political Attitudes among Adolescents*, 2 vols. (Hamburg, 1997), A 62–105, B 45.

<sup>3</sup> The standard sources for museum information and bibliography are the Smithsonian Institution Research Information System (<http://www.siris.si.edu/>), which, under "Specialized Research Bibliographies," as of January 1, 2004, cites 686 entries for "Museum Studies" and 43 entries for "Museology"; and the International Council of Museums/UNESCO Information Centre (<http://icom.museum/#infocentre>). Museum-related book series are published under the rubrics of Museum Studies, Heritage, or Museology by Routledge, University of Leicester Press, and Athlone Press; the Edifir Press series, "Voci del Museo," is an Italian equivalent. Susan Pearce has edited collections of reprints for Routledge: e.g., *The History of Museums*, 6 vols. (London, 1997); *Museums and Their Development: The European Tradition, 1700–1900*, 8 vols. (London, 1999). Though primarily devoted to museums and museum studies in the United States, *America's Museums*, a special issue of *Daedalus* 128, no. 3 (Summer 1999) and an earlier but still useful multi-authored survey, Michael Steven Shapiro, ed., *The Museum: A Reference Guide* (New York, Westport, Conn., and London, 1990), are ambitious interdisciplinary overviews.

<sup>4</sup> Museum history is routinely taught in museum studies programs leading to a certificate or academic degrees and museum careers. Some museum studies degree programs are linked to particular academic disciplines (art history, anthropology, natural sciences, public policy, and, in a few cases, history); others are not, including the largest at the University of Leicester (United Kingdom), with more than 250 students and 10 faculty members. More than 90 U.S. and international museum studies programs, many of them founded since the mid-1960s, are listed (in an incomplete survey) at the Training Program Web Sites Directory of the Smithsonian Center for Education and Museum Studies, <http://museumstudies.si.edu/TrainDirect.htm>.

occasionally useful technicians. These tribal divisions persist behind the smiling face of interdisciplinarity. It is a safe bet that museum workers are no more likely to read the *AHR* than academic historians are to read *Museum News*.<sup>5</sup>

More than a half century ago, a distinguished museum director was already worrying about the confusion of tongues that has actually come to pass in the newer museum studies.<sup>6</sup> Besides museum professionals and historians, the contributors include art historians, social scientists, philosophers, cultural studies scholars, critics, and journalists. If museum goers proverbially know what they like, people who work in museums or write about them tend to like what they know by virtue of training and affiliation. More often than not, museum insiders—administrators, curators, conservation specialists, designers, development and education staff—do not see eye to eye, let alone see as critics, historians, or social theorists might. Outsiders do not need to worry about such mundane matters as budgets, security, staffing, storage, or plumbing. They are free to treat museums as subjects and objects of higher criticism, political agendas, narratives about the past, and visions of the future. The attractions are greater because issues that might otherwise seem abstract or academic look material and immediate on display—and because people can hardly resist holding forth on some spectacular new museum building, curatorial scandal, blockbuster show, or “undiscovered” little museum.

Following a good museum precedent, I offer here a vade mecum to the newer museum studies. It is a brief guide because selectivity is obviously necessary; it is desirable, too, at a time when a new anthology on the idea of the museum is eight hundred pages thick, and the latest textbook on “the changing role of the museum” reprints thirty-four essays under hard covers.<sup>7</sup> I focus primarily on work that has appeared since the late 1980s in the United States, the United Kingdom and Commonwealth, and continental Europe insofar as it represents an influential and self-consciously “new” range of perspectives. To sort out and frame what I take to be the main issues and directions in this literature, I exhibit it (so to speak) in four sections, each with its particular theme: the genealogy of museums; the shifting status of the museum object; the politics of museum culture from the ideal of universality to “museum wars” over cultural difference; the past and future of the “museum experience.” By way of conclusion, I suggest what the stakes are or should be for historians.

The newer studies constantly remind us that museums are not neutral. While

<sup>5</sup> For the rise of professional differences, see Philippa Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians, and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838–1886* (Cambridge, 1986); and Rebecca Conard, *Benjamin Shambaugh and the Intellectual Foundations of Public History* (Iowa City, 2002). Patrick W. O'Bannon, “Nothing Succeeds Like Succession: Ponderings on the Future of Public History,” *Public Historian* 24, no. 3 (Summer 2002): 9–16, relates ongoing tales of divorce and mutual suspicion between academic and public historians since the 1970s. *The Public Historian*, the journal of the National Council of Public Historians, regularly publishes thorough and thoughtful museum reviews in order “to discuss issues of historical exposition, presentation, and understanding through exhibits mounted in the United States and abroad.” To my knowledge, the *Journal of American History* is the only academic history journal of record in this country or abroad to feature regular reviews (in nos. 1 and 3 of each volume) of museum exhibits.

<sup>6</sup> Francis Henry Taylor, *Babel's Tower: The Dilemma of the Modern Museum* (New York, 1945).

<sup>7</sup> Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago, eds., *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum* (Aldershot, 2004); Gail Anderson, ed., *Reinventing the Museum: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on the Paradigm Shift* (Walnut Creek, Calif., 2004).

they collect and conserve, classify and display, research and educate, they also deliver messages and make arguments, and so does this Brief Guide. It grows out of my own need to come to terms with dogmas about the relative or literal authority of the past that confront us, or are said to confront us, these days. My historian's instinct in the bright glare of ideas about objectivity, authenticity, and truth is to look at the historical institutions where physical evidence of the past is tested and organized, not just talked about.<sup>8</sup> And this brings me to a further reason why museums should matter to historians. One recurrent and sometimes unintended lesson of the newer museum studies is that the dividing line between old and new practices and purposes is far from being sharp and fixed. This is not to say that today's challenges to the identity of the museum are merely *déjà vu*. If anything, the challenges mean that we can learn from seeing how transformations have come about (or not) in the past. The itinerary that follows is bound to be provisional given the pace of change in the museum world, but any worthwhile guide should encourage its users to go beyond it.

UNTIL THE 1980s, most museum history was written by museum professionals and a few interested amateurs telling a story of progress—or so it seemed in the wake of the revisionism that followed.<sup>9</sup> The newer museum studies were resolutely historical yet ambivalent about history, at once committed to treating museums as historical institutions and skeptical about histories of their development. As a result the history of an institution has given way to its multiple genealogies.

The initiative for rewriting museum history did not come from historians but from an insurgency in the museum world. In 1985, the journal of the International Council of Museums editorialized nervously about a New Museology in France, “a movement of criticism and reform incorporating new developments in the social and human sciences with the aim of revitalizing techniques of display, exhibition, and communication, and, ultimately, altering traditional relationships between the institution [of the museum] and the public.”<sup>10</sup> Toward the end of the decade, a group of British museum specialists and cultural studies scholars published *The New Museology*, a collection of essays ranging from the status of museum objects to ways of experiencing them. The connecting link, according to editor Peter Vergo, was “widespread dissatisfaction with the ‘old museology,’ both within and outside the

<sup>8</sup> Randolph Starn, *Varieties of Cultural History*, Bibliotheca Eruditorum 32 (Goldbach, Germany, 2002), chap. 17, “Authenticity and Historic Preservation: Towards an Authentic History,” 281–96; and chap. 18, “Truths in the Archives,” 345–59; Starn, “Three Ages of ‘Patina’ in Painting,” *Representations* 78, no. 1 (Spring 2002): 86–115.

<sup>9</sup> The most informed and thoughtful of the older works is Alma S. Wittlin, *Museums: In Search of a Usable Future* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1970). Trained in museum studies in the 1930s in Vienna and Berlin, Wittlin emigrated to England and then to the United States, where she worked as a leading academic expert, organizer, and advocate in museum education; her 1970 book, expanding and updating her *The Museum: Its History and Its Tasks in Education*, International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction, Karl Mannheim, ed. (London, 1949) remains valuable for its experienced engagement with the past and the future prospects of museums. See, too, the books by Edward P. Alexander, a distinguished museum administrator who turned to museum history late in his career, esp. *Museums in Motion: An Introduction to the History and Function of Museums* (Nashville, Tenn., 1979).

<sup>10</sup> *Museum* 148 (1985): 184; similarly, “Muséologie (Nouvelle),” in *Encyclopaedia Universalis*, *Supplément*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1984–1985), 2: 958.

museum profession in that it is too much about museum *methods* and too little about the purposes of museums; that museology has in the past only infrequently been seen, if it has been seen at all, as a theoretical or humanistic discipline; and that the kinds of questions raised about the development of the museum have been all too rarely articulated, let alone discussed.”<sup>11</sup>

When the “old museology” was still new, Scottish archaeologist and bibliophile David Murray, in an exuberant charter text, had saluted the triumph of a new era of scientific description, classification, and explanation over a jumbled and credulous past.<sup>12</sup> For all its keenness to censure much less blatant cheerleading than this, the New Museology echoed the idea of breaking with the past, together with the implication that the history of museums was not steady and continuous. The radical new extension was to single out differences to the point of dissolving the museum as a coherent subject. In a nice instance of radical propositions turned mainstream, this view has become a dominant one in museum studies. To quote a knowledgeable writer who is otherwise quite critical of new directions in museum studies, “institutions now called museums have family resemblances to one another, but they share neither a common history nor a common cause.”<sup>13</sup>

Far from putting historically minded museum scholars out of work, the emphasis on difference and diversity multiplied their opportunities as museum history devolved into multiple genealogies for a promiscuous breed of institutions. Of course the genealogical approach has a genealogy of its own. As a critical method descending from Friedrich Nietzsche on through Michel Foucault, Nietzsche’s self-proclaimed heir as genealogist or archeologist of culture and institutions, it fosters counter-histories and, though this aspect usually goes unremarked, counter-myths to the unifying forces, factors, and directions of conventional historiography. Foucault himself paid scant attention to museums, but, by the late 1980s, they were grafted into his analyses of genealogies of power and knowledge for asylums, hospitals, and prisons.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Peter Vergo, “Introduction,” in Vergo, ed., *The New Museology* (London, 1989), 3. The barely concealed hostility in such manifestos breaks out in one of the first and last stabs at new museological wit: Vergo compares the development of the museum profession to that of “the coelacanth, that remarkable creature whose brain, in the course of its development from embryo to adult, shrinks in relation to its size.” Vergo, “Introduction,” 3. Another influential collection of essays from the late 1980s, Robert Lumley, ed., *The Museum Time Machine: Putting Cultures on Display* (London and New York, 1988), was similarly critical of the profession.

<sup>12</sup> David Murray, *Museums: Their History and Their Use, with a Bibliography and List of Museums in the United Kingdom*, 2 vols. (1904; rpt. edn. with an introduction by Paula Findlen, Staten Island, N.Y., 2000): 1: 1.

<sup>13</sup> Hilde S. Hein, *The Museum in Transition: A Philosophical Perspective* (Washington, D.C., 2000), 18. Similarly, Hooper-Greenhill in *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, 191, observes: “There is no essential museum. The museum is not a pre-constituted entity that is produced in the same way at all times. No ‘direct ancestors’ . . . or ‘fundamental role’ . . . can be identified.” The difficulties faced by the International Council of Museums in formulating official definitions for the 1970s and 1980s are surveyed by Kenneth Hudson, “Attempts to Define ‘Museum,’” in *Museums for the 1980s: A Survey of World Trends* (London, 1977), 1–7.

<sup>14</sup> Foucault’s most programmatic and most influential statement on the genealogical method is the essay “Nietzsche, Genealogy, History,” in Michel Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, Donald F. Bouchard, ed. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1977), 27–49; cf. Rudi Visker, *Michel Foucault: Genealogy as Critique*, Chris Turner, trans. (New York and London, 1995); and for “imaginary genealogies” as fictional but functional alternatives for thinking about actual states of affairs, see Bernard Williams, *Truth and Truthfulness: An Essay in Genealogy* (Princeton, N.J., 2002), esp. 20–40.



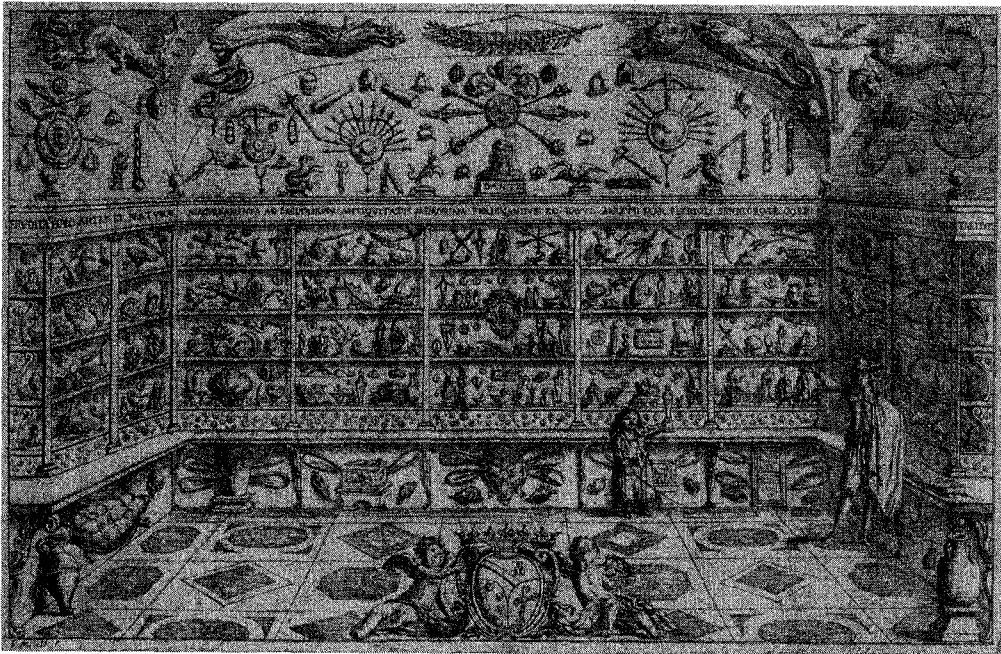


Figure 1. A Baroque “Cabinet of Curiosities”: frontispiece engraving by G. Mitelli in Lorenzo Legati, *Museo Cospiano annesso a quello del famoso Ulisse Aldrovandi e donato alla sua patria dall’illustrissimo Signor Ferdinando Cospi* (Bologna, 1677). Reproduced with kind permission of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

One of the first full-fledged demonstrations of this interpretative strategy was Eilean Hooper-Greenhill’s *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, several times reprinted since its appearance in 1992. “[I]nstead of attempting to find generalisations and unities,” Hooper-Greenhill proposed “to look for differences, for change, and for rupture.”<sup>15</sup> This “effective history” as distinct from the “normal history” of progressive development would clear the way to a full appreciation for the array of alternative practices that the old teleological accounts had glossed over or suppressed. On the model of Foucault’s templates of successive formations of power and knowledge (the famous “epistemes”), Hooper-Greenhill discussed a succession of sites of collection and display—the Medici Palace in Florence; the Renaissance *Wunderkammer* or Cabinet of Curiosities (see Fig. 1); the natural history collections of the seventeenth century, particularly the Repository of the Royal Society in England; and the modern “Disciplinary Museum” for which the postrevolutionary Louvre was the prototype.<sup>16</sup> The result is not a connected museum history, let alone a history of “the” museum. It is rather a kind of genealogical chart of the shifting constellations of epistemology and authority governing the collection of material objects.

Even though it branded previous histories too dismissively as “ineffective

<sup>15</sup> Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, 9–10.

<sup>16</sup> Sharon MacDonald produces another similarly schematic sequence for museums of science in “Exhibitions of Power and Powers of Exhibition: An Introduction to the Politics of Display,” in MacDonald, ed., *The Politics of Display: Museums, Science, and Culture* (London and New York, 1998), esp. 5–17.



history," the Foucauldian turn inspired fresh investigation of the multiple cultural and political investments of collecting and its institutions across time. However, Hooper-Greenhill's work also underscored the liabilities of this agenda, not least when contradicting some of its own guiding principles. With a hardening of the categories, the stress on contingency tended to become a necessity, and propositions critical of orthodoxies became themselves dogmatic. In insisting on material interests, on the power side of a binomial equation as if it foreclosed the knowledge side, Hooper-Greenhill's analyses were more reductive than Foucault's. Despite the critique of teleological plotting in museum history, her book culminates in a Whiggish teleology turned upside down. Of the modern "Disciplinary Museum" fully realized in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Hooper-Greenhill writes in a near-parody of Foucault that "its seriated public spaces, surveyed and controlled, where knowledge is offered for passive consumption, are emblematic of the museum as one of the apparatuses that created 'docile bodies' through disciplinary technologies."<sup>17</sup> Australian cultural studies scholar Tony Bennett argues for a more benign reading of "the exhibitionary complex" installed in "the modern public museum." It was "disciplinary" too, but "in seeking to render the forces and principles of order visible . . . it open[ed] objects to more public contexts of inspection and visibility" with the aim of producing "a voluntary, self-regulating citizenry."<sup>18</sup> This expressly liberal account has not prevailed. Art critic Douglas Crimp condemned the modern art museum as one more "institution of confinement"; for having insulated art from the material conditions and creative ferment of its making, the modern temple of art deserves its postmodern fate as a lifeless ruin.<sup>19</sup> In what must be the furthest stretch of Foucault, Timothy W. Luke has recently asserted that the ever-increasing role of entertainment in museums "has powerful carceral implications that suggest a practice of containment and confinement."<sup>20</sup>

One reason for the complaining chorus is itself genealogical: inbreeding. Introducing a self-consciously venturesome collection of conference papers published in 1994, Daniel J. Sherman and Irit Rogoff referred to a "shared intellectual formation" and "a coming of age of a broad range of critical analyses [that] have converged on the museum." More than breadth, however, the phrasing suggests convergence on the order of a concerted assault. The preferred strategy was "unmasking" to show "not only that museums have a history but that their enterprise entails an attempt to conceal it."<sup>21</sup> In a shrewdly mischievous review of this and two other related collections of essays, Ivan Gaskell turns the strategy back on itself to unmask what he calls "naïve outrage" and "museophobia."<sup>22</sup> Even

<sup>17</sup> Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, 190.

<sup>18</sup> Tony Bennett, *Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London and New York, 1995), 73.

<sup>19</sup> Douglas Crimp, *On the Museum's Ruins* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993), 287.

<sup>20</sup> Timothy W. Luke, *Museum Politics: Power Plays at the Exhibition* (Minneapolis, Minn. and London, 2002), 4.

<sup>21</sup> Daniel J. Sherman and Irit Rogoff, "Introduction: Frameworks for Critical Analysis," in Sherman and Rogoff, eds., *Museum/Culture: Histories, Discourses, Spectacles* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1994), x-xi.

<sup>22</sup> Ivan Gaskell, review of *On the Museum's Ruins*, by Douglas Crimp, *The Cultures of Collecting*, by John Elsner and Roger Cardinal, and *Museum Culture: Histories, Discourses, Spectacles*, by Daniel J. Sherman and Irit Rogoff, eds., *Art Bulletin* 77, no. 4 (1995): 673-75.

moderately experienced museum goers, he supposes (he is himself an art historian, historian, and museum curator), know well enough that museums are not reliably transparent or disinterested institutions any more than, say, universities are. We would not have needed a cluster of canonical critics, such as Foucault, Theodor Adorno, and Walter Benjamin, to make this point. If anything, Gaskell suggests, formulaic critiques of "the museum" as the creature of "hegemonic capitalism" have themselves begun to look like museum exhibits. He singles out in particular Adorno's slight but disproportionately influential essay "The Valéry Proust Museum," with its wordplay on museums as mausoleums, "family sepulchres of works of art" that embalm the accumulation of capital in showily useless forms, thereby embodying its allure and obfuscating its dominion.<sup>23</sup> But as Neil Harris, pioneering the history of American museum culture, pointed out years ago, Gilded Age capitalists, not to mention their Renaissance forebears, had little to learn about such uses of useless forms of capital.<sup>24</sup> There is not much to unmask in Joseph C. Choate's 1880 exhortation to "ye capitalists" as patrons of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York:

[Consider] the glory and better fortune that may yet be yours, if you only listen to our advice to convert pork into porcelain, grain and produce into priceless pottery . . . and railroad shares . . . into the glorified canvas of the world's masters, that shall adorn these walls for centuries. The rage of Wall Street is to hunt the philosopher's stone, to convert all baser things into gold, which is but dross; but ours is the higher ambition to convert your useless gold into things of beauty.<sup>25</sup>

Fortunately, genealogies have, in their multiple forks and branches, remedies for reductive hypotheses. The ramifications of the new museum studies are too complex, dynamic, and indeed historical to be boxed in tightly. In myths of origins, the muses on Mount Parnassus were already jockeying for position; we know for certain that Alexandria's Ur-museum, "the precinct of the muses," was not only a library but also a combination of temple, mausoleum, treasury, and research center.<sup>26</sup> Paula Findlen's studies of early modern collecting have shown how the term "museum" became a metaphor for the collection and display of knowledge before it became an actual location; in fluid Renaissance usage deriving from

<sup>23</sup> Gaskell, review, 674, referring to Theodor Adorno, "The Valéry Proust Museum," in Adorno, *Prisms*, Samuel and Shierry Weber, trans. (London, 1967), 175. Updating the analysis of the museum's complicity with capitalism, Pierre Bourdieu's 1960s research on "the true function of museums" famously argued that museums furnish the "distinction" of "cultural capital" to the elite so as "to increase the feeling of belonging for some [and] of exclusion for others." Pierre Bourdieu and Alain Darbel, *The Love of Art: European Art Museums and Their Publics* [1969], Caroline Beattie and Nick Merriman, trans. (Stanford, Calif., 1990), 21; for a cogent critique, see Nick Merriman, "Museum Visiting as a Cultural Phenomenon," in Vergo, ed., *The New Museology*, 149–71. For the anti-capitalist museum critique updated yet again in terms of "late capitalism," see Carol Duncan and Alan Wallach, "The Museum of Modern Art as Late Capitalist Ritual: An Iconographic Analysis [1978]," and Rosalind Krauss, "The Cultural Logic of the Late Capitalist Museum [1990]," reprinted in Preziosi and Farago, eds., *Grasping the World*, 483–500, 600–18.

<sup>24</sup> Neil Harris, "The Gilded Age Revisited: Boston and the Museum Movement," *American Quarterly* 14, no. 4 (1962): 545–64.

<sup>25</sup> Joseph C. Choate, a founding trustee of the Met, on the occasion of its dedication, as quoted by Calvin Tomkins, *Merchants and Masterpieces: The Story of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1970).

<sup>26</sup> Luciano Canfora, *The Vanished Library: A Wonder of the Ancient World*, Martin Ryle, trans. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1990).

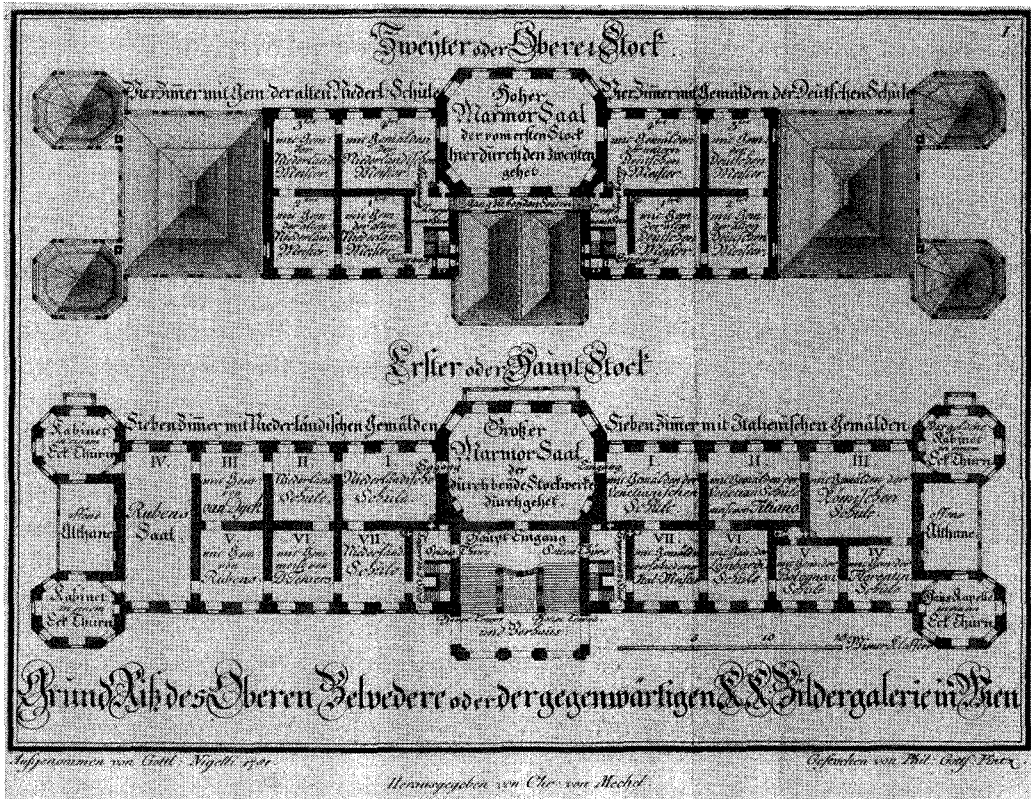


Figure 2. A Prototype of the Modern Survey Museum: Christian von Mechel's 1781 Plan for the Belvedere Picture Gallery in Vienna engraved by Philip Gottfried Pintz in Christian von Mechel, *Verzeichniss der Gemälde der kaiserlich königlichen Bilder Gallerie in Wien . . . 1781* (Vienna, 1783), Plate 1. Reproduced with kind permission of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

humanist scholarship on Greek and Roman antiquity, a museum could just as well be an idea or a book as a room or a building.<sup>27</sup> As late as the 1820s, plans for Berlin's Altes Museum, soon to be a model national museum, elicited earnest controversies over its name—whether it should not rather be called a monument, treasury, studio, or academy.<sup>28</sup>

Even the common wisdom that the nineteenth century was “the century of the museum” has run into the genealogical complication that museum types proliferated within, alongside, and beyond the “modern public museum.” (See Fig. 2.) A number of studies have reinstated international exhibitions, fairs, and department

<sup>27</sup> Paula Findlen, “The Museum: Its Classical Etymology and Renaissance Genealogy,” *Journal of the History of Collections* 1, no. 1 (1989): 59–78. This is the first of Findlen's many important studies, which include *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1994); most recently, “The Renaissance in the Museum,” in Allen J. Grieco, Michael Rocke, and Fiorella Gioffredi Superbi, eds., *The Italian Renaissance in the Twentieth Century: Acts of an International Conference, Florence, Villa I Tatti, June 9–11, 1999* (Florence, 2002), 93–116, anticipates Findlen's arguments for the Renaissance “birth” of the museum in a forthcoming book, *A Fragmentary Past: Museums and the Renaissance*. Andreas Grote, ed., *Macrocosmos in Microcosmo: Die Welt in der Stube; zur Geschichte des Sammelns 1450 bis 1800* (Opladen, 1994) is a rich collection of articles by major scholars on Renaissance and early modern European museums.

<sup>28</sup> Crimp, *On the Museum's Ruins*, 294.



stores—once lopped off the museum's family tree for their unseemly mix of commerce, culture, and entertainment—as a major inspiration for the organization and display of museum material in the later nineteenth century.<sup>29</sup> The strenuously monumental exertions of so much museum architecture obviously had much to compensate for. In a concise 1895 manual on museum administration, Smithsonian Secretary George Brown Goode defined the goals of “the modern Museum idea” as advancement of learning, public accessibility, and systematic arrangement but then went on to show just how many-sided its aims were. He divided museums into two types according to contents, from art to zoology, and according to intended public, from national to private. Next he observed that a museum may fulfill any or all of a number of purposes—propagating knowledge, preserving the record, serving the classroom and the lecture hall, making a “Bureau of Information” available for “the occasional enquirer, laboring man, schoolboy, journalist, public speaker or savant.” Some of Brown Goode's principles are as provocative today as they ever were; for example, “A finished Museum is a dead museum, and a dead museum is a useless museum.”<sup>30</sup> Historian George Stocking's conclusion for anthropology's “Museum Period,” 1840–1900, seems to fit “the modern Museum idea” more generally: “it is hard to locate the historical moment [when] the institutional moment of the museum was not intensely problematic.”<sup>31</sup>

Certainly the rise of national museums to the top rung of the museum hierarchy in the nineteenth century was neither linear, uniform, nor consistent. Brown Goode made much of an Anglo-American scenario celebrating a happy union of private benefaction and public reform with “rational recreation” and “moral uplift” for the working classes.<sup>32</sup> The French paradigm of the centralized state museum had

<sup>29</sup> See Andrea Witcomb, *Re-imagining the Museum: Beyond the Mausoleum* (London and New York, 2003), 18–26, for references and a discerning synthesis drawing on the work, among others, of Meg Armstrong, Robert Rydell, Paul Greenhalgh, and Tony Bennett. These connections and the tensions engendered by them are a major theme in the collected essays of Neil Harris, *Cultural Excursions: Marketing Appetites and Cultural Tastes in Modern America* (Chicago, 1990), e.g., chap. 3 “Museums, Merchandising, and Popular Taste: The Struggle for Influence,” 56–81; chap. 6 “Great American Fairs and American Cities: The Role of Chicago's Columbian Exposition,” 11–31; see too, more recently, Harris's “The Divided House of the American Art Museum,” in *America's Museums*, 33–56; cf. Barbara J. Black, *On Exhibit: Victorians and Their Museums* (Charlottesville, Va. and London, 2000), 4, 19, for a nuanced account showing that in Britain, particularly in London, “the museum did possess a centripetal force . . . [as] the age's great enterprise,” but that it also generated “frenzy and furor.”

<sup>30</sup> G. Brown Goode, *The Principles of Museum Administration* (New York, 1895), 2–3 (on the lack of a general treatise on museum administration and the classification of museum types); 9 (the diverse functions of museums); 10 (“the dead museum”).

<sup>31</sup> George W. Stocking, “Museums and Material Culture,” in Stocking, ed., *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture* (Madison, Wis., 1985), 8, citing the example of contemporaneous divergences such as Pitt Rivers's linear evolutionary exhibits in his Oxford museum vs. Franz Boas's context-oriented exhibits of multiple functions and meanings in keeping with the principles of liberal relativism.

<sup>32</sup> “The appreciation of the utility of Museums to the great public lies at the foundation of what is known as ‘the modern Museum idea’”; its development together with libraries, reading rooms, and parks “referred to by some wise person as ‘passionless reformers’ . . . is due to Great Britain in much greater degree than to any other nation.” Brown Goode, *Principles*, 71–72, citing the Great Exhibition of 1851, John Ruskin's promotion of working-class museums, and the work of Sir Henry Cole in Birmingham. The guiding precept is printed in capital letters: “THE DEGREE OF CIVILIZATION TO WHICH ANY NATION, CITY OR PROVINCE HAS ATTAINED IS BEST SHOWN BY THE CHARACTER OF ITS PUBLIC MUSEUMS AND THE LIBERALITY WITH WHICH THEY ARE MAINTAINED,” Brown Goode, *Principles*, 73.

precedents going back, in good Tocquevillian fashion, to the ancien régime well before its national reconfiguration in the wake of the Revolution.<sup>33</sup> However, the French paradigm is as much a historiographical as a historical construction, a product of narratives centered on the state in some proportion to the real and imagined centrifugal pressures that have threatened it. Daniel J. Sherman has further complicated the picture by documenting the pull of local interests and the policy of distributing artworks from Paris to provincial museums throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>34</sup>

There were many national variations in any case. As historians Susan A. Crane and James J. Sheehan have shown in exemplary studies of the development of a national museum culture, the Germanies before unification in 1871 generated any number of museum types, often intertwined with one another. The German National Museum in Nürnberg (1852), established before German unification, was a hybrid institution. To consolidate, museum officials had both to depend on and to outmaneuver local collectors, learned associations, civic promoters, and princely patrons; as a result, centralizing aspirations were strong and Prussian models of state control all the more thoroughgoing.<sup>35</sup> Elsewhere in Europe, the National Museum of Poland (1862), predating a Polish national state, was partly housed in Switzerland. An Italian National Museum was founded in Turin in 1878, nearly a decade after Italian unification, and the national system of museum administration in Italy, though often overlooked in surveys of museum history, remains the most highly developed—and bureaucratically intricate—in the world. Beginning in 1922 with the International Museums Office associated with the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations, transnational museum organizations have been organized mostly by national and therefore highly diverse memberships.<sup>36</sup>

Scrambling lines of descent still further, opposing agendas and controversies are part and parcel of the museum's development, not an untoward aberration. They are better followed in older works insofar as newer museum studies tend to treat "the modern public museum" as a fixed type, not to say a straw man. Alma S. Wittlin counts three phases of "reform" projects and any number of variations since

<sup>33</sup> Since its appearance in 1980, Carol Duncan's essay "From the Princely Gallery to the Public Art Museum: The Louvre Museum and the National Gallery," revised in her *Civilising Rituals: Inside the Public Art Museum* (London, 1995), 21–47, has set the terms for the thesis that the public art museum of the "new bourgeois state," especially in postrevolutionary France, inherited and transformed the cultural politics of absolutism; see Jean-Pierre Babelon, "Le Louvre: Demeure des Rois, Temple des Arts," in Pierre Nora, ed., *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, vol. 2, *La Nation* (Paris, 1986), part 3, 169–216; and for a closely documented account, Andrew McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics, and the Origins of the Modern Art Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1994).

<sup>34</sup> Daniel J. Sherman, *Worthy Monuments: Art Museums and the Politics of Culture in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1989); see, too, Eduard Pommier, "Naissance des Musées de Province," in Nora, ed., *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, vol. 2, part 2, 451–93.

<sup>35</sup> James J. Sheehan, *Museums in the German Art World from the End of the Old Regime to the Rise of Modernism* (New York, 2000); Susan A. Crane, *Collecting and Historical Consciousness in Early Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2000), esp. chap. 4, "Finding Form for the Content: Historical Museums," 105–42.

<sup>36</sup> Wittlin, *Museums*, 81–101, is a good survey of the rise of national museums and international organizations; the Paris-based International Council of Museums currently has more than ninety national members.



the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>37</sup> In the Golden Age of the public museum before World War I centralization, specialization, and classification were watchwords, but this period also saw a quantum leap in the number and range of the museum-going public. The growth of large public museums in many instances facilitated rather than preempted the work of local museums by setting an example and encouraging loans and exchanges. However grasping in other respects, great capitalists were the most generous benefactors of the new public museums. Wittlin distinguishes a second period between the world wars when educating the public became the focus of reform and at the same time of bitter opposition. Critics claiming a speciously venerable pedigree fumed over a "Philistine victory," an "atrophy of perception in Anglo-Saxons," the illusion of "thinking educational effort the panacea for all the ills of society."<sup>38</sup> Wittlin characterizes a third period from 1945 until the time of her writing in the late 1960s as a time of "search and conflict, of gestation, achievement, and deadlock such as museums have never known before."<sup>39</sup> Her inventory of postwar trends reads like an agenda for the sharpest museum critics since the 1980s. Initiatives later touted as new departures against resistance and inertia had many precedents, including complaints about resistance and inertia.<sup>40</sup>

An old museum hand concluded some years ago that "the history of *the* museum is a pious fraud."<sup>41</sup> Stephen E. Weil's epigram suits our itinerary so far. It has a working demonstration in David Wilson and his associates' Museum of Jurassic Technology in Venice, California. This parodic assembly of museum displays has become a three-star attraction for students and critics of museums since its opening in 1989. Susan A. Crane, summing up, delivers something like a genealogical epiphany:

The Museum of Jurassic Technology can simultaneously exist as an art installation, curiosity cabinet, museum of museums, fact and fiction—a cabinet, moreover, that uses its collection

<sup>37</sup> Wittlin, *Museums*, 121–93. Neil Harris, "Polling for Opinions," *Museum News* 69, no. 5 (September–October 1990): 46–55, gives a negative turn to a similar chronology: "authoritarian condescension" before World War I; "authoritarian experimentalism" in the early twentieth century, "populist deference" after World War II; "existential scrutiny" in the 1990s. See Ivan Karp, "Museums and Communities," in Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer, and Steven D. Lavine, eds., *Museums and Communities* (Washington, D.C. and London, 1992), 8–11, for an appreciative summary that also takes issue with Harris over the negative chronology. Veteran museum administrator and teacher Edward P. Alexander has used the biographies of museum directors with very different, often highly controversial agendas as a touchstone for the history of modern museums in his *Museum Masters: Their Museums and Their Influence* (Nashville, Tenn., 1983); and *The Museum in America: Innovators and Pioneers* (Walnut Creek, Calif., 1997).

<sup>38</sup> John Walker, "The Genesis of the National Gallery of Art," *Art in America* 22, no. 4 (1944): 21; and Benjamin I. Gilman, *Museum Ideals* (Cambridge, Mass., 1923), 24, quoted by Wittlin, *Museums*, 151.

<sup>39</sup> Wittlin, *Museums*, 163.

<sup>40</sup> Wittlin, *Museums*, 175, lists the following post-World War II trends: "An increasing interest and changes of taste in art museums; An increasing concern with ecology, in both museums of natural history and of anthropology; An awareness of minority groups; Manners of display tending toward a Total Environment; A museum-school marriage; A new emphasis on research; Multi-Track versus One-Track establishments; A widely spread malaise with regard to existing conditions in the presence of program."

<sup>41</sup> Stephen E. Weil, *A Cabinet of Curiosities: Inquiries into Museums and Their Prospects* (Washington, D.C., 1995), 13.

of museum exhibits as witnesses to museums past, artifacts of the evolving narrative of the history of museums.<sup>42</sup>

Whether and how such a narrative can be pieced together again, piously or not, is a major question facing present and future students of museums and their history.

IN THE CONVENTIONAL wisdom, "the object" is primary material that museums convert into a lasting cultural good through collection, classification, conservation, and exhibition. A move that the new museum studies share with recent historians of material culture is to de-materialize objects as mere semiotic indicators or to re-materialize them in social, political, and economic contexts, or to do both. One way or another, objects are not supposed "to speak for themselves" but are spoken for. They are "reticent," awaiting their ventriloquists; or, in a deliberate oxymoron, they are "discursive objects" or "rhetorical objects," which is to say subjects of shifting semantic fields.<sup>43</sup> The theory-wielding newer studies have taken a lion's share of credit or blame for the displacement or even dissolution of objects into discourse. There is a triumphalist tone to visual studies theorist and critic Mieke Bal's pronouncement that museum professionals have learned to accept "the idea that a museum is a discourse, and an exhibition an utterance within that discourse."<sup>44</sup> Here again, however, the case is not closed, and since old echoes resound in the new lexicon, new confrontations can also be understood at least in part as the confirmation of what had been routine museum practice all along.

Historian Steven Conn provides a benchmark account of the museum as the institutional setting of an "object-based epistemology."<sup>45</sup> Its heyday came in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, from natural history and anthropology museums to museums of history and art; as early as the 1920s it had lost pride of place to the

<sup>42</sup> Susan A. Crane, "Curious Cabinets and Imaginary Museums," in Crane, ed., *Museums and Memory* (Stanford, Calif., 2002), 80; see Lawrence Weschler, *Mr. Wilson's Cabinet of Wonder* (New York, 1995); and for a full bibliography, see Crane, "Curious Cabinets," 227–28, n. 1; cf. Black, *On Exhibit*, 19, for a kind of genealogical museum sublime (or ridiculous): "As the collective voice of these thinkers [nineteenth and twentieth-century writers on museums] would conclude, the museum is a whorehouse is a mausoleum is a department store is a secular cathedral is a disease is a glory."

<sup>43</sup> See, for example, Ludmilla Jordanova, "Objects of Knowledge: A Historical Perspective on Museums," and Peter Vergo, "The Reticent Object," in Vergo, ed., *The New Museology*, 22–40, 41–59; Edwina Taborsky, "The Discursive Object," and Peter van Mensch, "Methodological Museology; or Towards a Theory of Museum Practice," in Susan Pearce, ed., *Objects of Knowledge* (London, 1990), 50–77, 141–57; James Clifford, "Objects and Selves," in Stocking, ed., *Objects and Others*, 236–46; Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, Heritage* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1998), chap. 1, "Objects of Ethnography" rev. essay of 1991, 17–78; Elaine Heumann Gurian, "What is the Object of this Exercise? A Meandering Exploration of the Many Meanings of Objects in Museums," in *America's Museums*, 163–83. Hein, *The Museum in Transition*, chap. 4, "Transcending the Object," 51–68, offers a critical analysis of the epistemological displacement of museum objects. The terminology derives directly or indirectly from the notion of "the discourse object" in Michel Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge* (London, 1972), 140.

<sup>44</sup> Mieke Bal, "The Discourse of the Museum," in Reesa Ferguson, Bruce W. Ferguson, and Sandy Naire, eds., *Thinking about Exhibitions* (New York, 1996), 214; cf. the measured critique of similar claims by Ivan Gaskell, *Vermeer's Wager: Speculations on Art History, Theory and Art Museums* (London, 2000), 14, e.g., "the subsumption of the visual by the textual—proposed by a preponderance of orthodox theorists—seems to me to be erroneous, for it involves an oversimplification of the artefact, and our responses to it."

<sup>45</sup> Steven Conn, *Museums and American Intellectual Life, 1876–1926* (Chicago and London, 1998).

theoretical, experimental, and text-oriented production of knowledge centered in universities. Conn's most telling insight is that what looks at first like naive object-based materialism was not strictly object-bound. Smithsonian Secretary Brown Goode suggested just the opposite in a much-quoted maxim: "An efficient educational museum may be described as a collection of instructive labels, each illustrated by a well-selected specimen." Tony Bennett quotes contemporary British museum administrators to the same effect: specimens were to be appended to texts rather than the other way around.<sup>46</sup> The reigning assumption was that "objects could tell stories to 'the untrained observer'": they were "visual sentences" backed up by a metanarrative of "evolutionary progress . . . from simple to complex, from savage to civilized, from ancient to modern."<sup>47</sup> Narrative trajectories of this sort were meant to be informative and performative, guides to discovery and scripts for progressive understanding. Material things could not produce these results on their own.

Though limited to museums in the United States from 1876–1926, from the centennial to the sesquicentennial of American independence, Conn's study points to the problematic status of objects in the old museology and the new. This is not surprising. Objects are remarkably unobjective subjects, if we mean by objective stable, self-sufficient, or self-explanatory; they can be thought of as things, as modes of being, or, as in medieval philosophy, the "objects" of God's creation that we would call subjects. The most intense and arguably most profound debates about museum objects date from the period of the French Revolution. Between 1789 and Napoleon's campaigns of plunder and confiscation—"liberation" in revolutionary parlance—it was by no means a foregone conclusion that museums would prevail over vandalism, auctioneering, or indifference. The bibliography on the eventual triumph of the public museum in France is the fullest dossier we have on the new or vastly enlarged public museums of Europe during their formative years in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>48</sup>

The French art world polymath Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy and no less a philosopher than Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel elaborated opposing philosophies of "museification." Already in the 1790s, Quatremère had come to the unsettling realization that the amassing of cultural treasures by conquering French armies amounted to an assault on culture and history, a desecration and not a deliverance. It was a political hoax to proclaim that looting served the cause of civilization and enlightenment. Even if museums opened to a citizen-public the preserves of a privileged few, the museum "kills art to make history" by wrenching works of art out of their original context. Quatremère had developed a full-scale critique along these lines by 1806 but published it after the Restoration in 1815, when it was relatively safe. His position has dominated a modern lament over the complicity of the museum in the divorce between art and experience. Didier Maleuvre summarizes:

<sup>46</sup> George Brown Goode, "The Museums of the Future," in *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for the Year Ending June 30, 1889*; *Report of the National Museum* (Washington, D.C., 1891), 433; cf. Bennett, *Birth of the Museum*, 42–43, quoting Sir William Henry Flower, *Essays on Museums and Other Subjects Connected with Natural History* (London, 1898), 18, 49.

<sup>47</sup> Conn, *Museums and American Intellectual Life*, 262.

<sup>48</sup> See notes 33–34 above.

Loss of context, loss of cultural meaning, destruction of a direct connection with life, promotion of an esthetically alienated mode of observation, instigation of a passive attitude toward the past and of a debilitating mood of nostalgia—the museum seemed to embody these ills of the modern age, an age that, by its own account, had forsaken the immanent ties with tradition that had blessed every previous era.<sup>49</sup>

In his lectures on the *Phenomenology of Spirit*, Hegel seems at first (and, writing in 1807, independently) to concur with Quatremère. Maleuvre quotes the passage in which the philosopher refers to ancient artifacts newly imprisoned in “an intricate scaffolding of the dead elements of their outward existence—the language, the historical circumstances, etc. in place of the inner elements of the ethical life which environed, created, and inspired them.”<sup>50</sup> But then, reversing himself (and Quatremère), Hegel goes on to argue that the relationship between an art work and its original milieu is superficial; instead of being alienated by passing through time and space, art is perfected as an object of conscious understanding by being removed from its original setting and put in a place for contemplation and study. Thus, as Maleuvre puts it, “antiquity is more genuinely itself in the British Museum than in the temple at Paestum.”<sup>51</sup> The immediacy and immanence whose loss Quatremère mourned must be transcended. On this account museums not only preserve objects, they endow them with cultural coherence and value.

Over the long term, the argument between Quatremère and Hegel has refused to go away. The idea that the museum objects take on another, higher life as discursive subjects represents a Hegelian tilt in the newer museum studies; hostility toward the museum as a collection of lifeless objects is the Quatremèrian riposte. But on an altogether mundane level we have grown accustomed to seeing older museum collections transformed, new museums opening, traveling museum shows coming and going, museum objects taking on different meanings as they are rearranged, restored, or removed from some familiar place. The “permanent collection” sounds increasingly like wishful thinking or a joke. The newer museum studies underscore an object lesson that all but the most casual museum visitors have already learned—and are likely to resent when some favorite piece is involved. “Anyone who has attended closely to the movement of artefacts in a museum,” observed Charles Saumarez Smith when he was assistant keeper at that great treasure trove, the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, “will understand that the assumption that, in a museum, artefacts are somehow static, safe and out of the territory in which their meaning and use can be transformed is demonstrably

<sup>49</sup> Didier Maleuvre, *Museum Memories: History, Technology, Art* (Stanford, Calif., 1999), 1–2; cf. Maleuvre, 15–39; and for the argument that Quatremère was not so much opposed to museums per se as to the removal of art from that “universal museum,” the city of Rome, see Jean-Louis Déotte, “Rome, the Archetypal Museum, and the Louvre, the Negation of Division,” in Susan Pearce, ed., *Art in Museums* (London and Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1995), 215–32; on the long afterlife of Quatremère’s critique, see Daniel J. Sherman, “Quatremère/Benjamin/Marx: Art Museums, Aura, and Commodity Fetishism,” in Sherman and Rogoff, eds., *Museum/Culture*, 123–43.

<sup>50</sup> G. W. F. Hegel, *Phenomenology of Spirit*, A. V. Miller, trans. (Oxford, 1977), 456, cited in Maleuvre, *Museum Memories*, 25.

<sup>51</sup> Maleuvre, *Museum Memories*, 28; see Sheehan, *Museums in the German Art World*, 51–52, 87–93, for German repercussions of the controversy and the reception of Hegel’s position in the new professions of art history and museology.



false.”<sup>52</sup> Change the label and the surroundings and an object takes on a new significance. Museum donors and benefactors may specify conditions into perpetuity, but the binding clauses of bequests that survive time, trustees, lawyers, and changes in taste are the exception not the rule. In the irreverent quip of a former director of the Musée D’Orsay in Paris, “Trying out paintings on walls” is the painting curator’s best “museum science.”<sup>53</sup>

Saumarez Smith raises the key point: “What is the most important consistent property in determining the form of an object?” He goes on to recast his question in terms of a choice between “intrinsic” and “extrinsic” properties:

Is it the intrinsic physical properties of the object, the material from which it is made, the way the body is manipulated and structured according to the inherent skills of craftsmanship or technique? Or is it rather the extrinsic circumstances of the surrounding culture, the demands of the client and the ruling aesthetic of a particular period?<sup>54</sup>

Depending on the context, we can answer either way. Yet the newer museum studies show, sometimes in spite of themselves, that we usually have it both ways. While museum theory and practice have periodically tipped to more “intrinsic” or more “extrinsic” extremes, one view may entail the other, as we have seen, in Steven Conn’s analysis of “object-based epistemology” and the periodic flare-up of the argument between Quatremère and Hegel. Conn’s nostalgia over the loss of the museum object’s authority is probably premature in any case: “while objects may no longer function epistemologically, they can still function—for me at any rate—magically.”<sup>55</sup> Consigning material things to immaterial networks of interpretation renders their inarticulate presence all the more mysterious or “magical.” Paradoxically, the displacement of objects into discourse may also re-enchant them.

There are signs of a return or, it has been said, a “revenge” of the object. The material expertise of the connoisseur, curator, restorer, or museum scientist remains a bottom line in museum work. While critics may deride the technicians for tunnel vision or simply ignore them, the demand for their specialized knowledge has increased as a result of technological innovations, market forces escalating values, and public controversies over accountability and authenticity. “Materials memory” is one of the newer formulations of a form of recollection that resides in the workmanship, alterations, or patterns of wear in the materials that people make and use over time. A corollary of the recent fascination with collective memory, this notion contrasts embodied, nonlinear deposits of memory with the more or less

<sup>52</sup> Charles Saumarez Smith, “Museums, Artefacts, and Meanings,” in Vergo, ed., *The New Museology*, 9.

<sup>53</sup> Quoted in *Le débat* 41 (March-May 1987): 65; this seemingly tongue-in-cheek remark is not so far removed from the preparations for the opening of the rebuilt Museum of Modern Art in New York as reported by Arthur Lubow, “Remoderning: How MOMA Will Retell the Story of Modernism,” *The New York Times Magazine*, October 3, 2004, 60–69, 94, 120–21. For the limits of binding clauses on “cultural treasures,” see the essays by legal scholar Joseph Sax, *Playing Darts with a Rembrandt: Public and Private Rights in Cultural Treasures* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1999); for fresh historical analysis on the rise and decline of public claims to cultural property, see Jordanna Bailkin, *The Culture of Property: The Crisis of Liberalism in Modern Britain* (Chicago and London, 2004).

<sup>54</sup> Charles Saumarez Smith, “The Philosophy of Museum Display: The Continuing Debate,” in *The V & A Album* 5 (1986): 37, quoted by Mark Goodwin, “Objects, Power, and Belief in mid-Victorian England—the Origins of the Victoria and Albert Museum,” in Pearce, ed., *Objects of Knowledge*, 10.

<sup>55</sup> Conn, *Museums and American Intellectual Life*, 262.



abstract unfolding of historiographical narrative; in one form or another, the contrast has inspired the recovery or outright construction of alternative histories for marginalized or excluded groups. Over and against the idea that objects are the passive registers of symbolic meanings or exchange values, some revisionist thinking in anthropology stresses their material specificity as things with inalienable pasts.<sup>56</sup>

This revisionist enterprise has real-world consequences in the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (1990) in the United States and comparable initiatives in the interests of native people elsewhere, particularly in Canada and Australia. Statutes of this sort have written into law the view that objects are bearers and witnesses of values past and present, not just their signifiers or specimens. Where it is possible to establish legitimate claims, the legislation mandates the restitution to native groups of human remains and material goods "collected" by institutions such as ethnographic or local history museums. Predictably enough, enforcement has met institutional resistance in the name of public interest, scholarship, and science. Between extremes, however, many creative accommodations have emerged: exchanges and loans of objects between museums and tribal groups; exhibitions and workshops bringing together museum professionals and "community curators"; the revival or adaptive reuse of techniques and traditions. Critics argue that the results are forced, inauthentic, and evasive, but this line of criticism tends to attribute a purity to cultural objects that the chipped glaze, the torn thread, or the worn surface insistently belie.<sup>57</sup> It is quite possible to imagine some future version of this Brief Guide suggesting that museum studies had turned—or returned—from the primacy of discourse to the priority of object.

IF THE "UNIVERSAL SURVEY" was the highest ideal of the great public museums, partiality, in all senses of the word, is a major theme and preoccupation of the

<sup>56</sup> For a survey of "the museum-memory nexus [as] one of the richest sites for inquiry into the production of cultural and personal knowledge," see Susan A. Crane, "Introduction," in Crane, ed., *Museums and Memory*, 1–13; Gaynor Kavanagh, *Dream Spaces: Memory and the Museum* (London and New York, 2000) is a practice-oriented study by an experienced museum professional. Working with concepts from linguistics and cognitive studies, Diana Drake Wilson, "Realizing Memory, Transforming History: *Euro/American/Indians*," in Crane, ed., *Museums and Memory*, 115–36, constructs a theoretical rationale for a "materials memory" that has "referential immediacy and effects . . . as truthful and socially, culturally, psychologically, and physically consequential for subjectivity and experience." Quotation on 34. Cf., however, the provocative historiographical essay that brings out the equivocations in the collective memory literature by Kerwin Lee Klein, "On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse," *Representations*, no. 69 (Winter 2000): 127–43. On "inalienable possessions," see Fred R. Myers, "Introduction," in Myers, ed., *The Empire of Things* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., and Oxford, 2001), 12–15, referring particularly to the work of anthropologist Annette Weiner.

<sup>57</sup> A very large bibliography ranges from local studies to reflections on cross-cultural encounters in museums as staging grounds of memory, identity formation, and identity politics; two excellent examples of each kind are, respectively, Michael Ross and Reg Crowshoe, "Shadows and Sacred Geography: First Nations History-Making from an Alberta Perspective," in Gaynor Kavanagh, ed., *Making Histories in Museums* (London and New York, 1996), 240–56; and the work of James Clifford, esp., the essay chapters in *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1997), chap. 5, "Four Northwest Coast Museums: Travel Reflections," 107–145; chap. 7, "Museums as Contact Zones," 188–219. For the debates surrounding Native American repatriation issues, see Devon A. Mihesuah, ed., *Repatriation Reader: Who Owns American Indian Remains?* (Lincoln, Neb., 2000); Jed Riffe has produced and directed an excellent documentary film on the subject, *Who Owns the Past?*

newer museum studies. *Exhibiting Cultures*, a collection of papers from a landmark conference held at the Smithsonian Institution and published in 1991, opened with the editors' essay on museums and cultural difference. In this introduction, Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine discuss a 1987 exhibition of Hispanic art at the Museum of Arts, Houston, where "the exhibition strategy reflect[ed] good current thinking about the nature of pluralism." Somewhere between forbearance and frustration they conclude that "no matter how the exhibition was organized, it would have been disputed" because "the subject matter inevitably was open to multiple responses . . . [m]useums attempting to act responsibly in complex, multicultural environments are bound to find themselves enmeshed in controversy."<sup>58</sup> Nearly ten years later, the Smithsonian produced a volume of articles on recent exhibitions to coincide with its one-hundred-fiftieth anniversary. The title this time was *Exhibiting Dilemmas*, hardly a cue for celebration; the articles, all by Smithsonian curators, are mostly about beleaguered choices. "Museum wars" had become a kind of Western Front of the "culture wars" with no end in sight beyond a whole genre of case studies and casebooks on the latest battles.<sup>59</sup>

Since the exhibit is a professional unit of reckoning, museum workers are at home with this genre.<sup>60</sup> The Smithsonian curators' dilemmas turn out to be mostly on-the-job issues, however much intensified by rising and often conflicting expectations from administrators, patrons, and publics. Their dilemmas are grounded in specific cases rather like minefields are grounded. So, for example, to obtain the centerpiece of an exhibit at the National Museum of American History featuring the Woolworth's lunch counter of the historic 1960 sit-in in Greensboro, North Carolina, the curators had to negotiate with corporate executives, city government and community groups, an ad hoc African-American association promoting its own museum in the Woolworth's building, a carpenters' union, and not least their Smithsonian colleagues, because exhibition space was limited in the museum's crowded Political History Hall.<sup>61</sup> Another collection of curators' papers, *Making Histories in Museums*, revolves around British and Commonwealth history museums, from medical and agricultural to minority and childhood museums. The title is a gentle teaser. The authors do not want to argue that history is merely made up. Their aim, according to editor Gaynor Kavanaugh, was "to open museums to braver and better researched histories presented with great imagination and real regard

<sup>58</sup> Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, "Museums and Multiculturalism," in Karp and Levine, eds., *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington, D.C., 1991), 5.

<sup>59</sup> Amy Henderson and Adrienne Louise Kaeppler, eds., *Exhibiting Dilemmas: Issues of Representation at the Smithsonian* (Washington, D.C., 1997); Willard L. Boyd, "Museums as Centers of Controversy," in *America's Museums*, 85–228, is a survey by a distinguished museum professional, lawyer, and academic administrator.

<sup>60</sup> Marlene Chambers, "Critiquing Exhibition Criticism," *Museum News* (September/October 1999): 31–74, notes the long-standing popularity of sessions at annual meetings of museum associations that are devoted to critiquing exhibitions; she offers a clever taxonomy: "Yankee Trader criticism, with its authoritarian, didactic emphasis on putting across a message; Houdini criticism, which focuses on escaping the culturally conditioned paradigms that shape our messages and their meanings; LEGO criticism, which views meaning making as a shared social process." Quotation on 31.

<sup>61</sup> William Yeingst and Lonnie B. Bunch, "Curating the Recent Past: The Woolworth Lunch Counter, Greensboro, North Carolina," in Henderson and Kaeppler, eds., *Exhibiting Dilemmas*, 143–55; an eight-foot section of the counter was eventually (and provisionally) installed in a second-floor corridor, outside the main exhibit but in view of the star-spangled banner, and accompanied by photo murals on the civil rights movement.

for visitors.” These were fighting words in the wake of a national row over the so-called “heritage industry”—whether the fixation on historic preservation in Margaret Thatcher’s Britain was pandering to nostalgia for empire and the privileges of class.<sup>62</sup>

Academics outside the museum tend to reduce the issues of representing difference to power struggles. In the introduction to *Displays of Power*, media scholar Steven Dubin declares that “symbolic politics is replacing realpolitik,” then announces that the stories he will be telling about U.S. museum controversies “are stories about power: losing it and gaining it, exercising it and resisting it.”<sup>63</sup> Shades of Foucault notwithstanding, when it comes to explanations, Dubin is a robust, certainly an un-Foucauldian social functionalist; conflict over the representation of social identities in museums and elsewhere has broken out, he suggests, because the relative status of different groups is in flux. With explicit bows to Foucault, “power” in American museums is also political scientist Timothy W. Luke’s keyword in his *Museum Politics*, from his subtitle—*Power Plays at the Exhibition*—to his conclusion. The “single, theoretically unified critique” with which the book ends is actually a composite of critiques of late capitalism and neo-liberalism tagged onto the proposition that “museums can pull together publics and their knowledge of culture, history, nature, or technology in ways that artfully mediate the power of those governing the people and their things.”<sup>64</sup> That museums may do many other things besides, among them inspiring this criticism, is evidently not on Luke’s agenda.

Once they get past formulas, Dubin and Luke chronicle between them some twenty contested museum sites or exhibitions in the United States. Dubin goes back to the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s “Harlem on my Mind” (1969) as a forerunner of later conflicts. The scenario is depressingly familiar: breaches along ethnic, generational, and ideological lines; a “revolt of the exhibited” against a well-intentioned but uncomprehending museum staff; minorities mobilized, Us vs. Them, against the “establishment”; an opportunistic press spoiling for a fight and a story.<sup>65</sup> While patterns recur, the calculus changes from one case to another. Dubin’s interviews with some fifty veteran museum warriors are illuminating in this respect, and so are Luke’s chapters comparing museums or exhibitions.<sup>66</sup> Dubin

<sup>62</sup> Gaynor Kavanagh, “Preface,” in Kavanagh, ed., *Making Histories*, xiii. See David Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past: The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (New York, 1996); and Robert Lumley, “The Debate on Heritage Reviewed,” in Robert Miles and Lauro Zavala, eds., *Towards the Museum of the Future: New European Perspectives* (London and New York, 1994), 57–69.

<sup>63</sup> Steven C. Dubin, *Displays of Power: Controversy in the American Museum from the Gay to Sensation* (New York, 1999), 2–3.

<sup>64</sup> Luke, *Museum Politics*, 221.

<sup>65</sup> Dubin, *Displays of Power*, chap. 2 “Crossing 125th Street: Harlem on my Mind Revisited,” 19–63. Dubin’s cases are “Gaelic Gotham,” Museum of the City of New York, 1996; “Sigmund Freud: Conflict and Culture,” Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., 1996; “The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier, 1820–1920,” National Museum of American Art, Washington, D.C., 1991; the *Enola Gay* controversy; and “Sensation: Young British Artists from the Saatchi Collection,” Brooklyn Museum of Art, 1999.

<sup>66</sup> Luke discusses singly or comparatively the *Enola Gay* controversy; “The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier, 1820–1920,” National Museum of American Art, Washington, D.C. (1991) and the Gene Autry Museum of Western Heritage, Los Angeles; the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., and the Museum of Tolerance, Los Angeles; two exhibits (1988, 1998) on medieval Japanese art and culture, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.;

concludes that “social and corporate elites, ‘knowledge workers,’ and community-based groups struggle in various combinations”; and that temperament and training matter as much to the outcome as institutional structures.<sup>67</sup> Since charges of misrepresentation fly fast and loose in these confrontations, it is all the more important that they not be represented as if the dynamics of “power” were essentially the same.

The *Enola Gay* affair is instructive here—the ominously cumbersome working title of the exhibition planned for the National Air and Space Museum was “The Crossroads: The End of World War II, the Atomic Bomb and the Origins of the Cold War.” The literature is huge, much of it with a partisan edge; “denying history” is one of the milder imputations of a multitude of sins.<sup>68</sup> “Left revisionism” supposedly played up the role of racism and to the loss and suffering of the victims at Hiroshima; “rejectionists” supposedly traded historical understanding for commemoration and patriotic celebration. This is not the place to rehearse the details, except to note that the devil surely lay more in the stereotypes than in the details. Former Air Force historian Richard H. Kohn identifies at least five “separate stories” criss-crossing one another. They include long-standing disagreements over the Hiroshima bombing before and after the event; the slate of “culture wars” in the early 1990s; skirmishes over turf among museum staff and military and civilian interest groups; the coincidence of a newly appointed Smithsonian secretary and an aggressive new Republican majority in congress. Other fissures appeared within larger alignments; for example, some veterans’ groups worked with the museum and deplored the cancellation of the show.<sup>69</sup> These mini-histories are good remedies for bouts of Manichean dualism.

Museums of ethnography and natural history were another front in the “museum wars.”<sup>70</sup> Until the 1980s, they were comfortably authoritative, rather dusty islands in the museum archipelago. But tensions were built into their institutional profile: scientific authority and showmanship; objectivity and racial and cultural preferences; specimens and spoils; disciplined curiosity and habits of condescension and exclusion—the list could go on. A more demanding, more mobile, and increasingly heterogeneous public put these uneasy compromises under pressure; critics in the museum world and the academy exposed them with relish,

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the American Museum of Natural History, New York, and the Missouri Botanical Garden, St. Louis; the Arizona-Sonora Desert Museum, Tucson; the Pima Air and Space Museum, Tucson; the Tech Museum of Innovation, San Jose, California; The Newseum in Arlington, Virginia.

<sup>67</sup> Dubin, *Displays of Power*, 15.

<sup>68</sup> The literature includes several books, a collection of documents and texts, and more than 500 articles. See Kai Bird and Lawrence Lifschultz, eds., *Hiroshima's Shadow: Writings on the Denial of History and the Smithsonian Controversy* (Stony Creek, Conn., 1998); and for recent episodes, “The New Enola Gay Controversy—Pro and Con,” *History News Network*, November 17, 2003. (<http://hnn.us/articles/1807.html>).

<sup>69</sup> Richard H. Kohn, “History at Risk: The Case of the *Enola Gay*,” in Edward T. Linenthal and Tom Engelhardt, eds., *History Wars: The Enola Gay and Other Battles for the American Past* (New York, 1996), 142, 169.

<sup>70</sup> Moira G. Simpson, *Making Representations: Museums in the Post-Colonial Era* (London and New York, 1996), is a full survey, with extensive fieldwork on many specific cases; Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn, eds., *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture, and the Museum* (London and New York, 1998) is a representative selection of papers originally presented at the 1995 British Association of Art Historians’ Conference.



often with a self-satisfaction that such vulnerable targets hardly warranted. The explosive mix of identity politics and academic scrutiny reached critical mass in hostile reactions to the Modern Museum of Art's (MOMA) 1984 exhibition "Primitivism in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and Modern" and the spate of events, including museum shows, commemorating Columbus's 1492 voyage—"discovery," "invasion," "genocide," or "exchange," according to the point of view.<sup>71</sup>

The ambiguous protagonist of these critiques was that intimate alien, the Other. One strand of criticism ran through variations on Edward Said's books on "orientalism" and the culture of imperialism. The museum connection was particularly apposite because Said had made a point of the Western construction of an alluring but dangerous exotic "East" that found legitimacy in scholarly collecting and classification—just as museums did.<sup>72</sup> Another thread of criticism ran through social studies of science and technology (SSST), with their historical and ideological critique of objectivity in science. In 1985, Donna Haraway, a trained biologist working as a feminist theorist and ethnographer of contemporary culture, published a close-grained, paradigm-making essay on the African Mammals Hall in the American Museum of Natural History in New York. The dioramas of stuffed animals staged to celebrate the virtues of patriarchy, empire, and make-believe nature would never look so "real" again.<sup>73</sup> A loose union of anthropology and art history opened the way to further analysis of the category of the "natural." If "primitive art" was close to nature, it was, in what became the orthodox account, only because the West needed it to be so as at once an escape from its own enervation and a confirmation of Western superiority. In these analyses, as elsewhere in the newer museum studies, feminist critics gendered the family of man.<sup>74</sup>

Museums have responded more or less effectively to assertions of difference,

<sup>71</sup> For the MOMA exhibition, see esp. James Clifford, "Histories of the Tribal and the Modern," in Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), 89–214 and the references in n. 74 below; for a convenient survey of the vast outpouring, much of it critical, occasioned by the Columbian Quincentennial, see Simpson, *Making Representations*, 40–43; she also covers exhibitions that galvanized memorable protests along similar lines in the United Kingdom and Canada such as, *Hidden Peoples of the Amazon*, Museum of Mankind, London, 1985–1986; and *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples*, Glenbow Museum, Calgary, 1988.

<sup>72</sup> A point stressed by Barringer and Flynn, eds., in their introduction to *Colonialism and the Object*, 2, with reference to Edward Said's *Orientalism* (New York, 1978) and *Culture and Imperialism* (New York, 1993).

<sup>73</sup> Donna Haraway, "Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy for the Garden of Eden" (1985, rev. 1989), reprinted in Haraway, *The Haraway Reader* (London and New York, 2004), 151–97; Annie C. Coombes, *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (New Haven, Conn. and London, 1994) is another landmark study, complementary to Haraway's, on British high imperial conceptions of Africa.

<sup>74</sup> See esp. Susan Hiller, ed., *The Myth of Primitivism: Perspectives on Art* (London and New York, 1991); Sally Price, *Primitive Art in Civilized Places* (Chicago and London, 1991); Clifford, "Histories of the Tribal and the Modern"; and Shelly Errington, *The Death of Authentic Primitive Art and Other Tales of Progress* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1998). For a thoughtful review acknowledging the positive results but also the unresolved difficulties arising from the critique of primitivism, see Ruth B. Phillips, "Where Is 'Africa'? Re-Viewing Art and Artifact in the Age of Globalization," *American Anthropologist* 104, no. 3 (2002): 944–52, reprinted in Preziosi and Farago, eds., *Grasping the World*, 758–74. For gender, see Jane K. Glaser and Artemis H. Zenetou, eds., *Gender Perspectives: Essays on Women in Museums* (Washington, D.C. and St. Louis, 1994).

certainly more effectively than critics like to admit, let alone approve of. As crises over "sensitive" materials became practically routine, the Australian National Museum in Sydney and the Science Museum of Minnesota formed, in 1993, "rapid response" and "protest response" teams and task forces. Security is a bottom line, but "crisis management" also anticipates and incorporates objections by "product testing" with community outreach and focus groups.<sup>75</sup> Another response, the "collaborative exhibit," solicits the participation of a collection or exhibition's "stakeholders," sometimes in conjunction with negotiations for the restitution of objects to groups with claims on them. Over and against implied omniscience and actual anonymity, the "perspectival exhibition" specifies the point of view and identifies the responsible curatorial staff. These initiatives jostle unevenly with liberal and professional ideals of "balance" enjoining both respect for cultural differences and consensual standards.<sup>76</sup>

While the new wave of museum studies was still gaining momentum, a well-informed and not unsympathetic reviewer commented, "We have reached the limits of one thousand flowers blooming."<sup>77</sup> The limits have proved both less and more constraining than she may have supposed. Museums, museum-like institutions, collections, and exhibits have gone on multiplying, sprouting off from or against established institutions. (See Fig. 3.) Rather than withering with globalization, they have blossomed more than ever, depending on the theory, as an unintended consequence, a cover for political control and capitalist market penetration, or a site of productive resistance to the leveling pressures of capitalism and technology. As for limits, the appeal to pluralism has turned orthodox with its own variations on the jargon of "multiculturalism," "polyvocality," "decentering," "reflexivity," or "hybridity." Budgetary stringency and stiff competition in the culture marketplace have dramatically increased since the 1990s. The benefits of more specialized, more culturally diverse museums have run up against the liabilities of the withdrawal of broad-based public support. By licensing incommensurability or by striving for balance that may result in obscuring or trivializing difference and fail to satisfy anyway, the pluralist solution has become part of the problem.<sup>78</sup> In a recent anthology, Annie E. Coombes and Avtar Brah offer a powerful assessment of the pitfalls of celebrating cultural hybrids.<sup>79</sup> Thomas F.

<sup>75</sup> Simpson, *Making Representations*, 43–44.

<sup>76</sup> Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and Their Visitors* (London and New York, 1994), 6–34, inventories some of these strategies, with an emphasis on marketing; see, too, her edition of essays *Cultural Diversity: Developing Museum Audiences in Britain* (London and Washington, D.C., 1997); for an overview, see Boyd, "Museums as Centers of Controversy," *America's Museums* 185–228; and Simpson, *Making Representations*.

<sup>77</sup> Jo Blatti, "The Halls Are Made of Marble, There's a Guard at Every Door," *American Quarterly* 45, no. 3 (September 1993): 281.

<sup>78</sup> Tony Bennett, a leading advocate for a museum criticism engaged with public policy, has been criticized for failing to spell out the criteria by which policies should be judged and what directions they should move in. Tony Bennett, "Putting Policy into Cultural Studies," in Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula A. Treichler, eds., *Cultural Studies* (New York, 1992), 23–37; and Jim McGuigan, *Culture and the Public Sphere* (London, 1996). For reflections by a seasoned observer, see the latest collection of essays by Stephen E. Weil, *Making Museums Matter* (Washington, D.C. and London, 2002).

<sup>79</sup> Avtar Brah and Annie E. Coombes, eds., "Introduction: The Conundrum of 'Mixing,'" *Hybridity and Its Discontents: Politics, Science, Culture* (London and New York, 2000), 2, question the ethics of "providing endlessly differentiated experiences on an expanding menu of delectation while the subjects

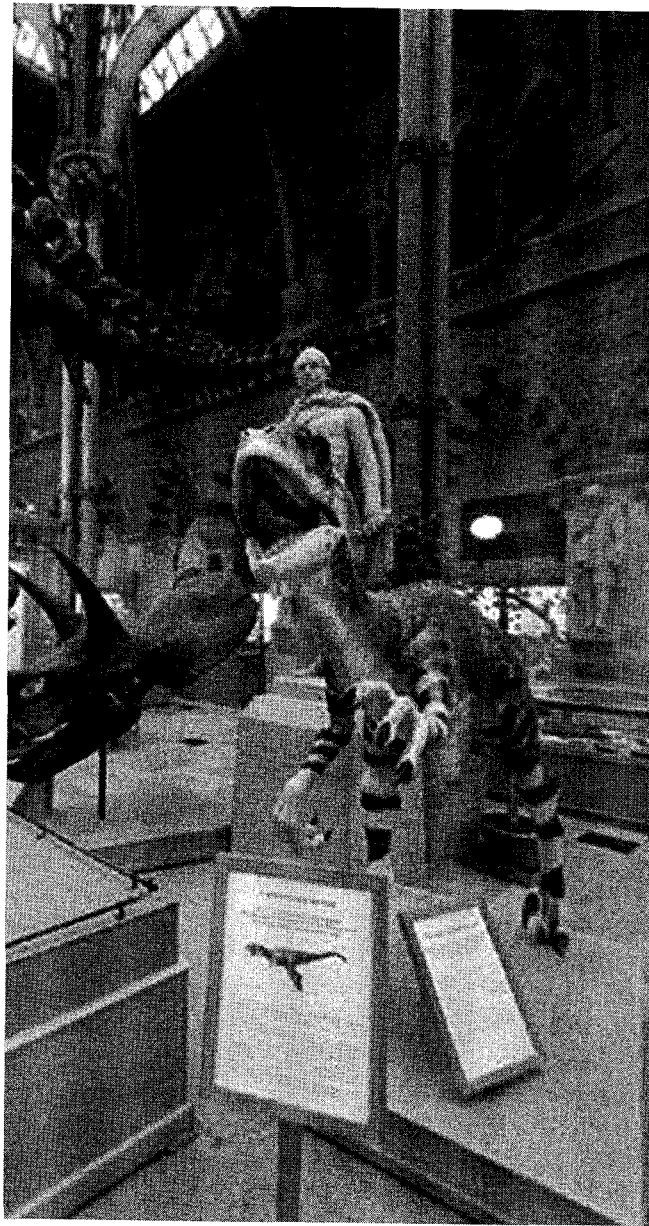


Figure 3. Postmodern Museology: Virtual Tour of the Oxford University Museum of Natural History, Home Page (<http://www.chem.ox.ac.uk/oxfordtour/universitymuseum>). Reproduced with kind permission of the Oxford Museum of Natural History. "Virtual visitors" can view the museum online from nineteen different vantage points. Courtesy of Karl Harrison, Oxford University.

Gieryn gives a sobering account of striving for "balance" in a close analysis of the disputes over the *Enola Gay* and the National Museum of American History's 1994 exhibition "Science in American Life." He learned that the mantle of fairness, trust,

of this feast continue to experience the kind of discrimination which makes their own material existence at best precarious and at worst intolerable."

and credibility was the prize in a tug-of-war; the frank recognition that there were “multiple epistemic communities” played into the hands of the most partisan contenders. Gieryn ends up “depressed by the realization that none of our sometimes well-intentioned rhetorical weapons (objectivity, interpretative skill, dispassion) are fail-safe in convincing everybody else to accept our stories over different ones better aligned with their interests and faiths . . . , and cheered only the score at half-time: a one to one draw.”<sup>80</sup>

James Clifford's adaptation of the notion of “contact zones” to museums is an unflinching and perhaps the most cogent attempt to square the circle of universality and difference. Culture critic Mary Louise Pratt defines a contact zone as “the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict.”<sup>81</sup> Clifford takes off from there to argue that museums can be seen as sites of “an ongoing historical, political, moral *relationship*—a power-charged set of exchanges, of push and pull.” Since such exchanges are not symmetrical or homogeneous on either side, smoothly controlled from the top down or uniformly resisted from the bottom up, “community experience” and “curatorial authority” have no preemptive rights. “By thinking of their mission as contact work—decentered and traversed by cultural and political negotiations that are out of any imagined community's control—museums may begin to grapple with the real difficulties of dialogue, alliance, inequality, and translation.”<sup>82</sup> And in doing this, our itinerary so far will suggest, museums will be drawing on the mixed identities, functions, and values they have long since accommodated over time.

AS MUCH AS DIFFERENCE and dissension, the newer museum studies are preoccupied with dilution and distraction. This is a museum variation on historians' worries about historical amnesia, the speeding up of time, and the impact of new technologies, not to mention a sluggish job market. With museums updating themselves as cultural marketplaces, anchors of redevelopment projects, public service centers, and architectural showplaces, these preoccupations are all the more intense. The most common complaints inside the museum world are that authority has shifted away from curators to the design, outreach, and development staff; that the blockbuster show has turned into a media circus, a funding device, and a business deal; that museums have sold their souls to a global network of infotainment and, slightly better perhaps, edutainment. According to visitor surveys, the public is hard pressed to tell the difference between museums, exhibits in department stores or airports, and historic districts, or theme parks.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Thomas F. Gieryn, “Balancing Acts: Science, *Enola Gay*, and History Wars at the Smithsonian,” MacDonald, ed., *The Politics of Display*, 197–228, quotation, 221.

<sup>81</sup> Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel and Transculturation* (London, 1992), 6, quoted by James Clifford, “Museums as Contact Zones,” in *Routes*, 192.

<sup>82</sup> Clifford, “Museums as Contact Zones,” 213.

<sup>83</sup> See the reviews of present and future challenges in Miles and Zavala, eds., *Towards the Museum of the Future*; Patrick Boylan, ed., *Museums 2000: Politics, People, Professionals and Profit* (London, 1998); and Harold Skramstad, “An Agenda for American Museums in the Twenty-First Century,” and



How, when, and indeed whether “the museum experience” has changed or should change is at the center of such concerns. Hilde S. Hein, a philosopher with considerable museum experience, maintains that we are in the midst of a “conceptual revolution . . . that calls into question the very premises on which museums were grounded.” She means by this a devaluation of the museum’s collections as the source of “real meaning and value . . . , leaving behind waves of interpretation, affect, and experience.”<sup>84</sup> While acknowledging contemporary theories—the “hyperreality” of Umberto Eco, the “society of the spectacle” of Guy Debord, the “simulacra” and “demise of reference” of Jean Baudrillard—Hein roots the changes she identifies in a long tradition. She points out that “virtual reality” is a Neoplatonic expression for “as-if” effects. That “[a]ctual objects thus seem superfluous to the experience of their reality . . . ,” Hein archly notes, is “a hypothesis long entertained by mystics and visionaries.” Under the spell of this idea, today’s museums have “shift[ed] their allegiance from real objects to real experience.”<sup>85</sup> Working against the grain, Hein thinks this is a very bad idea and wields the club of the “real” with more force than it can sustain after two or more decades of critical probing.

However, practically everyone agrees that “experience” is a priority of the up-to-date museum. (See Fig. 4.) The latest edition of a professional museum manual is perfectly straightforward about this: “the criterion of success for a museum exhibition is whether it has achieved an affective experience, inducing a new attitude or interest, not whether visitors walk away from the museum having learned specific facts or having comprehended the basic principles of a scholarly discipline.”<sup>86</sup> Explanations vary. David Lowenthal, master chronicler of indiscriminate appetites for the past, plays on a willful inversion of Victorian standards: “artifacts give way to performance, display cases to interactive engagement, memorabilia to montage.”<sup>87</sup> Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett points to mass tourism and mass media as models for visitor-friendly museums that “aspire to the vividness of experience, to immersion in an environment, to an appeal to all the senses, to action and interactivity, to excitement, and beyond that to aliveness.”<sup>88</sup> Theme parks and Disneylands have come in for blame, though open-air museums came first, beginning in the late nineteenth century with Denmark’s pieced-together

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Maxwell L. Anderson, “Museums of the Future: The Impact of Technology on Museum Practices,” in *America’s Museums*, 109–28, 129–62. The Colorado-based Visitors’ Study Association (<http://visitorstudies.org>) is a gateway to current information and research; the International Library of Visitor Studies (ILVS) is an annually updated bibliography of visitor research; for an overview (mostly of British surveys), with positive proposals on relating museums to new publics, see Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and Their Visitors*.

<sup>84</sup> Hein, *The Museum in Transition*, viii, 71.

<sup>85</sup> Hein, *The Museum in Transition*, 77, 84, 86–7.

<sup>86</sup> Barry Lord and Gail Dexter Lord, eds., *The Manual of Museum Exhibitions* (Walnut Creek, Calif., 2002), 17. John H. Falk and Lynn D. Dierking, *The Museum Experience* (Washington, D.C., 1992), have developed a multi-factored sociological-psychological model of the “museum experience”; “[e]xperience design is a new and special skill, and it will be in great demand in the future,” according to Skramstad, “An Agenda,” in *America’s Museums*, 123.

<sup>87</sup> David Lowenthal, “White Elephants and Ivory Towers: Embattled Museums? (The British Museum’s Annual A. W. Franks Lecture 1999),” *Museum Management and Curatorship* 18, no. 2 (2000): 175.

<sup>88</sup> Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture*, 232.

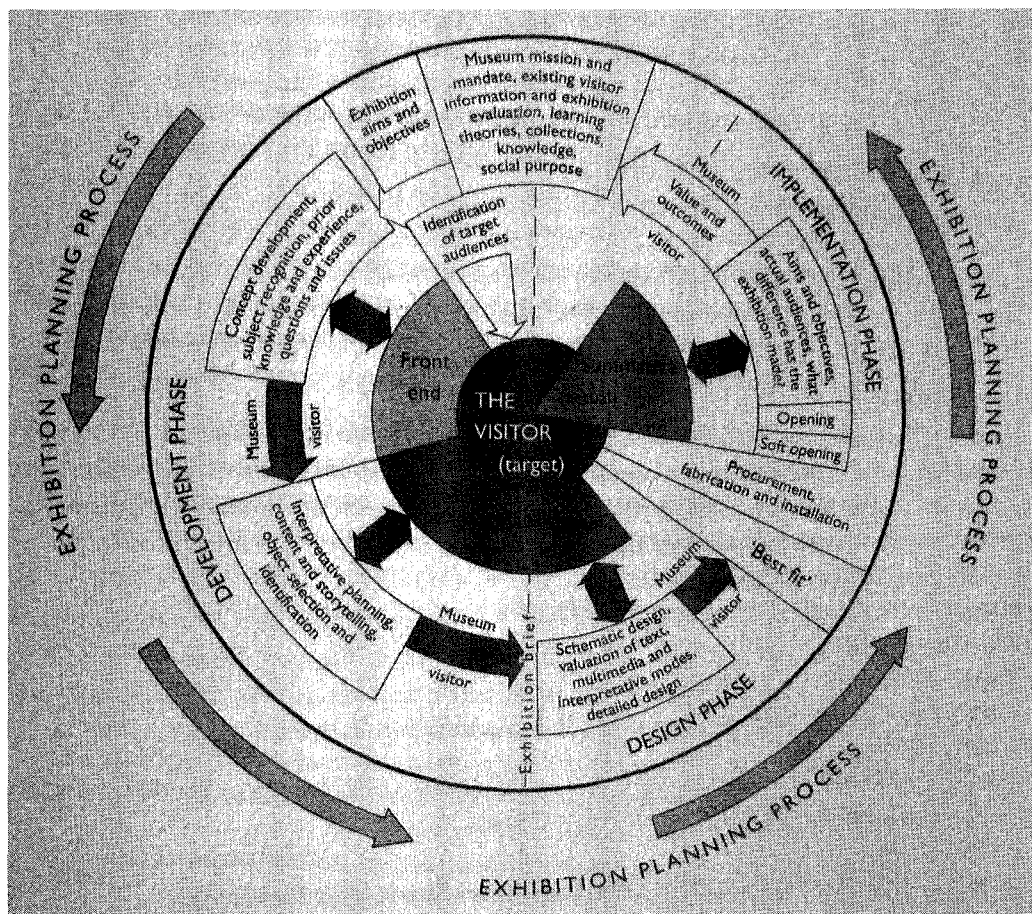


Figure 4. Designing the "Museum Experience": Duncan Grewcock, "Exhibition Evaluation Cycle," fig. 4.1, in Barry Lord and Gail Dexter Lord, eds., *The Manual of Museum Exhibitions* (Walnut Creek, CA, 2002), p. 45. Reproduced with the kind permission of AltaMira Press.

"traditional" village at Skansen.<sup>89</sup> Critics hold new technologies accountable, but Frank Oppenheimer pioneered the interactive, hands-on museum in the predigital age. Oppenheimer described San Francisco's Exploratorium as "a museum of science, art, and human perception" and freely acknowledged the lessons he had learned from established science and technology museums in Europe.<sup>90</sup>

Hein's ancient philosophy and the examples of Skansen and the Exploratorium already suggest that the appeal to experience is not so revolutionary as enthusiasts and critics make it out to be. The didactic museum has never altogether suppressed the old frisson of "wonder," and the blockbuster show is the *Wunderkammer's* successor.<sup>91</sup> Stephen Bann has shown how the sense of "being there" contended with temporal distance, the sense of a remote and receding past, in the thinking of the antiquarians whose collections stocked the new public museums in France and

<sup>89</sup> Bennett, *Birth of the Museum*, 156–62.

<sup>90</sup> Hilde S. Hein, *The Exploratorium: The Museum as Laboratory* (Washington, D.C., 1990); Edward P. Alexander, *The Museum in America: Innovators and Pioneers* (Walnut Creek, Calif., 1997), 117–32.

<sup>91</sup> Bennett, *Birth of the Museum*, 40–45, reviews the arguments for continuity.



England. The two sides of modern historical consciousness still rival one another in museums today. One leads to the evocation of a milieu and ultimately to the interactive display, the other to intrusive labels and methodical itineraries.<sup>92</sup>

The late Francis Haskell's study of the rise of the art exhibition begins with behind-the-scenes preparations for a contemporary art show that, absent the jet transport planes, could just as well apply to the exhibit of Old Master pictures at Manchester in 1857.<sup>93</sup> The Manchester show's civic and commercial sponsors commissioned a vast glass-and-iron building with a special railway station attached. They solicited "art treasures" from collections all over Britain with the aim of showing up the Continent while promoting the reputation of Manchester as more than the gritty engine of commerce and industry. The display of more than five hundred Old Masters still counts as one of most spectacular assemblages of masterpieces ever brought together under one roof. Although the pictures were supposed to be hung on the latest principles of chronology and national school, the arrangement broke down after the second room. Photographs, tapestries, weapons, ivories, statues, modern British paintings, and an exotic Indian Garden Court vied for attention with Raphael, Titian, and Rubens. Queen Victoria's Van Dyck portrait of Charles I commanded a position of honor and blocked the view along the axis of the main hall. Over 1.3 million people visited the exhibition in four months, including workers' groups and school children. Whether they left more enlightened than before is a moot point. There was no lecture hall. The labels were sketchy so as not to compete with catalogue sales, but a waggish printer published a pamphlet called "Bobby Tuttle and his Woife Sayroh's visut to Manchester un' the Greight Hert Tresures Palace owt Trafford" [Old Trafford, the exhibition site]. In any event, concludes Haskell, "the efforts made at social 'outreach' far outstripped those upon which museums congratulate themselves today."<sup>94</sup>

For all the precedents, no one doubts that new expectations and new technologies have driven profound changes in the museum world. Self-styled progressives in Canadian and Australian museum circles have enthusiastically welcomed the democratic, community-building potential. George F. MacDonald, perhaps the most influential spokesman of this position and a director of both Canadian and Australian national museums since the 1980s, argues from information and media theory. As information and experience contest property and objects as status markers, museums will gain a new lease on life "as places for learning in and about the world in which the globetrotting mass media, international tourism, migration, and instant satellite links between cultures are sculpting a new global awareness and helping give shape to what Marshall McLuhan characterised as the global village."<sup>95</sup> Locked away under glass, the old museum collections are, in MacDonald's

<sup>92</sup> Stephen Bann, *The Clothing of Clío: A Study in the Representation of History in Nineteenth-Century Britain and France* (Cambridge and New York, 1984), 77–92; cf. Dominique Poulot, "Alexandre Lenoir et les Musées des Monuments Français," in Nora, ed., *Les Lieux de Mémoire* vol. 2, 2, 497–531.

<sup>93</sup> Francis Haskell, *The Ephemeral Museum: Old Master Paintings and the Rise of the Art Exhibition* (New Haven, Conn. and London, 2000), 82–89.

<sup>94</sup> Haskell, *Ephemeral Museum*, 87–88.

<sup>95</sup> George F. MacDonald, "Change and Challenge: Museums in the Information Society," in Karp, Mullen Kreamer, and Lavine, eds., *Museums and Communities*, 169–70; for applications of this program at the Canadian Museum of Civilization, see George F. MacDonald and S. Alsford, *A Museum for a Global Village: The Canadian Museum of Civilization* (Hull, Ontario, 1989).

blasphemous quip that some museum directors might discreetly applaud, a geriatric burden requiring expensive life-support systems. A burgeoning class of new visitors has different expectations anyway, given its inclination

to reject traditional, low tech, interpretative technologies that employ academic jargon with which they have no familiarity; its preference for new information technologies, with which many people feel comfortable and in control . . . ; its greater interest in behind-the-scenes technical operations; its demand for non-collections-based facilities and services, such as lounges, restaurants, and film presentations.<sup>96</sup>

There are many red flags here, not least because MacDonald, however presumptuous, may well be right. An otherwise unruly coalition of professed traditionalists, technology skeptics, and theoretically armed critics of "late capitalism" and "neo-liberalism" charge the high-tech agenda with being at once free-wheeling, reductive, and determinist about technology as well as society. Depending on the lexicon, the new dispensation is a populist delusion, technological hubris, or false consciousness. One of the most insistent and most recent critics is Timothy W. Luke, who finds late capitalist cunning in the "insinuation of entertainmentilities into museum space," with the pretense "that simulation duplicates 'the feel' of it all."<sup>97</sup> After updating a conventional view of the serious, if not exactly cheerless functions of museums, Luke indicts ostensibly good democratic intentions as vectors of the disciplines of "governmentality" and the exigencies of capitalist globalization. He finds the results more conducive to the production of consumers and tourists than citizens and to the building of markets than minds. The most disturbing failures of the new museum culture to deliver the heightened conscience and consciousness of a liberal outcome are precisely those projects most devoted to such a mission. Luke's most telling examples are the Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C.<sup>98</sup>

The differences between technophiles and critics of new museum technologies are often represented as quarrels between "popularizers" and "traditionalists." But the labels hardly do justice to positions that are neither so popular nor so traditional. MacDonald's case for museums enhancing popular experience comes close to condescending to the people; the most articulate "traditionalist" arguments come from sophisticated radical critics such as Timothy W. Luke. Conflicts along these lines have by and large become ritual tilts in any event. Most museum professionals have already either embraced or conceded the case for more "accessible" museums "responsive" to a broader and more diverse public. The multimedia museum display and the interactive computer station have become

<sup>96</sup> MacDonald, "Change and Challenge," 161; for further, generally optimistic reflections on claims of this sort, see Anderson, "Museums of the Future," 129–62.

<sup>97</sup> Luke, *Museum Politics*, 15; as Luke puts it in his conclusion, 223, "power operates productively within a regime of governmentality by giving art, nature, science, history, and technology a much more entertaining face."

<sup>98</sup> See Luke, *Museum Politics*, esp. chap. 3 "Memorializing Mass Murder: The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum," 37–64; and for an overview of the argument, the conclusion "Piecing Together Knowledge and Pulling Apart Power at the Museum," 218–30. Cf. Witcomb, *Re-imagining the Museum*, 133–41, for other critical perspectives on the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and the Museum of Tolerance.



standard equipment in the most traditional museums, and the “virtual museum” has not triumphed over the real thing. Contrary to some predictions, and many fears, few of these pixel productions pretend to reproduce or take the place of museums on the ground; some do humdrum informational work, most advertise, many add online features to existing real-time programs.<sup>99</sup> Meanwhile one of the most consistent (and arguably most encouraging) conclusions from visitor surveys is that the actual experience of people in museums is varied and inconsistent.<sup>100</sup>

IN APRIL 2002, a *New York Times* special supplement saluted a “Golden Age of Museums”; a sequel in March 2004 promised “Exhilaration, Inspiration, Wonder.”<sup>101</sup> The wonder toward the end of this Brief Guide is the disparity between the glitter, possibly fool’s gold, and a museum literature full of crisis and foreboding. The museum publicity teams are clearly doing their work, but outsiders may be puzzled—so for that matter may insiders.

One easy explanation is that we are dealing with two sides of the same phenomenon, a kind of bipolar disorder in the museum world. That there has been a worldwide museum boom for the past twenty or thirty years is indisputable; a simultaneous boom in museum studies, also indisputable, can be thought of as a discursive shadow, the underside of success where critical reactions and anxieties are played out. Accounts of this sort are a useful check on both the bulls and the bears of the newer museum studies. But they do not tell us much about the issues at stake.

Another possibility is that museums are “in transition,” suspended between past practices and future prospects. This is a view that Hilde S. Hein puts in the broadest philosophical context: museums have given up on “the singularity of truth” for “the promotion of multivalent plurality . . . in a world that affirms the global while denying the universal.”<sup>102</sup> Counting collapse as the ultimate transition, Douglas Crimp’s *On the Museum in Ruins* imagines the modern art museum imploding on its own airless elitism. The upbeat counterpart of these dismal transitions only changes valences. For George F. MacDonald, demoting received practices means promoting a vibrant union of democracy and technology.

The problem with transition arguments, dark or light, is that their inclines are too steep. They presuppose some utopian or dystopian point of departure and a correspondingly low or high point of arrival. On the one hand, Hein idealizes the goals of a perfect museum—“to teach discrimination and discernment; to develop a culturally specific sense of intellectual, moral, and aesthetic values; and to come, by that route, to self-scrutiny and self-knowledge”; then she pits the ideal against a drearily dysfunctional present “when the objectivity of objects disintegrates, the self reverts to privacy, and the separateness of others is merely an accidental projection

<sup>99</sup> The range of virtual museums is enormous, from corporate projects and personal hobbies to government-sponsored consortiums, from the refined (a museum of classical Chinese culture <http://www.chinapage.com>), to the absurd (a museum of airsickness bags <http://www.airsicknessbags.com>). See Witcomb, *Re-imagining the Museum*, 119–37.

<sup>100</sup> See, for example, Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and Their Publics*, 54–83.

<sup>101</sup> *New York Times*, April 24, 2002, sec. G, 12.

<sup>102</sup> Hein, *The Museum in Transition*, 77, vii.

of one's own consciousness."<sup>103</sup> On the other hand, critics who start with harsh indictments—hidebound routines, complacent superiority, and subservience to money and politics are the usual suspects—leave precious little hope for anything short of a revolution. Precisely because present and future directions are problematic—indeed, “in transition”—these formulaic scenarios are not helpful. One clear lesson of this Brief Guide is that museum history is fraught with complex and often conflicting motives.

Historians are inclined to see proof of complexity as an endgame, then to disclaim further responsibilities on the grounds that the future is not our business. What would it mean to bring complications to light and take on responsibilities too? The question and the answers are all in a hard day's work for public historians involved with museums or museum studies programs. Although historians in a variety of fields have occasionally done crossover stints as consultants or curators for museum shows, for most academic historians, museums are a small if by now well-tended subfield of cultural history. We owe to an Australian museum professional, who is not herself a historian and does not expect historians to become museum workers, the most searching treatment so far of the potential impact of historical perspectives on museum theory and practice. The title of Andrea Witcomb's *Re-imagining the Museum: Beyond the Mausoleum* sounds like an exercise in museum-bashing, but her intention is to get “beyond” the attacking and the defensive modes of the newer museum literature. And her main strategy is eminently historical: to confront stereotypes and pseudo-histories with historical crosscurrents that will seem familiar to users of this Brief Guide.

To begin with, Witcomb argues that one of the most damaging misrepresentations is the association of museums with narratives of modernity. In the battered but still standing version, they are beacons of reason, civilization, and enlightenment; in a mirror image they are complicitous and dispiriting extensions of the sins of the West. Witcomb questions these associations without simply rejecting them in an a priori move of her own. Marshaling examples mostly from the newer museum studies, she shows how eclectic, inconsistently modernizing, often “irrational” even the most self-consciously modern museums have been. This leads to a conclusion with practical applications: museums cannot be held hostage in the present to totalizing visions of their past or likely future.

Witcomb's second objective is to encourage fresh encounters between academic studies of the culture and historiography of museums and the literature of museum practice. This amounts to asking people who write about and work in museums to do their homework. Her close analysis of the benefits and liabilities of two interactive historical exhibits in Sydney, Australia, suggests how productive this can be, not least for its bearing on the yield of different ways of plotting social and cultural history.<sup>104</sup> If linear exhibitions reinforced dominant cultural narratives, as if the nation were a single community, they also constituted a shared public space and gave visitors the referents and defined routes that, according to visitor surveys, they wanted. Serial arrangements offering alternative paths and discrete displays

<sup>103</sup> Hein, *The Museum in Transition*, 148–9.

<sup>104</sup> Witcomb, *Re-imagining the Museum*, 147–62, on the Australian Maritime Museum and the Museum of Sydney.

suited a pluralistic social history and encouraged interactive choices, but they also proved distracting and, for some visitors, disconcerting. Either/or choices have, as usual, a reality problem.

Witcomb's bottom line is that "contemporary museum trends have historical precedents rather than being a radical break with the past."<sup>105</sup> Most laments and cheers over the loss of tradition and integrity are themselves museum material. The dismissive rejoinder that looking back to the future only amounts to nostalgia or evasion does not cut very deep. It is serious business to inject the present and future with an informed sense of what museums have been and can be, to acknowledge that the long view takes in contingency, failure, resilience, and resistance, and to work for a more perfect union with our museum colleagues in teaching and research. Museums are, after all, repositories for the future as well as the past.

<sup>105</sup> I quote from the concluding summary in Witcomb, *Re-imagining the Museum*, 165.

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## Reviews of Books and Films

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### METHODS AND THEORY

CONSTANTIN FASOLT. *The Limits of History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. xxi, 326. \$40.00.

For Constantin Fasolt, the limits of history can be found not by a customary analysis of historical methodology but only by the study of history's foundational event, the historical revolution in the period between the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. That revolution was the key force in replacing the world of the Middle Ages dominated by custom, tradition, and universalism with one marked by liberty and its manifestations: the self-assertion, autonomy, and sovereignty of individuals and states.

Fasolt concentrates on the struggle waged over the claim that the Roman emperor had once ruled the world and that the German kings as emperors as well as the pope had rights derived from that claim. The latter remained an issue through the contention that world history knew four empires of which the last one, the Roman Empire, still continued. The German kings, as Holy Roman emperors, had a stake in that perennial empire as did the popes through the right to crown the emperors. Fasolt illustrates the struggle in a section that pits the arguments of Hermann Conring (1606–1681), a polymath, against those of Bartolo of Sassoferrato (1313/14–1357), a famous medieval jurist. Arguments from experience and history collide with those rooted in universal law. But for Fasolt the struggle was one of much wider dimensions. A new stage in the human condition emerged when the historical revolution separated past and present by an unbridgeable gap, one deliberately constructed not naturally given. In this connection, the discovery of anachronism proved to be no mere technical insight but rather an instrument and symbol for the rupture that changed the foundations of life as well as those of historical consciousness. Therefore, the historical revolution, involving history and politics in a union of action, must define the theory and practice of history.

Fasolt grants to the prevailing versions of historical inquiry, with their sophisticated methods and demands for objectivity, a modicum of usefulness for gathering knowledge about the past. But their search for the ultimate truth must end in failure, because it neglects the limits to history set by the rupture in time—by the

unbridgeable gap between past and present. At that point, one world had yielded its place to another not simply by the passage of time but as a result of a violent, revolutionary change. Historians must be the guardians of that change and reject all universalism (the treatment of past periods as just different in degrees from the present). That means to accept as the foundation for their work the basic feature of the new age: liberty seen as the self-assertion of the individual.

In accord with that, historians must recognize a major limit of history seen as an endeavor to find the truth warranted by objectivity. The foundational liberty of the individuals makes the decisions and actions of human beings as historical agents inaccessible to explanations through cause and effect chains. The latter approach to the past produces only an infinite regress ending eventually in despair of ever gaining the truth about the past. The foundations of history cannot be derived from the study of history, because they are intricately connected with the historical revolution itself. Put simplistically, the medieval and modern worlds are separated by a categorical gap.

Fasolt's book presents the author's interesting thesis in a vivid manner; however, readers may hope that Fasolt continues his inquiry in order to clarify major issues not yet addressed sufficiently. Among them are the questions of whether and how one revolution in the realm of thought and ways of life at a given time and place can define the proper nature of history, whether all history can be constructed on the basis of a revolution made permanent, whether the separation of past and present does truly encompass all of the human temporal experience, whether any usefulness of studying historical matters from periods prior to the gap could be found, and whether a thorough study of history cannot after all inform us about essential features of the general human condition (including the foundations of history). Fasolt's answers will be crucial in transforming an interesting thesis into a complete theory of history, one that commendably stresses the crucial importance of the dimension of time.

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SANDRA RUDNICK LUFT. *Vico's Uncanny Humanism: Reading the New Science between Modern and Post-*



*modern*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. xviii, 213. \$45.00.

This book by Sandra Rudnick Luft, twenty years in the making (p. xvii), is a personal yet rigorous reading of Gianbattista Vico's *New Science*, put forth by a scholar who has clearly lived with (and, I think, loved) this text for a long time. Luft's interpretation seeks to recover the strangeness of the *New Science*, its "confrontational, dislocative tendencies" (p. 111), because these aspects of it can speak most powerfully to our current need for new models of being human. "Being subject as humanity," Luft quotes Martin Heidegger, "has not always been the sole possibility belonging to the essence of historical man" (p. 167). Luft's approach follows from her aim, and it is, appropriately, unhistorical. Against "efforts to place the work in the history of ideas" (p. ix), Luft ignores "the search for historical and eidetic influences" and reads Vico "interactively, hermeneutically, fragmentarily, as one holds conversations with strangers only to discover shared insights" (p. ix). This "alchemical" reading, enabled here by two other sets of texts, postmodernist critiques (especially Friedrich Nietzsche, Heidegger, and Jacques Derrida) and new interpretations of Genesis and the rabbinic tradition, reveals how Vico got outside of the most fundamental metaphysical assumptions of both Western philosophical thought and Christian theology to imagine a radically different way of being human in the world.

Luft argues that both dominant traditions of Vico scholarship—the one that places him in the tradition of philosophical humanism (since Plato) and the one that reads him through Christian theology (which since Philo has been metaphysically neoplatonic)—err by interpreting the *New Science* through the lens of assumptions common to both but overcome by Vico. Even the most original scholarship, Luft argues, fails to escape from these assumptions: most fundamentally, that the cosmos is orderly and knowable to humans because the essence of humanness—mind, soul, rationality, that which makes us subjects—is somehow like the world we seek to know. These assumptions lead to a subjectivist anthropology, to homologies between the natural and the human world, and to the privileging of knowing over doing and creating as the quintessential human activity. Luft recovers the strangeness of the *New Science* by interpreting its myth of origins, in which she sees a human defined not by knowing but by an act of creating through language that in no way depends on a prior subjectivity, in the light of the meaning of the Hebrew *davar*. While *davar* is often associated with the Greek *logos*, *logos* connotes arranging and ordering and thus relates thinking to speaking. *Davar*, however, relates word to deed and to thing. Hence in the context of the Genesis creation story, "*Davar* was the very power of God, an active effective force, a dynamic event at one and the same time linguistic, meaningful, concrete,

temporal" (p. 79). This is the activity that Luft sees evoked in Vico's myth of origins.

The *New Science* is about the origins of things in the gentile world, and it thus seeks to explain the origin of historical man. After the flood, Vico writes, the non-chosen people repudiated religion, fled into the woods, lost social customs including the family and language, and, mating at will, living in filth, became stupid, horrible beasts. After living thus for some time, during a thunderstorm, some of the beasts, frightened, looked at the sky and, in an act of "corporeal imagination" performed solely with bodily skills, an act that combined seeing with making, they "imaged" the sky as a god, creating the first "divine fable" (p. 144). Luft sees in this radically other conception of origins "a timeless moment before historical time, when sentient beings took possession of a divine creative language" (p. 201) to become human. By imagining this originary moment as poetic and as grounded in bodily perception and in making, Vico gives us a conception of human agency unrelated to subjectivity or to a dualistic anthropology and a conception of the human person as essentially creator. We know the world not because our soul or mind resembles it but because we first created it.

For those open to alchemical readings, this is a provocative, even exciting book. Luft weaves her interpretation together with readings both of the best Vico scholarship (by Mark Lilla, Donatella di Cesare, Donald Phillip Verene, and Gianfranco Cantelli) and of selected postmodern theorists and interpreters of Judaism. Throughout she seeks not to explain where Vico's ideas came from but rather to uncover their radical potential, a potential that perhaps only becomes apparent in the wake of later, historically unrelated writings. Intellectual historians might consider how such an approach could enrich our own readings of complex literary and philosophical texts.

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TRACY C. DAVIS and THOMAS POSTLEWAIT, editors.  
*Theatricality*. New York: Cambridge University Press.  
2003. Pp. xi, 243. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$20.00.

To the extent that historians are increasingly drawn to discussions of theater, performance, and spectacle (broadly defined), this volume provides some provocative insights into the strengths and weaknesses of a central category: "theatricality." Perhaps the most useful section of the volume is the introduction by editors Tracy C. Davis and Thomas Postlewait, which examines the inflationary use of that term and its recent rival, "performativity." Davis and Postlewait are rightfully concerned that "the idea of theatricality . . . serves too many agendas" (p. 4) and risks losing meaning altogether. Via the metaphor of *theatrum mundi* ("all the world's a stage") it has expanded to embrace all of society. The word "theatricality" also conveys the contradictory attitudes toward theater itself, which for some is a forum for authentic expres-

sion; for others, the epitome of artifice and deceit; and for Brechtians and their successors, a means of analyzing society through an "alienating" approach that willfully employs that very artifice. The purpose of the six ensuing essays is to escape this muddle and rescue the utility of "theatricality" as a concept, without insisting on a unitary definition.

The first essay is something of a disappointment in that regard. "Performing Miracles: The Mysterious Mimesis of Valenciennes (1547)," by Jody Enders, begins with an epigram by Stephen Greenblatt and has all of the hallmarks of "new historicism" that make some historians queasy. It focuses on a supposedly astonishing performance of the miracle of the multiplication of the five barley loaves and the two fishes and speculates on the audience's interpretation thereof as well as its degree of credulity. Like Greenblatt, Enders suspects that the ability to stage miracles might have undercut belief in them. Yet her evidence is, mildly put, problematic: not only do we not have any records of audience reaction at Valenciennes, but it is not even certain to what extent the episode actually was performed—nor do we know by what means and with what degree of verisimilitude. Speculating on the basis of such limited evidence seems to go against the more empirical spirit of Postlewait's "Theatricality and Antitheatricality in Renaissance London," which takes to task a number of scholars, mainly in the "new historicist" camp, who postulate a pervasive and threatening animus against the stage on the basis of a very few, and very marginal, tracts. If that were the case, Postlewait asks, why were the theaters so full? He provides a very perceptive analysis of how that (mis-)interpretation came about, and calls for a return to "a commitment to evidence, documentation, archival research, and, yes, even rational analysis" (p. 122). Among the historical essays, a happy medium between empiricism and theoretical sophistication is provided by Haiping Yan in "Theatricality in Classical Chinese Drama." In her analysis of some truly heartbreaking tales of social injustice, Yan questions the degree to which Bertolt Brecht's self-proclaimed use of "Chinese" elements had anything to do with Chinese theater. Despite their high degree of stylization, classical dramas sought not to "alienate" the audience but rather to mobilize its emotions in order to reach ethical conclusions. They did this by placing characters in extreme situations and evoking their feelings of surprise, astonishment, and wonder.

The last three essays are more theoretical and provide very intelligent summaries and critiques of important issues. "Theatricality and Civil Society" by David examines Thomas Carlyle's use of "theatricality"—it was he who coined the word—and traces some of its implications to the works of Adam Smith and Edmund Burke. Jon Erickson's "Defining Political Performance with Foucault and Habermas: Strategic and Communicative Action" discusses the implications of equating Michel Foucault with monologic, resistive performance art and Jürgen Habermas with dialogic

drama. Erickson concludes that in theater as well as in theory, both approaches are necessary, and he calls for a political interdependence of the two. Finally, "Theatricality's Proper Objects: Genealogies of Performance and Gender Theory" by Shannon Jackson assays the manner in which Elin Diamond, Sue-Ellen Case, and Judith Butler employ performance theory to support conflicting currents of feminism: "For Diamond, a Brechtian feminist theatre would defamiliarize the ideological operations of the sex/gender system. For Case, a dynamic and self-conscious butch-femme masquerade displayed and 'camped up' the reaction formations of feminine masquerade. For Butler, a drag performance of gender parody would repeat but displace the norms of gender performativity" (p. 203). Like Erickson, Jackson calls for overcoming an overly strict dichotomy: in this case, that between essentialist and anti-essentialist arguments. She thus reflects the spirit of this volume, which calls for a critical rethinking and less ideological use of categories of "theatricality" that are entering historians' discussions as well.

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STANLEY G. PAYNE, DAVID J. SORKIN, and JOHN S. TORTORICE, editors. *What History Tells: George L. Mosse and the Culture of Modern Europe*. Foreword by WALTER LAQUEUR. (George L. Mosse Series in Modern European Cultural and Intellectual History.) Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 292. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

Even before he wrote what some scholars regard as his most important studies (*Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* [1985] and *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* [1990]), appreciative essays were published on the influence of George L. Mosse (1918–1999), arguably the greatest university history teacher of his time. It is not surprising that a sophisticated, well-crafted volume analyzing his impact has appeared only five years after his death. Mosse is best known for a pioneering approach to cultural history in which he sought to discern how perceptions shaped consciousness, and consequently, politics, primarily in Germany. He used popular literature and visual imagery to a much greater extent than previous academic historians, especially compared to those who styled themselves "historians of ideas" and "intellectual historians." As opposed to constituting a collective biography, the thrust of this book is historiographic, examining how Mosse challenged, changed, and stimulated the writing of British, European, German, and Jewish history, and particularly the history of nationalism, sexuality, fascism, and the Holocaust.

The book is divided into four sections—"Mosse on Early Modern Europe," "Mosse and Fascism," "Comparative History, Nationalism, and Memory," and "Mosse and Jewish History"—comprising fourteen essays, a penetrating, succinct introduction by Steven

Aschheim, and a bibliography compiled by John Torrice. Unusually coherent for a volume that originated in a conference, the segments are unified by a number of themes. Each contributor concurs that Mosse made a tremendous impression on the study and writing of history, sometimes in ways that were not immediately apparent; that his insights have frequently been proven to be well founded, even if they were initially disparaged; and that in many respects he ran ahead of his field.

From the 1950s to the 1990s, Mosse's scholarship was not, however, always considered fashionable or cutting edge. Shulamit Volkov writes that when she was a graduate student in Berkeley in the late 1960s, when "social history" was all the rage, Mosse's *Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich* was not highly valued among her cohort. Likewise, Saul Friedländer recounts Mosse's fitful early reception in Germany (p. 136), and provides keen insight into the relationship between Mosse's German-Jewish background and his scholarship. Along with the overwhelmingly warm and positive appraisal of Mosse's oeuvre in total, there are several strong doses of criticism—most of which Mosse would have relished and possibly accepted. Some points, such as Roger Griffin's assertion that Mosse embodied a distinctly "Jewish" way of thinking (pp. 113–14), he might have strenuously rebutted. However, Griffin, unique among the contributors for not knowing Mosse personally, supplies one of the book's most illuminating chapters on the subject of "Mosse's Anthropological View of Fascism."

The foreword by Walter Laqueur, Mosse's long-time coeditor of the *Journal of Contemporary History*, asserts that Mosse's fascination with "fallen heroes"—which Laqueur applies to so-called suicide bombers in the early twenty-first century—is so prescient that it is almost uncanny (pp. x–xi). Yet had this volume a longer gestation, a similar point might have been raised in Joanna Bourke's essay on "The Body in Modern Warfare: Myth and Meaning, 1914–1945." The photographs of U.S. soldiers' handling of prisoners at Abu Ghraib in 2004 strikingly illustrate Mosse's and Bourke's explanation of the humiliated "enemy" body in wartime circumstances: "The 'snapshots,' taken by ordinary men, and sometimes women, in the combat zones, tell us more than we may want to know about our society's heart of darkness" (p. 203). Revisiting Mosse's work on early modern Britain and Europe, Johann Sommerville details the extent to which Mosse's scholarship, mainly from the 1940s through the 1970s, still animates the field of premodern history. None of the authors, however, noticed Mosse's role in shaping the history of East Central and Eastern Europe; he is prominently cited in Mark Bassin's *Imperial Visions: Nationalist Imagination and Geographical Expansion in the Russian Far East, 1840–1865* (1999), and Mosse's edited book (with Bela Vago, *Jews and Non-Jews in Eastern Europe, 1918–1945* [1974]) is now being

fruitfully mined by outstanding young scholars of Eastern Europe such as Holly Case.

With the exception of brief reminiscences by his students Aschheim (pp. 10–11) and Robert Nye (p. 184), and extensive treatment of Mosse's 1963 seminar on fascism at Stanford, well dissected by Emilio Gentile, this book focuses on Mosse's books and articles. However, in over thirty years of teaching large lecture classes and leading seminars at Iowa, Wisconsin, and the Hebrew University, as well as countless lectures and guest appearances at universities throughout the world, Mosse left a huge body of historical commentary in "oral" form, some of which is available online through Wisconsin Public Radio and privately held in students' notebooks. Perhaps what might be ironically termed the "oral Torah" of George L. Mosse—an arch-atheist—is better proof of the "Jewishness" of his approach than that proposed by Griffin. Some of the lapses that scholars in this book address, such as Rudy Koshar's comment on Mosse's "blind spots" regarding the history of tourism (p. 174), were nevertheless well developed in his lecture course, in which he built on works such as Paul Bernard's *Rush to the Alps: The Evolution of Vacationing in Switzerland* (1978). Much of Mosse's decoding of masculinity, similarly, came through in lectures dealing with figures such as Friedrich Nietzsche, Arthur Rupp, and Robert Musil, but his ideas never appeared in print fleshed out to the extent that they were in his lectures.

Aschheim writes that Mosse "was both an extraordinary and complex man and historian" (p. 11). Although he had strong opinions and offered crisp arguments, his thought was not static. He often modified, and even substantially amended his ideas, a characteristic that is noted especially by Gentile. Mosse took delight in being challenged by worthy scholars. He never wished his writing to be the final word but to inspire others to look at problems in different ways, and to examine things that had not seemed worth exploring. He was fond of urging his students to "strip off your masks" and "see yourselves as you really are." He did not believe that there was an essence or "key" to history but thought that people are moved—especially in times of uncertainty—by what they perceive to be comprehensive means to fathom and recreate the world, especially through the embrace of new and refashioned ideologies. Manifesting these concerns as a teacher and scholar, there is no doubt that "From 1960 through the 1990s, Mosse anticipated and helped to lead a wide variety of new trends and specialties, including the new cultural history; the comparative study of fascism; the history of racism, political symbolism, and mass movements; the history of monuments and mourning; ethnic and Jewish history; and finally the history of sexuality. No other Europeanist historian of the second half of the twentieth century left a greater imprint on the course of historical scholarship, and no one worked in a greater number of thematic areas" (p. xiii). This book is an excellent step toward recovering the significance and



intellectual trajectory of a remarkably imaginative scholar whose work will continue to be relevant and compelling.

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CATHY A. FRIERSON and SAMUEL H. BARON, editors. *Adventures in Russian Historical Research: Reminiscences of American Scholars From the Cold War to the Present*. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 2003. Pp. xxii, 272. Cloth \$64.95, paper \$24.95.

The twenty essays in this volume, arranged chronologically by year of first exposure to research and life in the former Soviet Union (1958–2002), consist of succinct autobiographical accounts in which academic, political, social, cultural and personal observations are mingled in a variegated mix. Editors Cathy A. Frierson and Samuel H. Baron sought to include a representative sample of scholars and succeeded in part. Commendably, forty percent of the contributors are women. Understandably, in terms of graduate training, scholars from Harvard, Columbia, and Berkeley are prominent (Princeton less so). But the Big Ten mid-western state universities, several of which also play a major role in training Russianists and producing scholarship, have only one representative in this book.

To the extent they are revealed, the political views held by the contributors are centrist liberal, mostly skeptical of Cold War triumphalism, aware of the “realms of autonomy” existing within the “massive structures of Soviet life,” and conscious that “many of the pompous generalizations concocted . . . by Sovietologists” had little actuality (p. 86). As Priscilla Roosevelt sardonically notes, the Cold War assertion that “*homo Sovieticus*” was virtually an alien life form took years to set aside, but until it was jettisoned, it impeded both research and the understanding of Russians (p. 37). As for fields of historical research and methodological approaches, most of these scholars are decidedly not postmodernist; as Hugh Ragsdale crustily puts it, “genuine historical work is not a house of fashion” (p. 91). Overall, this is also probably a fair description of Russianists as a whole, if only because demographically, the largest cohort of practicing scholars was trained in the 1960s and 1970s, when totalitarian models or the new social history held sway. Yet the reader should be cautioned that in recent years matters have changed: a review of current scholarship will find considerable attention devoted to topics such as empire, identity, masculinities, leisure, and modernity in general. (Of course, a volume such as this, organized to give equal weight to each decade of Russian-American cultural exchanges, will naturally give more weight to the traditional.)

As for archives, several scholars (Ragsdale, Bruce Menning, Golfo Alexopoulos, and Timothy Barnes) caution that, since the collapse of the Soviet Union, access to specific repositories remains unpredictable, arbitrary and, after a window of opportunity lasting

roughly until 1995, even constricting. Richard Stites laments that in the Russian research community “deep intellectual structures” persist. According to him, even “the mostly generous and hard working library and archival staff desperately need refresher courses in how history is done today” (not according to antiquated cataloguing systems) to be able to respond to requests for materials that cut across disciplinary boundaries. Yet most contributors to this volume write gratefully of help received by remarkably generous, hard-working, and often erudite librarians and archivists. And many (Nancy Kollman, Frierson, Robert Weinberg, Alexopoulos, Nadieszda Kizenko) describe marvelous experiences, treasure troves of exciting, previously untouched sources, and unlimited access to *opisi*, or archival indexes, previously off limits to Westerners. Those who ventured into Siberia (Alexopoulos and Weinberg) are especially effusive in their descriptions of the reception given them. Moreover, as Kollman and others point out, new access to archives since 1991 has greatly expanded the terrain of “doable topics.”

The picture for the Soviet-era exchanges is decidedly more mixed. The group writes of a “cat-and-mouse” game defining “acceptable” topics for research; of dismal encounters with seemingly troglodyte senior historians; meetings with advisors who immediately told them their projects were “not worth investigating” (J. L. Alexander); of outright altercations with colleagues. A common theme is that success came only to those able to improvise, persist with requests for materials, especially photoduplication (including a tale of staff regularly duplicating pages as a fire raged in the machine), and endure both a regime of state-imposed isolation from the “natives” and generally austere living conditions.

Most contributors developed enduring professional and personal friendships with Russian scholars, some prominent and others less so, who often went out on a limb to aid their American colleagues. Names such as Skrynnikov, Zimin, Likhachev, Pushkareva, Zaionchovskii figure prominently in these accounts. As Nicolas Riasanovsky points out, “good history could be, and was written in the Soviet Union”; here we learn that it was also possible to *do good* as a Soviet historian, and many did just that in reaching out to us. In another vein, Stites relates how, in his research, he has “tapped living sources,” by association not only with academics “in their kitchens” but also “with less exalted people” and by legwork, nurturing “a sense of place, distance and materiality” (p. 64). This should be read along with Roosevelt’s tale of visits over abominable rural roads to photograph crumbling manorial estates. Her experiences remind us, should we need it, that history can be “found” outside archives and libraries.

Indeed, for most of the contributors, the “lived experience” of residence in the former Soviet Union was a transformative one, both academically and personally. James Cracraft writes eloquently of how par-



icipating in the celebrations of the tercentenary of Peter the Great's birth (1672) profoundly altered both his understanding and his research agenda. S. Frederick Starr's residency provided him insights into "the invisible crannies of that system," and especially how for most, life was "not so simple as being a binary choice between being part of the system or living outside it" (p. 84). Alexander writes of the insights gained after enrolling his child in day care. He and his wife observed the "delightfully chaotic" scene unfolding in the classroom; everyone seemed utterly oblivious of the long list of rules posted on the institution's walls. Presumably, this was a microcosm of Soviet life: freedom and anarchy underneath authoritarianism.

In my opinion, the personal accounts by Frierson, Kizenko, and Alexopoulos are the richest, most nuanced and descriptive. Alexopoulos's summary is wonderfully apt: "in Ialutorovsk I witnessed the profound effect of everyday life on the structure of work, the stubbornly slow pace of life even when time was of the essence, the constant effort to create comfort where there was hardly any hope of it, and the uncertainty that was so characteristic of existence" (p. 254). Her understated conclusion that "(t)his experience surely influenced my interpretation of the data I had amassed" applies to all these scholars; most also acknowledge that it profoundly affected their understanding of self.

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WENDY GAMBER, MICHAEL GROSSBERG, and HENDRIK HARTOG, editors. *American Public Life and the Historical Imagination*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 308. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$20.00.

A festschrift for Morton Keller, written by his former students, this volume seeks to establish "public life" as a standard category in American history. The phrase, they believe, best captures formal politics as well as the arena in which government and the people interact. Like their mentor, the contributors are skeptical of social scientists' faith that a methodology or conceptual category legitimates broad generalizations across temporal and spatial boundaries. The public history advanced here eschews theoretical abstractions and sweeping periodization and embraces variety, contradiction, contingency, and context embedded in "small narratives" at the intersection of change and continuity.

The essays range over a wide array of topics, including a double murder in Cold Springs, Indiana, the Zionism of Louis Brandeis, the alliance between the Ku Klux Klan and the Anti-Saloon League, and hurricane forecasting. But, virtually without exception, the essayists believe that historians should use thick descriptions to complicate dominant narratives, not try to supplant one overarching thesis with another. Thus,

Frederick Hoxie insists "There is no essential 'Indian' quality that functions across real time and circumstances" (p. 22). Hendrik Hartog celebrates the great twentieth-century legal theorist Karl Llewellyn because he found norms "relatively uninteresting" and stepped "back from the unifying generalization . . . Thinking in terms of patterns denies the role of individual actions and variations" (p. 73). J. Matthew Gallman writes about Anna Dickinson, the tenacious teenager who took to the stump for Republican candidates during the Civil War, to demonstrate that "mid-century gender assumptions were neither fixed nor universally held" (p. 106). And Beth LaDow examines baseball played near the border between Canada and the United States to show that the nationalist lens obscures continuities across social, economic, and geographic demarcations: "For borderland residents, identity was fluid and historically specific" (p. 167).

At their best, these essays help reign in the excessive claims of "master narratives." But at times, the essayists land haymakers on straw men. Whether they find the term "public life" useful or unnecessary, most historians already prefer an approach "that encompasses all the institutions that constitute and maintain American society, politics and economy" (p. 3) to one restricted to the study of elections, political parties, Congress, the presidency, and the courts. Moreover, the criticism of social scientists in this volume relies on the kind of generalizations that are otherwise condemned. No doubt, some social scientists use history like the proverbial drunk uses a lamp post, for support and not illumination. Many, however, pay scrupulous attention to historical context. Historians who ask empirical "how" questions still have a lot to learn from those who deploy theoretical and ideological abstractions, as the sub-field "American Political Development" has demonstrated. For all their hostility to the search for patterns, in fact, the writers in this volume invoke them. Charles Cheape, for example, describes the political economy of the early 1930s as "variegated, complex, and inconsistent." He insists that the history of the steel code "flatly contradicts" corporatist interpretations of the National Recovery Act. But he then concludes that the intransigence of the steel code helped produce "a far more intrusive regulatory state" after 1935 (pp. 203–204).

An emphasis on pluralism and resistance to change need not preclude the search for patterns in American history. Localism, antistatism, and individualism, Michael Grossberg argues, persisted well into the second wave of the child protection movement, between 1870 and 1920. Nor did reforms resolve the tension between shielding children from the state and guarding society against wayward youth. Nonetheless, the initiatives reveal that Americans in the twentieth century had less faith in privatism and more in public authority than they had had before. In this period, compulsory school laws became virtually universal, children were banned from buying cigarettes or joining the circus, juvenile

courts were established, and some states passed sterilization statutes. These reforms, Grossberg concludes, became an integral part of an emerging welfare state, albeit one that remained ambivalent about government intrusion into family affairs.

Stendhal was wrong. *All* the truth, and *all* the pleasure, do not lie in the details. Human beings are lumpers as well as splitters. Jorge Luis Borges knew that "To think is to forget a difference." But he also recognized that classifying, generalizing insights produce unique, pleasurable, and indispensable truths.

GLENN C. ALTSCHULER

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### COMPARATIVE/WORLD

ANTHONY D. SMITH. *Chosen Peoples*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003 Pp. xxi, 330. \$29.95.

This is a big book: not in size, but in ideas. Anthony D. Smith reads history well and widely, reflects on it respectfully, and then produces a series of conclusions much bigger than most historians would dare to entertain. His brief is nothing less than a frontal assault on the way that political scientists (and their predecessors since the Enlightenment) have conceived of the origin and continuance of nationhood. Along the way, national and ethnic historians who have followed the Enlightenment project are quietly shoved off the train and left to find their own way home, reflecting perhaps on their false rationality as they trudge along.

At heart, Smith refuses to accept the bleached and pettifogging way that nationhood has been construed. He is particularly clever in using the work of Elie Kedourie as a metonym for the entire philosophically based definition of nationhood and its dynamics. If Kedourie is found wanting, then his disciples and simulacra are inevitably to be found to be intellectually emaciated.

Smith employs a wide range of historical cases. These range from ancient Israel to early Christian Armenia to medieval Ethiopia, with asides involving several European nations, the United States, Egypt, and Mexico, among others. He knows his history and he does not cheat. The cases he employs all serve to instantiate his main arguments: that the only sufficiently robust concept to explain the rise of any nation is that a community defines itself as a chosen people and weds this sense of election to a piece of geography that becomes a holy land; and that later, as secular national identities evolve, the only sufficiently strong explanation of these identities is one that recognizes their base in sacred foundations. "That foundation can, I believe, be provided only by the sense of the sacred and the binding commitments of religion" (p. 5).

Stated that abruptly, Smith's argument sounds simplistic, but the filigree of his discussion is wonderfully

supple, and he fends off potential attack with remarkable facility. What will make this a book to be avoided by many readers is that it is too clearly written. Smith cannot be misunderstood, and his opponents will either have to take his punches on the chin or, more likely, refuse to step into the ring with him. Ultimately, Smith is taking both history and political science into a limbic region most of its practitioners wish to avoid. He engages neither in a blinkered positivism nor in the verbal miasma of critical theory. He collects evidence widely and argues forcefully, but he admits that on some things one can only make carefully delimited statements of probability. This sort of study is apt to give hard work and common sense a good name.

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ANOUAR MAJID. *Freedom and Othodoxy: Islam and Difference in the Post-Andalusian Age*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 270. Cloth \$49.50, paper \$19.95.

A variety of conceptual frameworks shape the ways that scholars, policy makers, and the general public understand global relations in the contemporary world. Some of the most influential speak in terms of the "clash of civilizations" or world-systems. Anouar Majid presents a critique of many of these analyses and provides an alternative interpretation utilizing the idea of the "social imaginary" as the framework for defining the basic analytical units of human experience.

Majid's basic premise is that "with the demise of Andalusian Islam in 1492, a qualitatively new world came into being" (p. 9). One significant element in the "post-Andalusian" age is the emergence of intolerant Euro-American ideology that is "almost unbendingly universal in outlook and that tolerates no alternatives in the management of human affairs" (p. x). In the past five centuries, the "crusading spirit" behind this ideology meant that other peoples of the world "would always be confronted with the traumatizing choices of conversion to the West's current universalist principles or exclusion, and even defeat" (p. 104). The basic conflicts of the modern age arise out of the struggle between universalisms attempting to impose a global uniformity and the distinctive identities of diverse cultures in a pluralist world. In Majid's view, the "best antidote to all universalisms, particularly the ones that have marked world history in the post-Andalusian age, is a world of strong cultures and religions" (p. 193).

Majid begins with a discussion that builds on Edward Said's ideas about orientalism and the creation of images of the Other. His goal is defining and embracing "a theory that allows for irreducible cultural differences in a common human civilization" (p. 20). In the second chapter, Majid examines the defeat of Islam and the beginning of the conquests of America in 1492 and shows how "Indians" and Muslims became defined as Others, within the framework of the devel-

oping universalist ideology manifested in the conquests and the Inquisition. The next chapter covers the evolution of the Euro-American universalist ideology in the context of the English colonies and the early United States. In this analysis, detailed descriptions of accounts written by Americans who had been enslaved by the Barbary "pirates" present graphic illustrations of the complexity of the emerging definition of the Muslim as the Other.

Globalization in its capitalist-imperialist form in the nineteenth century and the new American universalist empire of the twentieth century are the focus of Majid's scrutiny in the fourth and fifth chapters. Analysis of novelists ranging from Edith Wharton to Abdelrahman Munif provides the core of the discussion of capitalist-imperialism. In Majid's discussion of the American empire, an important assumption is that "the modern West—both in Europe and in the colonies they settled—continues to define itself against the Muslim Other" (p. 157). Using an examination of the positions of Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt (in *Empire* [2000]), Bobby Sayyid, and Roxane Euben as a basis, Majid concludes that it is very difficult "to articulate a non-European agenda that truly accounts for the Muslims' irreducible cultural differences" (p. 182). He offers as a solution the approach of Sophie Bessie's analysis of Western attitudes of supremacy. In Majid's view, a "collective movement to freedom must emanate simultaneously across cultures in the process of deglobalizing economies and ideologies . . . based on the belief that our cultures and points of view are unalterably provincial and ethnocentric" (p. 193). In his concluding chapter, he provides a more complete discussion of his call for "restoring and preserving cultural singularities" as "humanity's way out of its crisis" (p. 219).

The affirmation of diversity is the key to Majid's proposed solution. However, Majid assumes a kind of primordial, unchangeable character for local singularities that ignores the forces of change over time in even the most singular of local cultures. Distinctive particularities are often the product of interaction with global elements and the local cannot be understood without reference to the global. Majid briefly mentions the concept articulated by Roland Robertson of "globalization" (p. 201) but does not recognize that this could provide an effective alternative to the stark global-local polarity that Majid presents. If there is to be an effective theory of cultural difference within a common humanity, the interactive impact of global on local and local on global needs more recognition.

This book continues Majid's critiques of modern secularist scholars and conservative Muslim thinkers in *Unveiling Traditions: Postcolonial Islam in a Polycentric World* (2000). It provides an important alternative to conceptualizations based on the assumptions of what Majid defines as universalist ideologies, whether Euro-American or militant Muslim.

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FEDERICO GARZA CARVAJAL. *Butterflies Will Burn: Prosecuting Sodomites in Early Modern Spain and Mexico*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 2003. Pp. xx, 310. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$27.50.

This book is a revision of *Vir: Perceptions of Manliness in Andalucía and México (1561–1699)* (2000). Federico Garza Carvajal presents a thoughtful argument about contextualizing gender and masculinity in a larger process of imperialism and colonialism. This in itself is useful, as is his systematic linking of early modern Spain and New Spain. The book as a whole is less successful, however, because the challenges of writing a different kind of history sometimes overshadow the author's analytical insights.

In the prologue, Garza Carvajal sets himself the ambitious task of writing a radically new history, one built on a foundation of literary criticism, deconstruction, and materialism. He disdains what he calls "metanarrative history and proper history," arguing against "assign[ing] objective significance to what are actually contingent events" or an objective, impartial history (p. 3). Such practices, he states, are both "myopic and moribund" (p. 4). All history is fabricated, a construction, he argues, as are the sources historians rely upon. Most historians would agree that sources are constructed and not transparent, objective mirrors to a fixed past. But Garza Carvajal goes farther by implying that all construction is equal, and that one cannot make relative judgments about the fabrication or validity of sources.

After such a provocative prologue, it is useful to ask whether Garza Carvajal meets the standards he has set for himself. Chapter one is surprisingly conventional. But the author's discussion of the emergence of discourses about sodomy in the early modern period as a concomitant of imperialism/colonialism is clear. He emphasizes "the politics, the textual construction of early modern manliness, and the prosecution of sodomites, as one constitutive principle" (p. 33), focusing on the historical specificity of these accounts. To do that, however, he relies on narrative and at times veers toward the metanarrative of early modern Spanish imperialism that he wishes to avoid. Chapter two, which focuses on the development of sodomy as a legal category and a topic of concern among moralists, is also relatively straightforward.

Chapter three, which examines sodomy prosecutions by secular courts in Andalusia (most, apparently, by the *Casa de la Contratación* and involving sailors), is where the author's "different" history is most apparent. His stated intention of writing an "unabashedly subjective and quintessentially political interpretation of sodomy prosecutions" (p. 4) is evident throughout, in the book's more casual, personal, and opinionated tone. But in this chapter, the tendency is exacerbated by rich primary sources. Garza Carvajal, in order not to be "complicit" in the demonization of sodomy, repeats extremely lengthy, graphic discussions of accusations, assignations, and torture sessions. Although



he distinguishes his intent from other postcolonial studies that "aim specifically to shock" (p. 13), I suspect that this distinction will be lost on most readers. Moreover, his argument itself is lost in narrative detail.

Garza Carvajal's examination of sodomy prosecution in New Spain in chapter four is more synthetic, since no trial records survive, and thus somewhat more analytical and more successful. The distinctions he draws between perceptions of sodomy in Iberia and New Spain are interesting, although I would have liked him to analyze those distinctions more extensively. He shows surprisingly little interest in analyzing the self-perception of sodomites, focusing instead on external perceptions. And his easy dismissal of sources as constructed means that he makes no attempt to comment on the validity of accusations by Spaniards that Caribs and Nahuas were sodomites. Three appendices of primary source documents, in Spanish and retaining the original spelling and punctuation, will be useful for scholars.

There is a tension inherent in a "different" history that simultaneously wishes to use postmodernism to eliminate myopic constructions and also employs subjective, personal understandings of the past. Garza Carvajal's tone reifies some "metanarratives" of Spanish history even as he attempts to dismantle others. To say, for example, that Isabella and Ferdinand's lips were "still smacking from the sweet taste of reconquest and discovery" in 1497 (p. 40) is to ignore years of revisionist histories in favor of reaffirming an outmoded narrative of a repressive, single-minded pursuit of power. His oversimplification of the history of prostitution (p. 50) is problematic. Several errors of fact also mar the text. In short, while there is much to recommend in Garza Carvajal's thesis, this book does not meet the ambitious standards the author sets for himself.

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LESTER D. LANGLEY. *The Americas in the Modern Age*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 317. \$37.50.

Lester D. Langley's most recent book carries forward his efforts to enhance our understanding of "the evolution of the Americas," an ambitious undertaking ranging across time from the collapse of European colonial empires until the post-NAFTA era. This project, really a work in progress throughout his academic career, took particular form in 1996 with the publication of *The Americas in the Age of Revolution, 1750–1850*, an insightful volume in which Langley compared and contrasted the causes and consequences of the American, Haitian, and Spanish-American wars of revolution, which resulted in the establishment of independent but in some cases dysfunctional states. The book reviewed here presents an intricate synthesis of hemispheric history in modern times, as described

by the author, a distinctive scholarly domain located somewhere between national and global history.

Langley's approach incorporates traditional themes but addresses them in unique ways. As he observes, "Virtually every topic of relevance to the history of the Americas since the nineteenth century—expansionism, continentalism, nationalism, imperialism, colonialism, revolution, among others—has prompted a rich, often contentious literature." Yet, in his view, "to impose any one theory—modernization, diffusion, Marxism, dependency, or convergence—on that history often fails to capture its complex and often chaotic nature." In a good turn of phrase, he notes, "the whole is not greater than but different from the sum of its parts" (p. 8).

To engage the complexities, Langley stresses not merely prevailing patterns but also specific features. As he perceptively observes, for example, the effects of U.S. intervention in the Caribbean had different characteristics and divergent meanings for subject peoples in Cuba, a protectorate, and Puerto Rico, a dependency. At the same time, he allows for bold formulations, especially while explaining the various political, economic, social, and cultural linkages among the component parts—that is, those various countries making up North America (including Canada), the Caribbean, Central America, and South America. His discussion probes various dimensions of complex interactions but, as he admits, not in equal proportion. Some topics as matters of choice strike him as more deserving of attention than others, especially the political and economic aspects of inter-American relations (p. 9).

Much of Langley's focus centers on questions of "exceptionalism" in the New World. In the 1930s, Herbert E. Bolton asked, do the Americas have a "common" history? Unlike Bolton, Langley says no, they have "an uncommon history . . . unlike that of any region of its size and diversity in the world" (p. 6). At the same time, he suggests paradoxically that for the people of the Americas a sense of belonging "to a common hemisphere has made a difference." Indeed, the ongoing tradition of divisiveness among the inhabitants had produced a sense of unity. According to Langley, "This claim . . . has been validated by the persistence of political, economic, social, and cultural patterns that acquire their most persuasive meaning when viewed in a hemispheric context." From the age of revolution until the present, "these linkages in the Americas have been ideological—the 'idea' of the Western Hemisphere as distinct from the Old World—as well as material." In his words, "the concept of a hemisphere with a past and especially a future distinct from those of the rest of the world took hold and continues until the present day" (p. 6).

As emblems, Langley emphasizes the importance of Theodore Roosevelt, the U.S. president, and José Martí, the Cuban patriot. Although they disagreed on many things, such as questions of race, ethnicity, and the hegemonic role of the United States, they agreed



on others, for example, the importance of national unity, the threat of instability posed by juxtapositions of great wealth against mass poverty, and the importance of governmental power as a constraint against social and economic abuses. Moreover, both understood how "the liberation of New World nations" had freed them "from the confining grip of the Old" in order to advance "the worldwide vision of their respective nations and their specific obligations in the Americas" (p. 10). Most important for Langley, they also grasped how the history of the Americas has bound the states and nationalities together in distinctive ways, thus taking on relevance in the present day.

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GILBERT G. GONZÁLEZ. *Culture of Empire: American Writers, Mexico, and Mexican Immigrants, 1880–1930*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 245. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$22.95.

This ambitious book provides a new interpretation of U.S. public policy toward Mexican immigrants and their descendants by weaving together three different factors shaping the formulation of that policy: the U.S. economic conquest of Mexico since the 1880s, the discourse of U.S. fictional writing and travel literature about Mexico, and the effects of Mexican immigration itself. Gilbert G. González therefore forges a new explanatory model that rests as much on the transnational history of U.S.-Mexican relations as it does on the narrower confines of domestic policy toward a rapidly growing minority group in the United States. As a result, this book is of interest to U.S. and Latin American historians as well as specialists in American and Mexican studies.

From the outset, the author advances a perspective borrowed from dependency theory that stresses the agency of U.S. diplomats, politicians, and entrepreneurs at the expense of that of Mexicans. González starts out his analysis by an overview of what he calls the U.S. economic conquest of Mexico in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. There is little here that is new for historians of Mexico. Indeed, this chapter relies on well-known scholarship such as that of John Mason Hart, W. Dirk Raat, and Ramón Ruiz, and it is more interesting for specialists in U.S. history than for those familiar with Mexican history. The author exaggerates the tale of economic conquest, making Mexicans mere accomplices in the U.S. enterprise of empire building. European investors, a crucial group in the modernization of Mexico under dictator Porfirio Díaz, do not receive any mention in this analysis, nor do important Mexican elite families such as the Garza-Sada clan of Monterrey, pioneers of the industrialization of their country.

The same one-sided optic plagues the next chapters, "American Writers Invade Mexico" and "The Imperial Burden." For González, all U.S. writers are outsiders who arrived in Mexico to advance the goal of economic

penetration. As the author points out, the orientalist vision of these travelers opened up Mexico to capitalist exploitation. This approach, however, lumps travelers such as Frederick Ober with long-time residents such as Fanny Chambers Gooch and Charles Flandrau, writers whose views of Mexican society reflected some acculturation. Even more significantly, John Kenneth Turner and John Reed, socialist writers who lambasted the effects of U.S. capitalism in Mexico, receive virtually no mention, and the index even conflates the former with Frederick Jackson Turner, the author of the (in)famous "frontier thesis" of the 1890s. As González believes, this principal mission of U.S. writers did not even change during the Mexican Revolution (1910–1940), when hundreds of progressive U.S. and British writers came to Mexico to observe a revolution close up, and when U.S. policy toward Mexico swung from military intervention during the Wilson administration to sympathy and nonintervention under Franklin D. Roosevelt. The author describes the Roosevelt years as a turn to anti-imperial imperialism, but he never quite explains what this means.

The book's main contribution comes after the first three chapters, however. The linkage between U.S.-Mexican economic relations and Mexican immigration is an important one, as is the causal relationship between the American empire and public policy toward the growing Latino population. González makes an important contribution to the scholarship on Latino studies when he conceptualizes racist attitudes toward Mexican immigrants as a corollary of the orientalist viewpoints of U.S. travelers to Mexico. Those who read U.S. and British travel accounts of Mexico came to view immigrants from south of the Rio Grande as lazy, uneducated peons. As a consequence, during the 1920s and 1930s, Mexicans were treated as second-class immigrants, far less desirable than the European immigrants that continued to flock to the United States in large numbers. This view found particularly significant expression in public education in the border states.

The main contribution of this book therefore lies in its effort to reposition the ethnic history of the United States in a political and economic world system. As González reminds us, the history of the Latino communities cannot be fully understood without its international context, and particularly the hegemonic U.S. presence in Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean over the past 120 years. The book thus makes a valuable contribution to Latino studies despite the tendency to reduce the history of U.S.-Mexican relations to a sordid tale of U.S. exploitation in which the sole recourse of Mexicans was, to paraphrase the Cuban nineteenth-century intellectual and politician José Martí, to "live inside the monster and to see its entrails."

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THOMAS SCHOONOVER. *Uncle Sam's War of 1898 and the Origins of Globalization*. Foreword by WALTER LAFFER. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2003. Pp. xv, 180. \$30.00.

In this provocative synthesis, which is conceptualized as "argumentative" rather than "definitive" (p. 1), Thomas Schoonover offers a searing indictment of U.S. foreign policy and informal empire. By no means a history of the Spanish-American War, the book virtually ignores many events commonly associated with that conflict, such as the sinking of the battleship *Maine* and the fighting near Santiago, Cuba. Rather, Schoonover dismisses the very term "Spanish-American War" as a misnomer and devotes his attention to the conflict's place within a longstanding Great Power competition for hegemony in China, the Pacific, and the Gulf-Caribbean (especially Central America's isthmian crossings).

Schoonover argues that Europe's imperial powers sought a western route to Asia's wealth beginning with Christopher Columbus's voyages, a quest that gained urgency during the nineteenth century's industrial revolution. To "alleviate" (p. 21) domestic dislocations generated by mass production at home, Western nations increasingly embraced "social imperialism," seeking markets, resources, investment opportunities, coaling stations, and colonies abroad. Meanwhile, Japan undertook a reverse quest. Facing eastward while exploiting China, Japan claimed obscure locales in the South Pacific and even contemplated involvement in a Panama canal. Eschewing deterministic formulae, Schoonover recognizes that the Great Powers never followed precisely the same agendas: for instance, Britain eventually cared less about dominating Central America than France or Germany because it controlled the Suez Canal. But Schoonover reports that the results were roughly the same for all players, and for the most part ugly. Utilizing dependency theory, Schoonover shows that the powers manipulated cooperative native lackeys or "compradors" and contends that informal empire wreaked havoc with the economies and cultures of peripheral states. Thus, the 1830s–1850s Opium Wars devastated China's textile and handicraft industries, causing famine, vagrancy, and banditry. Inevitably, Western policies evoked a cultural and military backlash by exploited peoples that Japan sought to coopt with "Japan-centric" (p. 121), Pan-Asian alternative models.

Discounting theories of U.S. exceptionalism and idealism in world affairs, Schoonover argues that America's record substantively matched Europe's. Backed by their government, U.S. entrepreneurs and missionaries coveted Asia's wealth and peoples and penetrated Central America's isthmus and Caribbean and Pacific islands. During economic downturns, politicians and business leaders such as Secretary of State James G. Blaine, who changed his opinion on Hawaii, increasingly converted to social imperialism. Schoonover reasserts Thomas J. McCormick's "China Mar-

ket" theory for the Spanish-American War (noting how "price transferring" mechanisms undervalued certain sectors of U.S. foreign trade), prioritizes the atrocities of U.S. pacification of the Philippines as the Spanish-American War's important military story, and deconstructs myths of U. S. innocence in China. Taken together, the war, John Hay's "Open Door" notes, U. S. participation in the brutal multinational suppression of China's "Boxers," the Roosevelt and Lodge corollaries, and repeated military interventions in the Gulf-Caribbean reflected America's sudden surge in the race for Asian and Pacific wealth. In an immediate sense, the nation benefited: whereas between 1821 and 1896, the United States only exported two to five percent of its goods to Oceania and Asia, that figure changed to as much as thirty-five percent by World War II. However, U.S. entrepreneurs disrupted native economies. Chinese farmers producing vegetable oils, for example, "lost their livelihood" (p. 7) to Standard Oil's kerosene. U.S. collaboration against the Boxers and slaughter of Muslim Filipinos in Moroland helped to foster communism's eventual triumph in China and U.S. involvement in World War II's Pacific theater and the Korean and Vietnam wars. Taking a cost-benefit perspective, Schoonover aligns with turn-of-the-century anti-imperialists such as the humorist Finley Peter Dunne, who lambasted Americans for betraying their own democratic professions in the Philippines. Schoonover discredits progressive interpretations of U.S. interventionism found in such works as John Morgan Gates's *Schoolbooks and Krag's: The United States Army in the Philippines, 1898–1902* (1973) and several works on U.S. interventions in the circum-Caribbean.

By only quoting sparingly but tellingly, Schoonover manages to range more widely and pack far more evidence for his argument than one might expect in a 122-page narrative. His analysis of early imperial rivalries in Oceania and Asia turns, for example, on such diverse topics as the Charles Wilkes U.S. Exploring Expedition, how whalebone stays in clothing were made obsolete by steel, and German merchants in Samoa exploiting copra (dried coconut meat) for soap oil and candles. Schoonover's multilingual abilities allow him to draw on secondary sources in several languages and to make archival forays in some fifteen countries, and he buttresses his themes with thoughtfully culled cartoons. Although Schoonover does not seem to have utilized the works connecting gender, masculinity, and imperialism of such scholars as Mary A. Renda, Amy Kaplan, and Anne McClintock, he exposes with great clarity the racist underpinnings and hypocrisies fundamental to America's global quest, and he raises issues that anticipate (without directly addressing) America's current imbroglio in the Arab world. Particularly thought provoking, in this light, is Schoonover's discussion of Alfred Thayer Mahan's ruminations on the perils of halfway converting non-Western peoples to Western mores. This book will almost certainly generate debate among scholars;

it also merits the attention of anyone with a serious interest in U. S. history.

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BENEDIKT STUCHTEY and ECKHARDT FUCHS, editors. *Writing World History 1800–2000*. (Studies in the German Historical Institute.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 367.

The essays in this useful collection examine the impact of various national and regional contexts on the writing of world history. They cover a broad range of overlapping historiographical traditions, including trends in France, England, the United States, Germany, Russia, Africa, India, China, and Japan between 1800 and 2000. Rather than simply repeating the familiar critique that world history has been plagued by Eurocentrism or lamenting the distortions produced by nationalist perspectives, the essays identify discrete strands of scholarship and carefully trace their influence across time and borders. The result is a valuable introduction to world history writing that also challenges scholars already active in the field to broaden their understanding of its origins and to refine their responses to some of its central debates.

A first set of reflective essays takes seriously the question of whether it is possible to produce non-Eurocentric world history. Jerry Bentley nominates cross-cultural interactions as objects of study that can preserve the agency of non-European societies while also recognizing the transformative impact of Europeans in some historical settings and moments. Patrick K. O'Brien explores the possibilities for writing a material history of the world that does not rely on either Western periodization or classic constructions of material progress. In a suggestive essay that operates informally as an anchor for the book, Arif Dirlik deconstructs Eurocentrism and its critics, and asks whether the rise of "globalization" as an object of study signals the end of Eurocentrism or its triumph.

Dirlik argues that Eurocentrism is hardly defeated by the "crowding of history" with historical narratives focused on "others" (p. 106). Multiculturalism, he notes, is compatible with persisting representations of the West as culturally unique and peculiarly dynamic. Dirlik suggests that a true critique of Eurocentrism can be achieved only through historical analysis of Eurocentrist knowledge. Because Eurocentrism has a global presence and is embedded in world historical narratives, understanding world history as a field becomes itself a world history project. Dirlik recommends investigating temporalities and spatialities that have operated against the grain of a supposedly homogenizing Western-centered globalization. "The goal," he writes, "is not to abolish Eurocentrism, but to make it more precise" (p. 117).

Dirlik's claim that Eurocentrism is a global phenomenon is echoed in many of the volume's other contributions. The book's second, and longer, section com-

prises articles on various historiographical traditions, beginning with a group of essays on Western approaches. Michael Adas revisits U.S. exceptionalism; Lutz Raphael considers the world historical contributions of the Annales School; Michael Bentley explores the interconnections between British and German *Weltgeschichte*; Thomas Bohn provides a fascinating glimpse of world history writing in Tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union; and volume editor Benedikt Stuchtey considers the relation between British imperial history and world history.

Collectively these essays provide an invaluable survey of the field, bringing to light authors and approaches often overlooked in summaries of the historiography that typically begin with William McNeill's *The Rise of the West* (1963). Having emerged from a conference held at the German Historical Institute London, the collection is especially valuable for its attention to the influence of German historiography, often curiously muted in American scholars' accounts of the origins of world history as a research field. Individually, the works trace fascinating, little-known connections. For example, Stuchtey points out that the centrality of biography in British imperial history writing shaped representations of empire in Germany. Bohn reports on the efforts of Russian world historians to adopt the turning points signaled by French and English historians while also creating a peculiarly Russian periodization.

Perhaps the most intriguing group of essays reports on world history written outside the West: in Africa (Andreas Eckert), India (Vinay Lal), China in the nineteenth century (Ricardo K. S. Mak), and Japan (Julia Adeney Thomas, Sebastian Conrad). Lal investigates the Eurocentrism hidden in the insistence within Indian historiography on the comparison of India to Europe. Mak describes Chinese world history as a different kind of "centrism" that produced distortions that mirrored Eurocentrism. Taken together, the essays provide an important corrective to the notion that a Eurocentric world history has been produced in the West for consumption by the West.

The volume is not a comprehensive survey of world history writing. Among other omissions, it lacks articles on Spanish, Portuguese, Latin American, Arabic, and Ottoman world history writing, and it mentions but does not develop consistently the theme of world history's connections to disciplines such as geography and anthropology. But a peculiar strength of the volume is that it can serve simultaneously to introduce historians to the field and to stimulate the thinking of advanced practitioners. The essays are convincing in supporting the claim that understanding the history of world history is essential to shaping the agenda for future research in the field.

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CHRISTOPH CORNELIEN, LUTZ KLINKHAMMER, and WOLFGANG SCHWENTKER. *Erinnerungskulturen: Deutschland*,



*Italien und Japan seit 1945.* (Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus.) Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch. 2003. Pp. 368. €12.90.

This collection of essays clearly compares and contrasts the different ways that fascism has been remembered and represented in Germany, Italy, and Japan from 1945 to the present. While acknowledging the similarities of their fascist dictatorships, military aggression, racism, and cults of personality, the contributors primarily focus on the uniqueness of the individual countries.

What makes the book particularly interesting for readers is its interdisciplinary nature. Drawing its theoretical basis from collective memory literature (Jan Assmann, Maurice Halbwachs, Pierre Nora) and its connection to national identity (Benedict Anderson, Eric Hobsbawm), the book builds on the vast material in German, English, Italian, French, and Japanese on *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (coming to terms with the past) and tries to find overlapping areas among history, mass media, memorials, and commemorative holidays.

The central question linking the comparative study is how state institutions, political elites, and ordinary citizens in Germany, Italy, and Japan have examined their fascist pasts. The concept of "memory cultures" (*Erinnerungskulturen*) links the three countries together. For the German theorist, Assmann, one cannot speak simply about collective memory; rather memory is divided into two categories, communicative and cultural. Communicative memory entails direct contact with people who have lived through a particular time, while cultural memory is indirect and transmitted through cultural artifacts such as school books, films, photos, and museum exhibitions. Assmann's distinction is important because it highlights the different ways that different generations remember the past. Since World War II occurred at the dawn of the media age, Assmann's distinction is highly relevant for this comparative study.

The concept of memory cultures builds on Assmann's distinction between communicative and cultural memory by capturing the tensions, contradictions, and complexities of a fascist past. "Memory cultures" is less psychologically laden than *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* and foregrounds the powerful role of the mass media in shaping memories of World War II. The concept of memory cultures foregrounds difficulties between the changing categories of victim and perpetrator—particularly with respect to the civilian populations in Germany, Italy, and Japan. It focuses less on issues of resistance and collaboration and more on the selectivity of memory and generational change.

The book is divided into six chapters, each containing three to four essays from various historians related to that chapter. The first chapter addresses "the reckoning of the victors." Such reckoning (*Abrechnung*) includes the immediate postwar question of military loss, capitulation, and transitional justice. The Nurem-

berg and Tokyo War Crimes Tribunals are compared with purging processes in Italy. The second chapter "the demystification of the ruling leaders" looks at the mythology and public fascination with Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini, and Emperor Hirohito. Of particular interest is Hans Mommsen's article on Hitler, which discusses different public images of Hitler in West Germany.

The third chapter deals with "the historians and the meaning of the past." This is the only section where Italy is absent from the debate. Discussions between historians in Germany and Japan are represented, with separate articles on East and West German historiography after 1945. As such, this section complements Ian Buruma's *Wages of Guilt: Memories of War in Germany and Japan* (1994), Jeffrey Herf's *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanies* (1997), and Jürgen Danyel's *Die geteilte Vergangenheit* (1995). It carefully highlights the political role of historians in representing the fascist past as part of national history.

Chapter four addresses "memories of dictatorship and war in politics and the public sphere." Again East and West German memories are carefully differentiated from one another. This interesting section, with an essay by Herf on East German historiography about the winners and losers of history also includes discussions of commemorative holidays and public memory in Italy and the role of the massacre of Nanking in Japanese memory. It is one of the more interdisciplinary chapters in the comparative study.

Chapter five looks at the "medium of collective memory." As such, the impact of the TV series "Holocaust" for West Germany is examined in an interesting essay by Susanne Brandt. Although Bernhard Schlink's novel *Der Vorleser* (1995) is mentioned, it would also be interesting in this section to compare the postwar literature from Germany, Italy, and Japan, especially, as Brandt correctly argues, since much of the public memory of World War II is filtered through the mass media. Thus, novels and films have a potentially broader impact than the academic writings of historians for the general public. What is refreshing and of practical interest are the two essays on the writing of history textbooks in Italy and Japan by Luigi Cajani and Susanne Petersen. Here a comparison with the German rewriting of history textbooks after World War II, particularly after unification, would have been helpful.

The book concludes with a chapter addressing how "memory cultures" change over time. Returning to Halbwachs's original idea that collective memory is deeply linked to generations, the chapter presents three reflections of how generational change affects the memories of fascism in the three countries. The importance of the 1960s in West Germany is compared with changing Italian and Japanese memories at the end of the twentieth century. In this context, the essay on West German generational change, written by Axel Schildt, explicitly indicates the importance of literature for generational self-understanding. The compar-



isons in this section between the three countries are especially well-balanced and informative. The three essays address the shift from communicative to cultural memory: the shift from direct knowledge to indirect, second-hand knowledge of fascism.

This collection will be of broad interest to historians, sociologists, and political scientists. Its wide interdisciplinary scope is firmly grounded in its methodological approach that collective memory is part of the living culture of a nation. Its attentiveness to the mass media and generational change will be of particular importance for students of twentieth century European history.

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STEVE MARSH. *Anglo-American Relations and Cold War Oil*. (Cold War History Series.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2003. Pp. x, 278. \$72.00.

By 1945, Middle Eastern oil was regarded as a national security interest by both the United States and Great Britain. With the outbreak of the Cold War, Great Britain assumed primary responsibility for the defense of Western interests in the Middle East. However, British mismanagement and ineptitude in two major crises, the nationalization of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC) by the Iranian government in 1951 and the subsequent 1956 Suez crisis, forced a reappraisal of American defense policy in the region. Much has been written about the significance of the Suez crisis to Anglo-American relations and Cold War politics, but the first of the two crises has received less attention. In this book, Steve Marsh provides a lively and readable account of the impact of the crisis in Iran on Anglo-American relations, the Cold War, and oil diplomacy.

The focus of the book is the conflict between the Iranian government and the AIOC in the period from 1949 until 1954, and the respective responses of the British government, which held a majority shareholding in the company, and the United States. Marsh argues that the differences between the two Western powers were not just tactical but represented "a fundamental clash of priorities" (p. 60). In the case of the United States, growing fears of a communist threat to Iran placed Cold War-inspired strategic and political issues ahead of commercial and economic considerations; the latter, however, were predominant in the British response. Yet while both governments had different preferred solutions, they were limited in the extent to which they could pursue these by the wider imperatives of the Anglo-American "special relationship." The United States successfully opposed British plans for military intervention in Iran, a step that Marsh interprets as Britain accepting "what was tantamount to a U.S. veto on British military action" (p. 78). Ultimately, the British and Americans agreed, albeit for different reasons, that the key to resolving

the crisis was the overthrow of Premier Mohammed Mosadeq, and in August 1953 he was replaced as a result of a Western-inspired coup. Overall, Marsh argues that the Iranian crisis may be regarded as a Cold War success, as Iran emerged as an American client state, and Iranian oil was safeguarded for the West. As regards the "special relationship," however, the oil crisis encouraged the United States to replace Great Britain as the senior Western power in the Middle East.

Major strengths of this book are the interlinking of a number of different themes and the setting of particular events in the context of wider international developments; it is a valuable addition both to the series in which it is published (the Palgrave Macmillan Cold War History series) and also to the existing literature on the Iranian oil crisis, Anglo-American relations, and oil diplomacy. Marsh is particularly effective in locating the Anglo-American disputes over the appropriate policy to follow in the case of Iranian oil against the wider picture of the "special relationship." Few would dispute the charge that the crisis was mismanaged by the British. The AIOC has often been portrayed as unnecessarily intransigent, yet Marsh, drawing on official company archives as well as government records, argues that the Attlee government used the company as a scapegoat, and that the AIOC was less to blame than has generally been assumed. Marsh also argues strongly that in both Great Britain and the United States, the changes in government during the crisis did not materially affect Iranian policy: he stresses continuity rather than change in both instances.

The book is meticulously and thoroughly referenced and provides very helpful information on relevant sources, and the historiography of the many different facets of the crisis. In a book of under 300 pages, over fifty are taken up by endnotes. Many of these convey significant additional information, and their inclusion as endnotes rather than footnotes is unfortunate. More might have been said about the implications of the crisis for the international oil industry, and the significance of the multinational consortium that thereafter exploited the oilfields of Iran. These minor quibbles apart, however, this book is a valuable addition to the existing literature on Anglo-American relations and also on oil diplomacy, and it will be of interest to a wide readership.

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DAVID CAUTE. *The Dancer Defects: The Struggle for Cultural Supremacy during the Cold War*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 788. \$39.95.

David Caute recounts the cultural struggles that were an integral part of the Cold War in his new book. Many of our students are unaware of these struggles for cultural supremacy, in which the United States and the USSR unleashed bombs of invective upon each other

to establish once and for all whether socialism or capitalism could produce the freer and more popular or more meaningful and elevated cultural products. Soviet authorities pointed to a sterling tradition of ballet and opera to demonstrate that state sponsorship preserves and enhances cultural traditions. The United States responded through official and unofficial channels with the allure of jazz and rock and roll, and the thrills of Hollywood cinema, to show that the marketplace alone could provide the masses with a culture that satisfied their demands.

Caute provides a conscientious overview of the texts and performances that excited so much interest and illuminated the divisions between and within the two worlds. He helps us understand why a play such as Konstantin Simonov's *Russian Question*, which present readers find charmless, was a rallying point for cold warriors of all stripes; or why the defection of a ballet dancer inspired intrigues on the highest levels of government, and indicted an entire system of government. Caute occasionally gets caught up in the arguments of the time, when he would do better just to document them and allow their silliness to speak for themselves. More often, he immerses us in the cultural artifacts, the debates that surrounded them, and the historical context that gave them meaning. He documents the agony and ambivalence of such figures as Arthur Miller and Elia Kazan, Dmitry Shostakovich, or Bertold Brecht as they tried to find conscientious political stands among the political thickets of their time. We sometimes cringe at their ethical choices but understand as well that the Cold War left few unsailable positions for the socially conscious artist. Eugene Ionesco and Samuel Beckett retreated into the absurd; Pablo Picasso made gestures at leftist sympathy that never tied him to any political group, made no effective political statement, but left him free to create great art. Vaclav Havel used theater of the absurd to make brave political statements, but retrospect tells us that his art suffered for his forthrightness. Rare was the artist, such as Polish director Andrzej Wajda or British playwright Tom Stoppard, who could stimulate the social conscience of the audience, engage political issues without forcing viewers to choose sides, and provide aesthetically satisfying art.

Many of the chapters of this book would work well in undergraduate courses in Russian and U.S. history. Chapter seven on the "witch hunts" of the McCarthy era, and the whole of part four on the "Music and Ballet Wars," make particularly effective readings. Graduate advisors might also direct their students to the book. Although it is not a strictly scholarly work, there are many dissertations to be hatched in its pages. Russian historians in particular have neglected the postwar cultural wars, because the artistic products are so unsatisfying, and the struggles seem so placid in comparison with the high-stakes wars of the Stalin years. There is an argument to be made that these battles were fundamental to understanding culture on both sides of the Iron Curtain from the 1960s to the

present. Artists had either to accept or to reject the cultural premises of the Cold War, and they were marked and understood within that context. Even jazz musicians and rock and rollers, who would have preferred to ignore the war, were important instruments in the struggle. Western music piped over the wall by the Voice of America was meant to crack the monolith of socialist culture, and its effect cannot be ignored. Eastern bloc practitioners of these arts were conscious rebels, who earned the hostility of their state cultural authorities.

The notion that culture is a form of war has unmistakably and regrettably not left us. While Russians seem to have been cured of many psychoses that came from Great Power status, we in the U.S. have not yet gotten beyond them. If we want to help our students understand why powerful states react fearfully to alien cultural expressions, and cannot always distinguish cultural difference from hostile intentions, Caute's "struggle for cultural supremacy" is a good place to start. There is a lot of interesting history left to be written about this episode.

JAMES VON GELDERN  
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#### ASIA

YE XIAOQING. *The Dianshizhai Pictorial: Shanghai Urban Life, 1884-1898*. (Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies, number 98.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2003. Pp. 249. \$50.00.

Ye Xiaoqing's book is a very accessible, comprehensive, and often entertaining overview of a popular Shanghai publication. The book is more a summary of Shanghai urban life as it was represented in the *Dianshizhai Pictorial* than a critical study of the publication itself as a new genre in China's emerging urban print culture in the late nineteenth century.

After a short introduction and a brief history of the *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, the author categorizes the content of the pictorial into three groups. Part two of the book describes developments in Shanghai's infrastructure and institutions, including roads and transportation, water supply and hygiene, gas and electricity for public lighting, as well as legal system and law enforcements. Part three is devoted to new phenomena in Shanghai urban culture, such as popular attitudes toward things foreign, concepts of health and the human body, changes in the pattern of human relations, relations between the sexes, challenges to the traditional social order, and vagrants and criminals. The last part of the book examines religious practices in the city, including attitudes of the officials and of the literati, organizers of religious activities, and the social environment and its effect. Detailed and anecdotal descriptions, instead of thematic discussions, of how the above aspects of Shanghai urban life were represented in the *Dianshizhai Pictorial* form the essence of this volume. It is a feast for readers who want to learn

about anecdotes of Shanghai daily life, but it might disappoint those who look for an in-depth study of print culture or theorization of Shanghai modernity.

Ye's methodology is one of comparison and confirmation. She explains illustrations of events in the *Pictorial*, very often by checking them against other sources such as newspaper reports, and argues that the representations are mostly accurate and unbiased. Sometimes the author provides supplemental materials to elaborate on events and phenomena depicted. The lack of a critical prism through which to examine the *Dianshizhai Pictorial* limits her opportunity to scrutinize the publication's political and sociocultural functions in a larger context.

Consequently, the reader is often left to feel that the author is stopping at the point where she should start. The book does not try to go beyond the level of observations, albeit often very good ones. Some observations simply need more information or interpretation (for instance, the wonderful discussion on Shanghai literati in the beginning of the book). Other observations leave larger questions unaddressed. The book creates an impression of the mostly "harmonious relationship" between the Chinese and Western residents in the city. Ye sees a fairly uncritical embrace of things Western by the general population living in the foreign settlements of Shanghai. If this was the reality, what made colonial Shanghai such a "harmonious" city? The author maintains that the *Dianshizhai* was not biased; could this rosy picture of Shanghai, in fact, be evidence of bias? In the eyes of some contemporaries bias did exist; the most famous (some might say over-used) example was Lu Xun's criticism of the *Pictorial* as a product of cultural invasion by colonialism. It is surprising that the author does not address such contemporary criticisms. Is this simply an oversight?

In short, the reader could be intrigued or disappointed by this book, depending on what she is looking for. In any case, one can certainly walk away with a great amount of information about Shanghai at the turn of the twentieth century and even with inspirations for further research. The book, or parts of it, will work quite well in an undergraduate class on modern Chinese history, urban culture, or popular culture in China.

It is hard to ignore the quality of the production of the book. The font size is too small for the comfort of the eyes. Many errors were not caught (for example, two in one single paragraph on page 142). It is regrettable to see such problems in a fine product of years of serious research.

MADELEINE Y. DONG  
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QIN SHAO. *Culturing Modernity: The Nantong Model, 1890–1930*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 351. \$60.00.

Urban modernity in China in the early twentieth century is most commonly associated with Shanghai, a fast-moving city with electric lights, department stores, and a cosmopolitan population. Qin Shao takes the reader north of Shanghai to Nantong, situated on the other side of the Yangzi. A modest administrative town in a rather poor region, Nantong was transformed in the early Republican era into a showcase of Chinese urban development. The creative force behind this transformation was Zhang Jian (1853–1926), founder of Nantong's famous Dasheng cotton mills and the dominant figure in Nantong politics in the early twentieth century. In the post-Mao reform era, as Shao records, Zhang was rescued from the dustbin of Maoist history and held up as a model worth emulating, posthumously attaining in person what he had hoped his model city would achieve. He is the central character in the story of the making of modernity (or, as Shao would argue, of something that looked like modernity) in Nantong.

Shao weaves her tale around the theme of the "model," showing how piecemeal changes in Nantong and national political developments converged in 1914 to produce in Zhang's mind a vision of Nantong as model city. The result was a carefully crafted urban spectacle featuring not only factories but a hospital, a museum, modern schools, public parks and library, new style schools, a press, two film companies, and numerous other signs of the very modern town. Such institutions were being introduced in cities all over China at this time, but nowhere else so visibly and in such concentration. A discussion of reconfigurations of space and time in Nantong is one of the most absorbing sections of this engaging study. Here Shao illustrates the role of the factory in making Nantong modern. "The factory whistle," writes Shao, "came to represent *the time*" in Nantong, and while urban residents began to talk in terms of "o'clock" (*dian*), "workers and peasants near Tangzha [the factory site] used *qi*, the whistle from the factory" (p. 90). Modern timekeeping restructured daily life in Nantong, but Shao draws attention also to its exhibitory, signifying function. In 1914 a town clock tower was constructed at Zhang's suggestion. Local people no doubt used the clock to tell the time, but from out of town, "people traveled miles just to get a look at it" (p. 91).

"Looking," as Shao elsewhere demonstrates, was central to the process of constructing Nantong as the model of modernity. Zhang encouraged public exhibitions designed to highlight the achievements of Nantong's modern institutions, and he actively sought out famous visitors to gaze upon his creations. Shao's interest in image, representation, and exhibition underpins her analysis of Zhang's project as a "socially engineered *simulation* of modernity" (p. 5). But is there a modernity that does not seek to simulate the modern? Nantong—again due to Zhang—boasted some self-evidently modern phenomena: a mechanized textile industry, complex capitalization, and an emerging proletariat employed in the Dasheng cotton mills.



The mills served as the “cash cow” (p. 47) for Zhang’s various civic projects. Viewed from the perspective of its economic foundations, “Nantong modern” assumes the air of a company town that had claims to being something more than a simulacrum of modernity except insofar as everything organically modern is simultaneously trying to be modern.

In explaining the decline of Nantong as model in the 1920s, Shao concludes that “models are a reflection of a particular, and therefore temporary circumstance; they are not meant to last” (p. 240). Yet as she also shows, it was not only the “model” that declined: the Dasheng enterprises fell on hard times in the 1920s, and the whole of Nantong followed suit. It is unclear why the model provided by Nantong would otherwise have become irrelevant. Certainly urban reform elsewhere in the 1920s—Nanjing, Guangzhou—duplicated many of Zhang’s initiatives. One of the contributions this book makes, then, is as an intensive study of an albeit unusually intensive project of urban modernization. Zhang may have been a singular character in the annals of early twentieth-century China, but he shared with many of his contemporaries an instinct for the modern.

ANTONIA FINNANE  
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KARL GERTH. *China Made: Consumer Culture and the Creation of the Nation*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 224.) Distributed by Harvard University Press. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asian Center. 2003. Pp. xv, 445. \$50.00.

With China now running record trade surpluses, particularly with the United States, the appearance of this book is timely yet ironic. Timely, as a reminder that in China there is an aggrieved historical memory of imperialist humiliations and alleged economic exploitation in the not so distant past. Ironic, in that the post-Mao Chinese leadership has so heartedly embraced, and benefited from, the neo-liberal free trade regime that its predecessors so roundly condemned.

Karl Gerth’s study deals with earlier Chinese resentment of foreign penetration and domination of the Chinese economy under what Mao Zedong called a “semi-colonial” condition. There is an economic history aspect to this, but Gerth does not address the complex question of whether, on balance, the Western presence hindered or stimulated China’s economic development. In short, this is discourse history, the Chinese discourse about how the imperialist powers exploited China, ruined its traditional industries, and impeded modern industrialization.

Gerth links this discourse to the rise of modern Chinese nationalism from the beginning of the twentieth century to the Japanese invasion in 1937. He sees the development and propagation of “a nationalistic consumer culture” as an essential corollary to the new nationalism, but one rather neglected in the China field as most historians, in the West and China, have

focused more on intellectual movements, student activism, and political developments. The main players, and voices, in Gerth’s study of the “national products movement” are China’s new economic elites, the “national capitalists,” in Marxist parlance, who sought to promote Chinese-owned businesses and factories in competition with foreign competitors. Those foreigners enjoyed not only the advantages of a head start in industrialization but also the political advantages acquired in the militarily imposed “unequal treaties” of the nineteenth century, notably the Chinese government’s loss of the right to provide tariff protection for native industries.

Consumer nationalism was one recourse for a politically and militarily weak nation struggling to maintain traditional industries and develop new ones. Hence the series of campaigns and consumer boycotts targeting imports from countries that had damaged or insulted the Chinese nation. These ranged from the anti-American boycott of 1905 over restrictive immigration policies to anti-British boycotts and strikes after the May 30 incident in 1925 (British police had shot Chinese strikers in Shanghai) to the almost continuous demonstrations and boycotts of Japanese goods in the early and mid-1930s.

Gerth stresses that these should be seen not as a series of separate episodes, as much of the existing scholarship has done, but rather as a continuous and growing movement to create a “nationalistic consumer culture.” Largely initiated by modern business interests, it enlisted student activists, local and national government (especially the Guomindang), and many sectors of modern Chinese society to its cause while imbuing the general rhetoric of aggrieved Chinese nationalism. Exhorting and sometimes coercing Chinese consumers to buy “national products” (*guo huo*), not “foreign, or enemy, goods” (*yang huo, chou huo*), the “National Products Movement” argued for Chinese business interests in terms of national, not individual, self-interest. Eventually, Gerth argues, this nationalistic discourse would come back to haunt the Chinese capitalists who embraced it when the new Communist government invoked national interest over private interests to abolish Chinese capitalism in the early 1950s.

Was that outcome due to the power of discourse, or the power of revolutionary ideology, or even the power of the gun? Perhaps all three. Gerth does not claim that boycotts and “buy Chinese” rhetoric were particularly effective in strictly economic terms. In some cases, trade statistics show clearly they were not. Instead, he argues that the National Products Movement’s success must be evaluated on “other subtler cultural, institutional and discursive grounds . . . in the making of the modern Chinese nation” (p. 356).

On those grounds, Gerth is persuasive, if not entirely convincing. It is unlikely that he will be able to displace the intellectuals and student activists from the central narrative of modern Chinese nationalism, but he has created some space for other factors and other



voices. It will do him no harm that, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, economic and business history is attracting more interest inside and outside of China. In fact, this book will make a valuable addition to the growing field of the history of consumerism, surely a product of our age of intensified global consumption. Gerth himself is quite conscious of those wider global implications and brings in interesting comparisons with consumerism in other countries, both industrialized and colonial.

There is also a significant gender dimension to this study. The final quarter of the book deals with "Nation, Gender, and the Market," showing how, particularly under the Guomindang, nationalistic consumerism could be a counter discourse to the emancipatory claims of modern feminism. Instead of weakening the nation by consuming modish foreign products, the modern patriotic woman should concentrate on her role in managing household finances, making sure that expenditures went for purely Chinese products.

Gerth has written a book that offers something for readers outside the China field as well as some challenges to specialists. Furthermore, it can be read in parts according to one's interests.

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MICHAEL J. SETH. *Education Fever: Society, Politics, and the Pursuit of Schooling in South Korea*. (Hawai'i Studies on Korea.) Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. Center for Korean Studies: University of Hawai'i. 2002. Pp. vii, 305. \$49.00.

As the subtitle suggests, this is indeed an ambitious volume. Michael J. Seth ranges across five decades of society and politics tracking the nation's "educational fever" or "obsession," as evident in "exam mania." The volume succeeds with a more modest yet very important goal of reviewing state educational policy, although it does not offer a consistent analysis of the substance or extent of educational aspirations. One finds rather an informative chronological review of state education policy and public response from 1945. Seth provides historical detail drawn from government documents and secondary sources to fill out a picture of education aspirations in Korean society. The volume also benefits from an effort at comprehensive coverage of major education issues through 1998. It provides a useful introduction to major issues in development of state educational policy.

The story begins with a profile of remarkable growth in literacy, schooling, and education policy from 1945 through 1960. Three motifs give texture to the chronicle in chapters two and three: private sector financing, sequential development from primary through secondary levels, and the broader argument of public demand as the driving force for expansion.

The author reviews state educational policy from 1961 in chapters four through seven, looking to planning, the entrance exam system, and education financ-

ing. The reader learns much here of policy and structure in the planning process, and of state efforts to moderate the effects of the exam system, and something of financing. Financing deserves more attention, given Seth's own emphasis on how the state passes educational costs on to families, and given the prominence of private institutions in Korea's educational development. The final two chapters bring the survey up to date, moving among prominent issues such as state efforts at controls in education, student movements, gender equality, and the recent efforts at introducing flexibility and a more global curriculum.

The argument for public demand rather than state initiative as the critical factor in educational expansion appears awkward. One can hardly compare the documents of state policy with "public demand," without consistent reference to similar documentary evidence, surveys or other indicators of public attitudes toward education. Moreover, the interplay itself may be more interesting than the relative priority in pressing education expansion. Finally, the critical question is neither state nor public demand but rather the substance and origins of these aspirations. The author addresses origins mainly in the concluding chapter with reference to earlier aristocratic aspirations, but this tells us little of how aspirations were shaped and promoted.

As often with ambitious volumes, the effort at breadth comes at the expense of depth. In the effort to be comprehensive, the danger is that the book at times might not take us beyond what has been observed but left unanalyzed in earlier studies. Yet Seth has introduced a number of intriguing themes that will no doubt be of interest to other students and scholars. What appears to capture his imagination is the fluidity of Korean society already from 1935. How has such social instability contributed to social mobility, or indeed to education aspirations? How can we assess the interaction of demographic, occupational, and educational mobility, and what might this tell us of attitudinal development?

Another intriguing issue is the dual priority of the relatively straightforward goal of equal opportunity, and the widely recognized but largely unanalyzed emphasis on homogeneity raised in chapter five. If indeed the educational fever is driven by an earlier aspiration for aristocratic status, or "high status" degrees, can the relatively vague emphasis on "homogeneity" balance the potential inequalities? How has the emphasis on sequential development in the levels of schooling and uniformity in the educational curriculum promoted such "homogeneity"? The author has provided an informative volume on a critical aspect of Korean society and polity. He has also opened up a new research agenda of interest to students, scholars, and policy makers alike, and of great significance for the understanding of Korean development.

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RUDOLF C. HEREDIA and SHEREEN F. RATNAGAR, editors. *Mobile and Marginalized Peoples: Perspectives from the Past*. New Delhi: Manohar. 2003. Pp. 236. Rs 500.00.

In the conclusion to this volume, editor Shereen F. Ratnagar notes, "We have not reached a stage when we can place the historiography of shifting cultivators or nomadic pastoralists at the center of our research" (p. 227). Nevertheless, this book is a step in that direction. It is the product of the workshop held in Pune (in 1998) whose purpose was not only to challenge the stereotypical notions of pastoral people but also to initiate a dialogue between intellectuals and activists for a better understanding of the mobile peoples of South Asia.

The general tenor of all the essays is that, historically, mobile pastoralists were part of a bigger system wherein fields, forests, and pastures were deeply embedded in an interdependent relationship that made their boundaries fluid. This interdependency created a situation whereby occupations became interchangeable and flexible. This system was "open-ended and precariously balanced" (p. 202). The pastoralists, agriculturists, and forest dwellers adopted multiple strategies of subsistence by acquiring skills from each other and responded according to the changing social, economic, political, and ecological conditions. To categorize a group of people or an individual based on a fixed occupation is likely to be misleading in this context. For example, it is a matter of record that designated "pastoralists" historically pursued varied occupations (i.e. peasants, laborers, landowners, watchmen, traders, craftsmen, keepers of boundary passes, soldiers, suppliers of forest produce, road, bridge, and fort builders, stone masons, and forest guards). This was true of the Bhils, Gonds, Baigas, Korkus, Banjaras, Kurumbars, and other pastoralists that inhabited different parts of the Indian subcontinent.

The multiple roles and functions of these people firmly integrated their society into the local, regional, and global economy. Thus the mobile pastoralists played a significant role in the lives of graziers, artisans, and cultivators while simultaneously performing those functions in some situations. If this "precariously balanced" system had survived for centuries, then how were these mobile pastoral people marginalized in the nineteenth century? The process of marginalization had in fact started under the Marathas in the eighteenth century and became more intense in the nineteenth century under British rule. Before the British conquest, however, all types of gathering were prevalent and shifting cultivation was practiced. Almost all the precolonial regimes had allowed local control over natural resources and did not interfere much with the mobility of people and resources. There was an absence of centralized control over resources and curbs on peoples' access to them. Flexibility and mobility was also a major strategy of survival during natural calamities and political crisis.

All this changed under British rule as "the large-scale introduction of industrial capitalist interest in forest produce was the main feature of the transformation of the tribal economy from a pre-colonial to a colonial one . . . industrialization of the forest economy led to the disruption of the local production linkages and economic marginalization . . . tribes suffered the most from the consequences of this process" (p. 186). Thus the industrial, colonial, and imperial capitalist exploitation that the British Empire in India represented destroyed the self-sustaining economy, leading to the loss of pastoral livelihood. Colonial takeover of forests, bans on shifting cultivation and migration, and encouragement of commercial agriculture at the expense of pasture and grazing lands led to the breaking of the age-old interdependency of pastoralists, agriculturists, and forest dwellers and the removal of the cushion that had protected people from natural calamities like famine, disease, and death.

The central argument of the book is that pastoralism is not environmentally but economically defined and is interchangeable with other forms of activity such as agriculture and trade. But, the term "agro-pastoralism" that is often used in this volume seems to discount the forest dwellers, even though due attention is given to them in the text itself. What is really missing from this volume is gender. Except for a couple of minor references, pastoral women are absent. It is well known that women have played significant roles in not just pastoral society but in agrarian and forest dwelling communities as well; in fact, they were pivotal intermediaries between farms, fields, and forests. Another problem is that the contributors show a lack of sensitivity by using the word "tribal," which was originally used by the British imperialists to stereotype and then denigrate all non-agrarian and non-urban communities and peoples. If the whole idea of the workshop and the subsequent volume was to overcome such stereotypes, then this oversight is certainly unacceptable.

Nevertheless, this work is a useful addition to the scanty research on the pastoral people of the Indian subcontinent. More studies of this nature are needed before the historiography of the mobile and the marginalized peoples can find a place at the center of research and writing.

LAXMAN D. SATYA  
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KUMARI JAYAWARDENA. *Nobodies to Somebodies: The Rise of the Colonial Bourgeoisie in Sri Lanka*. Reprint. New York: Zed Books; distributed by Palgrave, New York, N.Y. 2002. Pp. xxx, 412. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$29.95.

This book provides a detailed account of the rise of the Ceylonese bourgeoisie under British rule, particularly during the vast economic changes of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The book is a significant addition to the broader discourse on the formation of "upper classes" in the nineteenth century, such as the

Mudliars, and their sources, especially the Karava caste. Kumari Jayawardena takes a Marxist approach and focuses on the origins and growth of the Ceylonese capitalist class. This study also complements her previous work, *The Rise of the Labor Movement in Ceylon* (1972); together they tell the story of class formation in contemporary Sri Lankan society.

Instead of focusing on one caste, Jayawardena explores the transformation across caste boundaries. Highlighting the inadequacies of the definition of the elite, she focuses on the bourgeoisie. Cautioning that the notion of "comprador bourgeoisie" signals the blatant collaboration of the Ceylonese capitalists with the British, the author argues that the situation was more mixed. She emphasizes the significance of arrack production, distribution, and renting in the initial production of capital by nascent capitalists. In addition to its origin, she examines the make up and identity of this class, especially how the new capitalists, once they had established themselves, preferred to distance themselves from "dirty" arrack and assume the more established role of landowner.

The discussion is largely built on the Marxist base-superstructure model. The book assigns primacy to class over caste and social status and highlights how class formation has conditioned and affected the religious revivals, ethnic identity, and political movements. The narrative begins by identifying those "nobodies" who became capitalists and how they accumulated capital in the initial stages, under hostile colonial conditions. The key section, "Becoming Somebodies," highlights their crucial transformation into a capitalist class. In part three, the author examines the construction of their representation, especially caste and ethnic identities and the building of a society around it, supporting and identifying with religious revivals and the changing position of women in society. Finally, she tracks their political involvements before and after independence and suggests continuities.

As she employs a traditional Marxist framework, Jayawardena sees the unfolding of historical materialism in Ceylon, particularly the evolution of the bourgeoisie from a "feudal" society and mercantilist economy, to the age of plantations. The concentration on class seems to overshadow colonialism. The book does not highlight conflicts among the colonials and Ceylonese capitalists, local bourgeois factions, and the classes within castes. The economic collaboration between the colonial community and local bourgeoisie found reflection in their cultural practices. The latter followed their colonial masters, mimicking their tastes in fashion, furnishings, dwelling, adopting Western names, and embracing Christianity.

As demonstrated in the latter part of the book, class was influenced by caste, gender, and tradition, but the latter were reinvented within the new class system. Although class replaced caste in regard to the division of labor, caste consciousness persisted. While the convergences within castes were promoted by the newly rich as a means to enhance their power, caste

links were also retained and cemented at the higher level through marriage alliances and business cartels. Ethnic identity was also both persistent and flexible.

Jayawardena's Marxist framework is thus a hybrid and is also informed by feminist and poststructuralist positions. She situates her vantage point within the Ceylonese bourgeoisie and moves it to women from time to time. The capitalist class she constructs is therefore neither authentic nor pure. Although the new class cut across caste and ethnic boundaries, the nascent capitalists used both caste and ethnicity as protections and reinforcements of their position, never quite liberating themselves from the grip of the past. Jayawardena also brings women into the narrative, showing that gender also helped to redefine the new class system.

Class is a construction. In her richly textured, wide-ranging, and detailed study, Jayawardena reminds us that today's "Somebodies" were "Nobodies" in the recent past. They were part of the great anonymous masses whose lives remain hidden from mainstream history. In short, this is a revealing scholarly account of the formation of the upper classes in Sri Lanka during the British colonial period.

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#### CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

JOHN G. REID *et al.*, *The "Conquest" of Acadia, 1710: Imperial, Colonial, and Aboriginal Constructions*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004. Pp. xxiii, 297. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$29.95.

The British conquest of Acadia in 1710 is not an event that figures largely in standard histories of Canada. Historically, it has not been considered significant either for Acadia (today's Nova Scotia) or for Canada as a whole, being regarded as simply a stepping stone to the decisive 1760 conquest, when Canada became part of the British Empire. The authors of the nine studies that make up this book think otherwise: they see the 1710 conquest as engendering changes that gained both force and significance over time, entailing long-term consequences not only for Acadia/Nova Scotia but eventually for all of Canada. They argue that to be better understood and evaluated, these changes must first of all be examined in three different contexts: as events in the short term, as turning points, and finally in the long term. And that is only setting the stage for what becomes an odyssey in search of ultimate historical truths.

Acting on the principle that a single narrative cannot adequately depict the complexity of the situation that existed in early eighteenth-century Acadia, the book's six authors have selected nine approaches to the multilayered history of the fall of Port Royal in 1710. The first chapter, designed to serve as a benchmark, draws on official imperial and colonial documentation for its version of events. As John G. Reid describes it,

the British takeover was not well organized and was marked by inaction and a laissez-faire attitude. In the midst of imperial rivalries and administrative ineptitude, private commercial ventures expanded rapidly, mostly from New England. As analyzed by Reid and by Elizabeth Mancke in the second chapter, the result was that Acadia devolved into being neither entirely a colony nor entirely a commercial outpost.

It had been established by the French in 1604 and had soon developed a thriving trade with the neighboring English colonies, in spite of the fact that France and Britain were at odds with each other at the time. In examining this aspect of the new colony, Maurice Basque finds that the Acadians had very early developed a form of neutrality, maintaining their French ties while actively dealing with the enemy. It was a tradition they would later carry on under the British. As Geoffrey Plank points out in his study of the role of New England, merchants were less concerned about who ruled than they were about establishing conditions favorable for their commercial interests.

In his analysis of how the native people fared in this evolving scene, William Wicken finds that for them—mainly Mi'kmaq, but also including some Wulstukwiuk (Maliseet) and Abenaki—the events of 1710 were not at first significant, only becoming so later. Wicken argues that since originally the lands included in the terms “Acadia” and “Nova Scotia” were mostly inhabited by Mi'kmaq, the region would have been more appropriately called “Mi'kma'ki.” In the prevailing mood of the times, however, Indians were not consulted—or even considered—when it came to affairs of state. The Treaty of Utrecht (1713), for instance, was signed without involving either Mi'kmaq or Wabanaki, even though it had been their lands that were at issue. Such attitudes prevailed in spite of the fact that the cooperation and helpfulness of the Aborigines in such activities as whaling and the fur trade had been major factors in the successful establishment of the colonies in the first place. When the Indians protested those attitudes, the reaction of the British was to assume that the French were the instigators. As Reid observes in his essay on imperialism and diplomacy, in the wake of 1710 all sides in Acadia had a status quo to defend. Throughout this early period, the specter of a native uprising was never far distant.

The problems that arose in making the colony British seemed to have a life of their own, particularly as bonds failed to develop between the established French settlers and the incoming British. An especially worrisome one was the Acadians' refusal to take the oath of allegiance to the British crown, which, combined with the refusal of most of them to leave the colony, complicated an already difficult situation. According to Barry Moody, such problems were compounded by the laxity and indifference of the British administration, which contributed eventually to the deportations of 1755, when the British evicted the Acadians. In the concluding chapter, Mancke considers the adaptations of imperial policies that were

called for when a Protestant power (Britain) takes over a region (Acadia) colonized by Catholics, but where the dominant population was Indian (Mi'kmaq). In other words, the British were faced with a unique situation in colonial administration that had no clear precedents to serve as guidelines. Their tendency to view Acadia as a dismal land with few prospects did not help matters.

To say that eighteenth-century Acadia/Nova Scotia presented a uniquely tangled scene—politically, economically, socially, and otherwise—is to put it mildly. As this collection of essays effectively illustrates, imperial goals influenced geopolitical events in a maze of interconnections that eludes a single storyline. That the essays do not always make for easy reading is hardly surprising. They clearly demonstrate, however, that while imperialism, colonization, and state formation can lead to both positive and negative results, they seldom provide easy answers, and sometimes none at all.

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KATIE PICKLES. *Female Imperialism and National Identity: Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire*. (Studies in Imperialism.) New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by Palgrave. 2002. Pp. xi, 209. \$69.95.

For a historian of gender and imperialism, the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire (IODE) is something of a dream come true. An organization of settler women united in their support for the British empire and Canada's place in it, the IODE was founded in the heat of the South African War and has persisted, albeit in changed form, into the present. Given this charged combination of gendered, imperial, and national identities and agendas, it is curious that the IODE has received only scant and episodic scholarly attention. Katie Pickles changes that.

Pickles is trained as a geographer, yet her book is very much a work of history and one that, its use of an international secondary literature notwithstanding, is guided by the concerns and questions of English-Canadian historiography. Pickles's sources are the standard stuff of current organizational histories: institutional records augmented by oral interviews with forty-seven members of the IODE.

The book is organized chronologically. The first chapter offers a “genealogy” of the IODE. Pickles argues that the IODE illustrates the point made in 1970 by Carl Berger's *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867–1914*, namely that the supposed opposites of nationalism and imperialism have often overlapped in English Canada. The second chapter treats the IODE's early twentieth-century efforts to encourage migration from Britain and its related support for blunt theories of racial hierarchy. Chapter three examines how this translated into support for the “Canadianization” movement of the 1920s, where the IODE worked to assimilate peoples



of non-British origin. I wonder if the hope that Pickles detects in the IODE's feelings about immigration can better be read as satisfaction with the extent to which Canada's immigration policy had become, in effect, a "white Canada" one.

The 1928 "English Schoolgirl Tour," when twenty-five young women were literally paraded across Canada in a supposed display of the superiority of British female stock, is the topic of chapter four. Pickles then discusses the interwar period, the IODE's efforts to memorialize World Wars I and II, and, finally, its response to the Cold War. The final substantive chapter deals with the IODE's work in the Canadian north and is, to my mind, the most innovative part of the book. Pickles argues that the IODE shifted its focus from immigrants to Indigenous northerners, a move that represented "the change in Canada's identity from that of a dominion in the Empire, with an identity centered on Britain, to that of a nation situated in Canadian geographic space" (p. 149). It is only in this chapter that Canada's Indigenous people enter Pickles's narrative as meaningful historical subjects.

The past two decades have witnessed the development of a remarkably rich historiography on the intersection between gender and imperialism, and it is one to which Pickles owes much. That Canada and Canadian historians have played a relatively small role in this scholarship is doubly unfortunate, both because Canada's long and complicated history as a French and English colonial space has much to offer historians of colonialism and because the historiography of empire has the potential to enrich and shift our understanding of the Canadian past. Pickles's book is a more sympathetic treatment of the IODE than others might offer. But it does show us some of the ways that gender and empire spoke to each other in Canada, and suggest how historians might listen to them.

ADELE PERRY  
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PATRICIA E. ROY. *The Oriental Question: Consolidating a White Man's Province, 1914-41*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. 2003. Pp. 334. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$29.95.

This book is the second of a planned three-volume historical review of the "Asian question" in the Canadian province of British Columbia. The volumes follow a chronological timeline. Volume one is *A White Man's Province: British Columbia Politicians and Chinese and Japanese Immigrants, 1858-1914* (1989). In volume three, Patricia E. Roy plans to survey the period from the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1941 to the 1960s, when Canada ceased using immigration laws as an overt form of racial discrimination.

In this book, Roy asks a central question: why did Canada pass the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1923? As she notes in her conclusion, she was hoping to find a relatively easy answer. One proved elusive, however, and it is evident throughout the book that she struggles

to find a context or framework for her very detailed historical evidence. Roy has combed provincial newspapers, municipal, provincial and federal archives (especially those holding records of speeches and decisions on the "Asian question"), and correspondence such as that contained in fisheries archives and trades and labor council documents. The time period begins at the outset of World War I and ends with the bombing of Pearl Harbor. The "Asian question" refers to the distinctions made between the Chinese and Japanese residents of the province of British Columbia and the view of certain xenophobes that British Columbia should become and remain a "White Man's Province." Chinese men were often hired on contract as cheap wage labor for growing resource-extraction industries like mining and salmon canning as well as in the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Japanese men came to British Columbia in significant numbers later than the Chinese and competed directly with white and Aboriginal men in industries like fishing, while Chinese men often filled jobs that had been designated as "women's work." Roy looks at attitudes toward both groups.

Volume two begins with discrimination against Chinese workers and efforts to eliminate them from the province through head taxes, culminating in the Exclusion Act of 1923, which effectively stopped further immigration from China. In the meantime, Japanese immigration was controlled through the various versions of the "gentlemen's agreements" between Canada (as a member of the British Commonwealth) and Japan (as a favored nation). Although racist legislation directed at the Chinese was often in evidence and promoted in newspaper articles, attitudes toward the Japanese were ultimately tempered by the need of the federal government to maintain good relations with Japan.

Roy demonstrates how racist attitudes shifted over the course of the years covered in this volume. Japanese residents in the province were often perceived as a larger threat to white residents because Japanese men began families. Birth rates during these years were high, and a second generation of Canadian-born Nisei grew up as Japanese Canadians who remained disenfranchised. Both the Chinese and the Japanese populations were perceived to be economic threats to white residents because they prospered in industries like berry growing and the marketing of fresh produce. Attitudes toward the Chinese and the Japanese differed, however, and this is well documented in the book. For example, the Chinese were feared because of their different cultural values. The worst of the xenophobic outbursts accused them of hiring women as waitresses in their restaurants in order to debauch them as prostitutes (charges that young white women themselves dispelled) or leading men into gambling and opium dens in the China towns. The Japanese were often considered a more direct economic threat to white men, especially in the fisheries. With the launch of the Sino-Japanese war, fear of an imminent

Japanese invasion of British Columbia was given expression in speeches and newspaper articles, increasing concern that the province was vulnerable to military attack.

Roy is very careful to demonstrate that not all white British Columbians held such beliefs, however, and here lies the major weakness of her book. She is almost too careful in trying to present all sides of the views and attitudes about the Chinese and Japanese residents of the province. In her introduction and again in her conclusion, she raises the ongoing issue of whether or not white racism against the Chinese and the Japanese was primarily due to economic factors or was a social construction rooted in the need by whites to form an identity in their collective project to build a province. Although Roy presents these theoretical formulations in her introduction and conclusion, she fails to provide the reader with any ongoing analysis of the evidence she so carefully delineates. In the end, Roy leaves it up to us to draw our own conclusions as to what was happening in relations between white residents and their Asian neighbors.

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JONATHAN D. SARNA. *American Judaism: A History*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. xx, 490. \$35.00.

The field of American Jewish history has long needed an up-to-date and comprehensive one-volume treatment of that group's religious experience in America, and Jonathan D. Sarna is uncommonly qualified to compose such a work. Sarna's engaging book replaces Nathan Glazer's often-revised *American Judaism* (1957) as the first stop for scholars and students interested in exploring the religious dimensions of Jewish life in America.

Sarna is able to achieve his goal of telling a story of Jewish religious confrontation, change, and, ultimately, survival under the conditions of American freedom with a calm authority because he is among the few American Jewish historians working today who possess a keen understanding of both the trends in American religious history and the dynamics of modern Judaism. So, for example, Jewish attempts at communal unity in the 1840s–1850s are intelligently linked to general societal and Christian denominational debates of that era over Union. Equally important, Sarna has a strong handle on the history of tensions over religious hegemony within mid-nineteenth-century Central Europe. This perspective permits him to relate what was argued in Germany to Jewish attitudes on this side of the Atlantic. This synthetic work also appropriately acknowledges and effectively utilizes the growing wealth of monographic treatments of American Jewish religious history that have appeared over the last two decades. Sarna himself has contributed some of the most important work to this body and bounty of literature.

But Sarna is out to do more than just produce a masterful overview of American Jewish religious trends over three and a half centuries. He has an important, and even inspiring, point to make about the past, present, and maybe most significantly the Jewish future in America. Ever the optimist as a scholar and as a Jew, he aligns himself with those within the contemporary Jewish community who do not fear that the spread of assimilation in a highly accepting twenty-first-century society dooms the future of American Jews. Rather, he strengthens, through his well-argued historical point of view, the position of those “transformationists” when he argues that what is occurring today has happened several times before in American Jewish history. This people's religious history here is replete, he explains, with cycles of declension and revival. And during times of crisis, the agents for change and ultimately, preservation often have been homegrown Jews. Thus, Jewish survival here, Sarna believes, has not been conditional on the arrival of pious immigrants who had yet to lose their religious bearings in America.

So disposed, Sarna is keen to find signs of incipient renaissance even during periods that others have mournfully characterized as rife with mass disaffection from Judaism. Thus, while he is sure to acknowledge, for example, that the 1930s were a time of troubles for American Judaism—the doors of America were closed to new arrivals after a century of uninterrupted Jewish migration, and native-born Jews were staying away from their synagogues in droves—Sarna prefers to be heartened by positive developments in the realms of day school education, Jewish camping, synagogue and temple youth work, and Zionism. These efforts suggest a potent, creative vitality among this country's Jews. Essentially, for Sarna, it matters less that, at their inceptions, only handfuls of Jews were committed to some of these initiatives. Their imaginative and sometimes courageous efforts formed the basis for a post-World War II religious efflorescence among the next generation of Jews in the United States.

Accordingly, Sarna asserts as a point of faith, writing both as advocate for community and as academic observer of the scene around him, that today's Jews have the capacity to chart an enduring future for their religion in this country, if they only will desire to create it. Thus conceived and contextualized, this is a work that scholars will applaud for its depth of research and conceptualization. General readers of all religious persuasions will be attracted to the book for what it tells about a minority group's struggles to maintain its identity in a host society. Jewish readers will resonate particularly to its survivalist message.

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RICHARD WIGHTMAN FOX. *Jesus in America: Personal Savior, Cultural Hero, National Obsession*. New York: HarperCollins. 2004. Pp. viii, 488. \$27.95.

STEPHEN PROTHERO. *American Jesus: How the Son of God Became a National Icon*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. 2003. Pp. 364. \$25.00.

In 2000, asked to name the philosopher who had influenced him the most, the winning candidate for president of the United States answered, "Jesus Christ" because "he changed my heart." In 2003, one of the bestselling books in America, Dan Brown's *The Da Vinci Code*, took as its premise that Jesus had married Mary Magdalene and that their descendants survive until today. In 2004, Americans flocked to see Mel Gibson's *The Passion of the Christ*, a gory and controversial film of Jesus's last hours. There can be no doubt that Jesus of Nazareth remains a figure of great cultural power for Americans. How many people paid much attention to the Evangelical Environmental Network before they came up with the slogan "What Would Jesus Drive?"

Yet if George Bush's invocation of the heart-changing "philosopher" Jesus and the evangelical environmentalists' slogan illustrate the enduring appeal of Jesus as savior and moral exemplar, Brown's book and Gibson's movie exemplify the conflicting strands of American religion and thus of interest in Jesus. *The Da Vinci Code* is deliberately iconoclastic, suggesting a centuries-old conspiracy to suppress the feminine aspect of the divine, while *The Passion of the Christ* is defiantly traditionalist, reworking pre-Vatican II stations of the cross spirituality into a form congenial to conservative Protestants as well as Roman Catholics. When it comes to Jesus and religion in general, Americans take strikingly diverse paths.

Likewise, although the authors of these two excellent books on Jesus in America both recognize this diversity, they nonetheless have approached it differently and so have come up with two very different books. The great Protestant theologians Reinhold and H. Richard Niebuhr appear several times in Richard Wightman Fox's *Jesus in America*, where their theologies receive careful expositions of several pages. Together the Niebuhr brothers get about four paragraphs in Stephen Prothero's *American Jesus*. Prothero devotes an entire thirty-page chapter to the Jesus Movement of the 1960s and 1970s and its legacy in such phenomena as Contemporary Christian Music, while Fox gives the Jesus People only a brief mention as the background to *Godspell*. Those comparisons give a fair summary of these books' characters: Fox presents a history of mostly mainstream Christianity in America, with Jesus as a unifying theme, while Prothero explores the various Jesuses that Americans have created, with more attention to "outsiders" and popular culture. Both books do what they do very well, and yet their differences mean that neither book alone gives the reader a full picture of what Jesus has meant to Americans. And to be fair, it should be noted that neither author claims to do so.

Even the titles give a good indication of what each book offers. The Jesus of Fox's study belongs primarily

to a religion, Christianity, which existed long before it arrived in the western hemisphere and now thrives more below the equator than above it. (Interestingly, the title page contains the subtitle *Personal Savior, Cultural Hero, National Obsession*, while the book's spine reads *Jesus in America: A History*; the spine is more accurate.) Thus, Fox tells the story of how Jesus came to America and how Americans adopted him and made him their own. He starts his narrative with the arrival of the Spanish in the New World in the sixteenth century and then takes the reader through the grand narrative of American religious history: Catholic missions to Native Americans, the Puritans, the Great Awakenings, the Civil War, the heyday of liberal Protestantism, immigration, the rise of politically engaged evangelicalism, and the impact of mass media. The book is straightforwardly chronological—the table of contents identifies the time period that each chapter covers—and every so often Fox pauses to give the reader population figures and statistics regarding religious affiliations. Representative figures such as Jonathan Edwards, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Aimee Semple McPherson receive extended treatments, which are gems of clarity and insight. Fox is refreshingly free of presentism: the twentieth century does not definitively dawn until more than 300 pages into 412 pages of exposition: the reader learns that Jesus has had a long American history, in which the recent furor over Gibson's movie will prove to be only a small moment.

Fox aims his book at the general reader: he feels obliged to explain even what "making the sign of the cross" means (p. 36). That general reader will get a masterful narrative of the history of American Christianity from one of the preeminent scholars in the field, but he or she will have to keep up with a rapid and dense accumulation of facts and terms. Fox's reach for the big picture sometimes eludes his grasp—I wonder what Arius of Alexandria would make of being called "a fourth-century European heretic" (p. 142), and I winced to encounter "Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews" (p. 11)—and he uses the term "magic" too freely for my taste (applied, for example, to Franciscan and Native American beliefs on p. 45). But this is solid American history, meticulously researched and clearly written.

You will not find anything about Franciscan missions in the Southwest in Prothero's book, which aims not at a comprehensive narrative but at a cultural history of the Jesuses that Americans have produced. Prothero does not encompass American diversity by telling a grand inclusive narrative; rather, he divides his book into parts, each of which considers four distinctly American images of Jesus. Part one treats Jesuses produced by dominant mainstream Protestantism: the enlightened sage, the sweet savior, the manly redeemer, and the superstar. Each of these originated at a certain moment in American religious history but continues into the present. Part two turns away from mainstream Protestantism to examine Jesus as imag-



ined by Mormons, by African Americans and womanist theologians, by Jews, and by Americans adhering to or attracted to Eastern religions. With the exceptions of his Jewish and "Oriental" incarnations, all of Prothero's images of Jesus appear in Fox's book as well, but Prothero's thematic approach allows him to explore each of these images in greater depth and to describe more fully their effects in popular culture. It is the Jesuses absent from Fox's account, the Jewish and Oriental Jesuses, that lead Prothero to argue that Jesus has been made "in the likeness of America" (p. 290), because even Americans outside the dominant Christian majority have made Jesuses of their own.

As meticulously researched a study as Fox's, Prothero's book nonetheless lacks Fox's welcome attention to the grand sweep of both Jesus's and America's histories: his timeline (a nice touch, missing in Fox) begins in 1791 with the ratification of the First Amendment, which Prothero says, in a curious interpretation, "makes religion a matter of individual choice rather than federal mandate" (p. 305). Roman Catholics appear less frequently as central actors in their own right in Prothero's book. Instead, the reader gets a better sense of how the rise of mass media has shaped American religion and culture and of how non-Christian Americans have contributed creatively to the country's religious life. The stereotypical white Protestant American male, reading Fox's book, would not come across Detroit's Reverend Albert B. Cleage, Jr. (1911–2000), but from Prothero he would learn that Cleage insisted that Christ was actually black (pp. 200–05). From Fox, however, he would gain a better understanding of how Christianity in America became what it is today. He and anyone else would do very well to read both of these fine books.

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DAVID W. KLING and DOUGLAS A. SWEENEY, editors. *Jonathan Edwards at Home and Abroad: Historical Memories, Cultural Movements, Global Horizons*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xxiii, 330. \$59.95.

These sixteen essays by seventeen authors grew out of an international conference held in Miami in 2000 on the legacy of Jonathan Edwards. The authors assess Edwards's ministry, reflect on his influence in American culture, and explore the international response to his writings from the eighteenth century to the twenty-first. Twelve of the essays, along with the editors' introduction, emphasize his continuing influence, especially in Great Britain and in the international missionary movement; four of the essayists place their accent on cultural realms that resisted Edwardsian themes. Editors David W. Kling and Douglas A. Sweeney, who have attempted in earlier publications to measure the extent of an Edwardsian religious culture in America, argue—in opposition to earlier

contentions that the tradition of Edwards suffered decline in the nineteenth century—that his legacy endured, both at home and abroad.

The essays, taken as a whole, advance a relatively coherent argument. Edwards had an international vision and hoped for a Reformed Christian awakening throughout the world. He shared this vision with Scottish ministers who acted as both his informants and his publicists, helping him to reach an audience in Scotland, England, Wales, Germany, and the Netherlands—an audience that would eventually widen to include readers in China, Korea, Italy, Spain, and Arabic cultures. His descriptions of the New England revivals influenced British Calvinists and Methodists; his theology altered the course of Calvinist thought in Britain and France, molding an English evangelical Calvinist tradition and reshaping British Baptist thought; and both his theological ideas and his promotion of the work of the missionary David Brainerd deeply informed the course of early nineteenth-century Protestant missions. Despite Edwards's consistent opposition to any notion of human freedom that diminished a sense of the divine sovereignty, his distinction between moral inability and natural ability and his emphasis on disinterested benevolence gave British Calvinists a way to justify revivalist exhortations and missionary endeavors by affirming a larger role for human agency. Edwards's *Account of the Life of the Late Reverend Mr. David Brainerd*, moreover, provided a model by which countless missionaries to India, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia evaluated their own piety and prepared themselves for self-sacrificial labors.

At home, the legacy was more embattled. On the one hand, some Americans began early to oppose Edwards, or at least to reject inconvenient themes in his theology. Both nineteenth-century Calvinists and their opponents turned away from his sober assessments of the depravity of children, and even his disciples emphasized the more optimistic strands of his thoughts about the young, minimizing the harsher features. Changing patterns of relations between men and women, and especially a tendency in the eighteenth century to make men less publicly accountable than women for sexual behavior, not only help to explain his difficulties at Northampton but also illustrate cultural change that produced resistance to Edwardsian norms. The positive responses of some of his disciples to a market economy drew implicitly on Edwards's ideas but minimized his opposition to market excesses. Colonial politicians with Edwardian commitments, especially Roger Sherman and Oliver Ellsworth in Connecticut, used his theology to argue that natural self-interest—ambition and avarice—held society together, largely ignoring Edwards's themes of selflessness and communal solidarity. On the other hand, his ideas continued to shape an Edwardsian culture that extended beyond the boundaries of formal theology. His notions of benevolence motivated some early opposition to slavery, and his influence perme-



ated much American literature, both in the works of such celebrated authors as Harriet Beecher Stowe and Herman Melville and also in the sentimental novels of Susan Warner and her lesser-known imitators. Indeed, Edwardsian themes can be found even in twentieth-century philosophy and twenty-first century films, and the mid-twentieth-century academic renaissance of Edwardsian studies has now made Edwards a symbol of multiple strands of American culture.

Much of the value of the volume for students of American religion comes from its detailed inventory of Edwards's influence across the Atlantic, especially among Protestant missionaries. By placing the American theologian in a wider international context, the editors and essayists have nicely exemplified a salutary tendency in the study of American religion and deftly illumined some of the means through which an American religious culture reached the rest of the world.

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ANNE C. LOVELAND and OTIS B. WHEELER. *From Meetinghouse to Megachurch: A Material and Cultural History*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2003. Pp. x, 307. \$59.95.

The religious articulation of space among evangelical, fundamentalist, and Pentecostal Protestants, all of whom insist that space is not intrinsically sacred, is a topic that deserves scrutiny, especially by such Protestants in the present. Among these groups space is often keyed to the purpose of signage and tasked with competing in the larger marketplace for potential believer-customers. But as Anne C. Loveland and Otis B. Wheeler show, this does not mean that space is without explicitly religious purposes. Styles of worship and preaching cultivated by American revivalists through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries strongly preferred spaces that would allow them to engage their audiences in a direct and intimate manner, to see them eye to eye. The audiences, for their part, were able to hear very clearly and to sit with increasing proximity to the expansive platforms that came to structure sightlines. Convenience and effectiveness drove much Protestant church design to emulate theaters and auditoriums.

But enhanced sightlines on the pulpit were not all that was happening. Building churches in the round, with seating wrapped about a central platform or a proscenium stage, allowed congregants to survey one another. The point was to engage worshipers in a collective gaze, to see and be seen as a single community gathered around the preached word of God. Whereas the development of cinematic spaces in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries cultivated the individual viewer's private, anonymous presence before the screen, ensconced in darkness the better to experience a direct, patently voyeuristic absorption in the iconic portraits of the star and starlet shimmering on the silver screen, the worship spaces of nonliturgi-

cal Protestants were well-lit, open, communal arenas. Both gazes, the cinematic and the Protestant, were avowedly commercial and geared toward mass audiences, yet the relationships they constructed between viewer and spectacle and between viewer and viewer could not be more different.

Loveland and Wheeler contend with good reason that the spatial structures of megachurches of the present are firmly rooted in the innovations of nineteenth-century revivalism, and, even before that, in the avowedly nonsacred, thoroughly functional nature of the Puritan meetinghouse. The authors make this case convincingly with a clearly organized and beautifully illustrated book (eighty-two color plates and seventy black and white illustrations), although the chapters are uneven in length and learning. The book's strong point is its treatment of the church growth movement among evangelical, fundamentalist, and Pentecostal Protestants in the second half of the twentieth century. Measuring God's favor in terms of quantitative growth has long been a primary technique among American and British evangelicals. In the late eighteenth century, the founders of tract, mission, and Bible societies in London, and later in the United States, made a point of reporting annual figures of production down to the last page of printed material that their presses launched into the world.

In catering to the voracity of the consumerist marketplace, savvy Protestants ever since have demonstrated that size matters. Many twentieth-century American Protestants felt that the size of a worship space was a direct indication of God's blessing on its ministries. The corresponding ecclesiology assumed that the task was to fill the space with potential converts by appealing to their secular sensibilities. Since market research demonstrated that the unchurched felt traditional worship spaces were boring or alienating, church growth experts urged their clients to build spaces that resembled malls and civic auditoriums. If zealous Protestants wanted people filing through their doorways, they needed to lure them thither. Growth was the bottom line in this enterprise, as the Reverend Robert Schuller, of the Crystal Cathedral, told Pastor Bill Hybels, founder of Willow Creek Church: "If you give God a thimble, perhaps He will choose to fill it . . . If God chooses to do a miracle, you'd better be ready for it. Don't buy a thimbleful of land. Buy a fifty-gallon drum" (p. 120). The size of the church was a gesture toward the divine, bearing the confident expectation of a favorable response. If the space itself was not sacred, the hope that it would be filled with happy consumers of faith surely was. The Lord, it seems, loves a cheerful venture capitalist.

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KENNETH L. KUSMER. *Down and Out, On the Road: The Homeless in American History*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 332. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$21.95.

This remarkable book by Kenneth L. Kusmer is the first comprehensive history of the homeless in the United States. It was many years in the writing, and the author's meticulous scholarship, careful attention to detail, and thoughtful interpretation are evident throughout. The book's title refers to the "down and out" homeless who have lived in one place, which has often been an urban "skid row" or "the main stem" (p. 160). Those "on the road" were homeless persons who traveled, typically by rail, and who have been labeled tramps, hobos, or the transient.

Kusmer begins with an examination of homelessness from the late seventeenth century through the early nineteenth century. Although the number of homeless fluctuated somewhat in this period (rising in the late eighteenth century and in the 1820s), concern about the homeless was not widespread. The homeless were also largely an urban phenomenon; rural residents rarely encountered homeless persons.

The largest segment of the book concerns the industrial era, from the 1870s to the 1920s. The Civil War introduced soldiers to railroad travel and to foraging, and, after the war, some veterans continued to ride the rails and lead a homeless existence. However, it was during the depression of the 1870s that the numbers of homeless rose substantially, and there were a series of violent confrontations between railroad-riding tramps and railroad employees. Thanks to trains, rural residents first confronted large numbers of tramps and reacted to them with alarm. The homeless became a national issue in the late nineteenth century, and although violent confrontations subsided, public and private officials continued to seek solutions to what was now perceived as a social problem. Local police housed the homeless overnight in police stations; local citizens established soup kitchens to feed the homeless and other hungry persons; middle-class citizens tried to end begging and force the homeless to work through Charity Organization Societies; and the Salvation Army helped to provide the homeless with housing, education, and work.

For the 1870–1920 era, Kusmer also devotes one chapter to a demographic profile of the homeless and another chapter to why people went on the road. He establishes that most homeless people were indeed male, unmarried, and comparatively young (mid-thirties), but in other respects they did not fit the stereotypes common to this era. Tramps and hobos were underemployed rather than unemployed, more were literate than illiterate, and more were native than foreign born. As for why they took to the road, Kusmer describes a complex of reasons, although poor economic circumstances and a desire to escape urban-industrial life are among the most important. Throughout the book he pays close attention not only to white men on the road (the majority of the homeless), but also to women and to African Americans, whose numbers, while comparatively small, were still significant.

While interest in and concern about the homeless

diminished after World War I, during the Great Depression their numbers increased substantially and so too did public anxiety about them. Demographically, the homeless continued to be disproportionately male, unmarried, and native born, but more than before were in their teens or early twenties or over fifty-five. The most remarkable change in this era was the creation of the first and only federal government program to aid the homeless: the Federal Transient Service (FTS). In its two years of existence (1933–1935), the FTS "established 300 transient centers in cities and towns and over 300 camps in rural areas" (p. 211).

In World War II and the postwar era, the number of homeless shrank as the economy improved. The homeless were increasingly older men without families, men unable to perform heavy labor. They congregated on skid rows in urban areas. Eventually skid rows were demolished in the 1960s and 1970s as a part of urban renewal. Still, the homeless have hardly disappeared. Since the 1970s they have become all too obvious in the streets of U.S. cities. Victims of deindustrialization and the declining value of much government aid, they first garnered sympathy, but by the 1990s that was dissipating.

This very comprehensive book should be of interest to historians of every period from the antebellum era to the present, as well as to historians concerned with economic change, poverty, social welfare, reform, industrialization, the South, gender, and race.

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MEG JACOBS, WILLIAM J. NOVAK, and JULIAN E. ZELIZER, editors. *The Democratic Experiment: New Directions in American Political History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 421. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$19.95.

Even in the marketplace of ideas, products sell better when they are "new" and "improved." With essays by emerging and established academic stars and a helping of hyperbole, the editors of this book declare that a revitalized political history, equipped with analytical tools from the social sciences, is taking the field in new directions. More interested in politics than presidents, in contingency and conflict than consensus, and in voters, interest groups, and institutions than elites, political historians in this volume range across two centuries, focusing on the nature of political participation and suspicion of the state.

Most of the contributors are "new institutionalists." Events, they argue, are not always driven by underlying socioeconomic forces or external crises. Institutions, which have considerable autonomy, can bring about or subvert change. This approach can illuminate the past. But as they swing the pendulum, the "new institutionalists" also exhibit a tendency to discount or ignore the

capacity of those forces to push and pinch, to blow around or through things that get in their way.

Essays by Richard John and Thomas Sugrue are so polished and insightful one is barely aware of this tendency. The growth of executive departments in the federal government, John asserts, was more responsible for the emergence of the Democratic Party than the market revolution. Andrew Jackson ran against the consolidation of power in the Post Office, the Treasury Department, and the War Department. As president, he used the spoils system and rotation in office as mechanisms by which his mass party could perpetuate itself. Jackson then weakened the national government, blocking internal improvements and destroying the Second Bank of the United States. Sugrue posits the persistence of localism as a corrective to the narrative of centralization. Local institutions had power over the location of public housing and eligibility for welfare, and the will to fight racial integration and court-ordered busing. Sometimes, as with grants-in-aid, federal policy set local institutions against one another, pitting mayors against community action groups. And the struggle ebbed and flowed, with "devolution" and Proposition 13 in the 1970s shifting the balance back to localities.

Like many other missionaries, the "new institutionalists" occasionally provide provocative interpretations that outrun their evidence. By empowering rather than restraining the federal government, Michael Vorenberg argues, the Civil War amendments demonstrated that the Constitution could be responsive and relevant. But he does not adequately explain why the Constitution was not amended again for forty years. Michael Willrich's assertion that the modern administrative and welfare states arose within urban criminal courts relies too heavily on municipal institutions in Chicago. And Brian Balogh's claim that the most important development in politics between 1900 and 1970 was the influence special interests gained when they supplied parties with intelligence on target groups in the electorate rests to no small degree on appeals to newly enfranchised women voters by Herbert Hoover's campaign.

The "new institutionalism" does provide new angles of vision on political culture. Joanne Freeman reinterprets the Sedition Act as an attempt to reconcile the authority of leaders with the growing power of public opinion. Citizenship, William Novak demonstrates, was a murky concept in the first half of the nineteenth century, and not the barometer of freedom some political scientists have declared it. Julian E. Zelizer shows how majoritarian resistance to taxes forced statebuilders to use "temporary" deficits, "hidden" regressive taxes, and levies linked to specific benefits.

The book ends, surprisingly, with a debate that is not so new. James Kloppenberg and Ira Katznelson square off over the utility of the notion of the liberal tradition in America. Scholars intent on bringing the anti-state back in, the "new institutionalists" seem unlikely recruits for a campaign to drown the liberal baby, even if

they agree to throw out the Hartzian bath water. Perhaps the editors intended to invite readers to combine Kloppenberg and Katznelson to set a new agenda for political history. This might be the moment to agree that an investigation of the distinctiveness, if not the exceptionalism, of the United States remains a worthy project; that it begins with a dominant, if constantly contested, liberalism; and that it must concentrate on democratic principles and practices that were and are flawed, fought over, and expanding.

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RICHARD CULLEN RATH. *How Early America Sounded*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 227. \$32.50.

Thunder and lightning: seventeenth-century Americans, believing that thunder killed, sought to understand this sound and control it with others. In the eighteenth century, their attention shifted to lightning. Richard Cullen Rath argues that early Americans employed systems of perception that afforded greater weight to aural input and stimuli than those used currently by their modern, more visually oriented descendants. The early modern world may have been quieter than ours, but its soundscapes were as culturally complex as the sights that gradually assumed an ascendant role in ordering daily life. These propositions are easy to state but immensely difficult to prove or explain. Rath's achievement lies in recovering through persuasive research a variety of early American soundscapes, some originating in understandings of natural phenomena such as thunder, others created by human agency as in bell-ringing or drumming. The cumulative effect of Rath's lively presentation will likely leave readers feeling that they have indeed eavesdropped on remote worlds.

Rath writes as a partisan proponent of aural history, presenting himself in autobiographical asides as more sonically oriented than most members of our bookish profession. He contests the assumption that the aurally oriented worlds he describes were primitive by comparison to their more visually oriented successors. He argues that a shift toward the visual orientation of perception disrupted but never entirely supplanted aurally based understandings of the world. Although stated with great conviction, these critical themes contribute to a less than satisfactory analytical design, in which persistence and resistance are emphasized largely at the expense of critical discussions of change and accommodation.

For all the originality of Rath's research, his conclusions can seem hackneyed. Ringing bells was one way in which rulers regulated subjects through sound. Drumming and other forms of music allowed some enslaved Africans to craft an "autonomous agenda" "even under the most unfree conditions" (p. 77). Has any historian thought otherwise? The first two chapters summarize how white settlers and Native Ameri-



cans conceptualized the origins and properties of certain sounds, and appropriate responses to them, through to the end of the seventeenth century. However, this discussion is not balanced by an equivalent discussion of eighteenth-century perceptions of the aural world. A figure like Benjamin Franklin—inventor of the lightning conductor and armonica, a man who conducted an acoustical experiment during a George Whitefield sermon and was noted both as a printer and as a conversationalist—provides one obvious point of entry into a discussion of the relative value eighteenth-century Americans placed on visual and aural perceptions. Franklin figures nowhere in the analysis, and Rath's emphasis on Americans making and responding to sounds, as opposed to writing about them, precludes discussion of texts such as John Locke's *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1689). Instead Rath implies that the rise of the public sphere differentiated the auditory world of the eighteenth century from that of the seventeenth. Possibly so, but this argument works against Rath's determination to defend premodern auditory systems from charges of primitivism: for example, where he argues that at the end of the seventeenth century the soundscapes of civil society in New England and Pennsylvania were "contentious, plural" and "squabbling" and had "not yet been drawn into a public sphere" (p. 144). Rath's concluding chapter, on the audible world Native Americans constructed in response to the incursion of white settlers, does engage effectively the issues at stake in the real or imagined superiority of visual over aural modes of perception. However, Rath's overall argument concerning the rise of visually oriented systems of perception is made with little discussion of early modern ways of seeing or the attraction of seeing over hearing for eighteenth-century Americans. Readers wishing to know why, for example, Americans became more interested in lightning than in thunder are ultimately referred by Rath to the likes of Jürgen Habermas and Marshall McLuhan. Nevertheless, to say that Rath has succeeded in putting soundscapes on early America's historical map is also to highlight his achievement in forcing reviewers and lecturers to ask why and with what effect they so commonly privilege just one sector of the sensory spectrum by appealing to artifacts such as "maps" to explain the world.

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MARTHA MCCOLLOUGH. *Three Nations, One Place: A Comparative Ethnohistory of Social Change Among the Comanches and Hasinai During Spain's Colonial Era, 1689–1821*. (Native American Interdisciplinary Perspectives Series.) New York: Routledge. 2004. Pp. viii, 140. \$75.00.

Martha McCollough argues that the nomadic Comanches and sedentary Hasinai farmers of Texas made deliberate changes in their societies both to resist

Spanish domination and to profit from the horse and gun trade. When Spain firmly moved into Texas around 1700, the Comanches were a small, weak people while the Hasinai were a large, powerful East Texas farming chiefdom. The Spanish could never overpower either and by 1821 the Comanches had emerged as the largest, most powerful Indian nation on the Southern Plains, while the Hasinai had become small and weak and virtually cut out of the trade.

To explain this, McCollough discards such anthropological theories as Boasian historicism, culture areas, ecological systems, and economic models as unable to account for the affect of global markets on the Indians or the Indians' willingness to change their societies to respond to them. Instead, McCollough relies upon world-systems theory, regional analysis, and social history.

For McCollough, the linchpin in this rise and fall is the Spanish. As mercantilist Spain and France moved into Texas and Louisiana, respectively, they brought the global economy with them. World-systems theory would say that Spain, part of the capitalist core, should easily control the peripheral Comanches and Hasinai both economically and politically. However, this never happened. First, the Spanish were too weak militarily to force either the Comanches or Hasinai into compliance. Second, the Comanches and Hasinai developed their own strategies to take advantage of the European demand for horses, which Indians supplied, and Indian demand for firearms, which Europeans provided. As McCollough points out, both "the Comanches and Hasinai relied on alliances, spatial locations, and force to ensure themselves not only access but also increasing control over the distribution of firearms and horses" (p. 69).

The Comanches thrived, their nomadic ways allowing them to raid for horses and exchange them for firearms with partners in New Mexico, Texas, and even Louisiana. This only increased their power, enabling them to resist Spanish domination. The Hasinai also successfully resisted Spanish economic domination by turning to the French in Louisiana when Spain refused to provide guns. However, increasing Comanche control of the horse trade meant the sedentary Hasinai eventually found themselves unable to acquire enough horses to trade. Even worse, when the French withdrew from Louisiana in 1763, the Hasinai were cut out of the firearms trade while at the same time being decimated by epidemic diseases.

One would think that the withdrawal of the French would now give Spain the economic ability to dictate to the Indians. This was not to be, as both the Comanches and Hasinai decentralized their political structures to acquire trade goods. One Comanche band could raid while another traded with the Spanish. The Hasinai dispensed with their paramount priest-chief, who controlled the distribution of trade goods, in favor of autonomous towns whose citizens traded with anybody they could.

By the end of Spanish Texas in 1821, Comanche



mobility, dispersed settlement patterns, and decentralized political structure allowed them to control the horse and firearms trade, defeat all enemies, and avoid devastating diseases. Conversely, the Hasinai's sedentary living patterns made them unable to acquire enough horses to exchange for guns as they became targets of Osage and Choctaw raiders and victims of devastating epidemics.

Overall McCollough's explanation for the rise of the Comanches is on target. However, she might want to take another look at the Hasinai. Their sedentary lifestyle did work against them, but their decline came much more from disease and raids than from their inability to acquire guns. She makes scant mention of the important deer hide trade, often conducted with contraband traders, which allowed the Hasinai to continue receiving guns. Moreover, Hasinai political decentralization was short-lived. The Hasinai chiefdom did break down into smaller autonomous city-states, but the Kadohadacho chief soon became the main Indian powerbroker in East Texas, speaking even for the Hasinai. By the 1840s, the Hasinai were again looking to single leaders, such as Anadarko chief José María.

Still, this is a fine work and my differences with it are minor and mainly ones of interpretation. It would be excellent for American Indian history graduate classes.

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EVAN HAEFELI and KEVIN SWEENEY. *Captors and Captives: The 1704 French and Indian Raid on Deerfield*. (Native Americans of the Northeast: Culture, History, and the Contemporary.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 376. \$29.95.

Like most scholars and readers of colonial history, Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeney are aware that the Deerfield "massacre" has already received a great deal of scholarly attention (p. 3). In an effort to produce an original and useful contribution to extant historiography, they consciously focus on individuals involved in this battle, an approach that allows them to avoid the generalizations and stereotypes they identify in older accounts of the Deerfield raid. This attention to individual stories is effective by virtue of both the dramatic elements it offers and the novel perspective it advances.

Theirs is a narrative—rather than argument-driven—account of the raid and its aftermath. That said, the detailed account of the prelude to the attack, the battle itself, and the long northbound march that followed, told through the experiences of individuals, does confirm the authors' conviction that there was more to the Deerfield raid (and to Anglo-Indian relations in general) than a contest of communities, cultures, economics, and empires. It is in the interpersonal relationships of their leading actors, rather than on the broader societal level, that Haefeli and Sweeney

find a "middle ground" in northern New England: a mutual recognition and accommodation of the values, interests, and motivations of English, French, and Native people. Indeed, offering an operational account of this particular raid seems to be more of a hook, whereas the true purpose—or function—of the book is to demonstrate the effects of military and communal interactions on a collection of English, French, and Native men and women.

The book builds on and carries further the work of scholars such as Richard White, Karen Ordahl Kupperman, and John Demos by presenting a nuanced, complicated, and realistic image of Anglo-Indian relations on the frontier. This study further demonstrates that the settlers did not look at Native Americans as we do—through nationalist nineteenth-century lenses—but rather "from a perspective of culture, not race" (p. 108). Thus, the conceptual blurring of the boundaries between English, French, and Indian identities came more naturally to the leading actors in the story than it does to most modern readers.

Haefeli and Sweeney use individuals' experiences to illuminate the variety of motives—private and communal, religious and political, imperial and local—that prompted individuals into action or inaction. Especially valuable is the corrective contribution of this approach with respect to New France, exposing the heterogeneous collection of identities, allegiances, and interests that shaped French policy and French settlers' behaviors along the northern frontier. Divisions among New France's Indian allies are well documented as well, although more emphasis could have been placed on the weak authority structures of Abenaki and Penacook tribes (that is, internal divisions within Indian groups) as a factor in these tribes' sometimes reluctant drift toward involvement in the French war effort. In the final chapter and afterword, Haefeli and Sweeney point to the ways in which a particular memory of the Deerfield massacre was preserved and shaped in New England. They clarify the function of that memory in the course of New England and American expansionism and Indian removal (in fact, the word "massacre" was not used to describe the battle until a century later, in 1804). In time, this raid became a symbol that defined and explained Anglo-American identity, community, and purpose. The authors nicely illustrate how the same raid served a similar function in Mohawk and Abenaki communities, as well as in Canada.

The book offers a rich collection of quality maps and images, including a particularly instructive schematic sketch of the attack and escape routes from the town. Both the bibliography and appendixes are well organized and illustrate the depth and breadth of Haefeli and Sweeney's research. The data presented in the appendixes offer not only basic information about all the European participants of the 1704 battle but also (Appendix B) an account of the property holdings and socioeconomic status of Deerfield residents. Appendix E, stretching over four pages, details the locations and

times of Indian attacks during Queen Anne's War, the composition of the attacking forces, and the effects of these raids. It is an excellent resource for scholars (since the sources for these data are listed as well) and testifies to both the effectiveness of Indian war bands and the resilience of English settlers in the face of Indian raids. What makes this study all the more impressive and effective as a social history is that the authors were able to translate this wealth of data into a gripping narrative.

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T. H. BREEN. *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xviii, 380. \$30.00.

A little more than a half-century has passed since the publication of *The Stamp Act Crisis* (1953), but Edmund and Helen Morgan's classic study continues to serve as both frame and foil for contemporary historians of the American Revolution. T. H. Breen's fascinating new book is no exception. Like the Morgans, Breen regards the events of 1765 as a prologue to revolution, a moment that crystallized colonial suspicions toward Britain, created the specter of colonial independence, initiated a new generation of radical proponents of political rights, and, not least of all, introduced a new and surprisingly effective method of colonial resistance and unity: non-importation.

But while the Morgans saw the most significant historical legacy of the Stamp Act crisis as an ideological one—the “emergence,” as they put it, “of well-defined constitutional principles”—Breen insists that constitutional principles and national unity would have remained empty abstractions well into the 1770s but for the opportunity that mercantile and (later) consumer actions provided colonists to implement them in daily life. Even then, non-importation and non-consumption would have been empty gestures had the colonists not been full participants in what historians have come to label the “consumer revolution” of the eighteenth century. As his title suggests, Breen moves the drama of independence out of the meetinghouse and into the spaces occupied by urban shops, country stores, and peddlers' carts. Not surprisingly, the model of politics that emerges is not so much grandly deliberative as modestly transactional. Through thousands of seemingly trifling exchanges, Breen argues, eighteenth-century Americans negotiated their way toward free agency.

Drawing on the surviving record of these transactions, together with customs ledgers, travelers' accounts, probate inventories, mercantile manuals, newspaper ads, and material artifacts, Breen paints a richly detailed picture of the “creation of a new consumer society” (pp. 43, 54) in America. Colonists of all ranks rushed to buy British imports and, in the pursuit of this happiness, became members of what he calls an “Em-

pire of Goods” (p. 31). If these goods at first flattered colonial self-esteem, they also encouraged expectations of economic reciprocity and mutual respect, expectations that were doomed to be thwarted by the metropole's own interests. Goods that had once prompted Anglophile epiphanies became, when encumbered by imperial stamps and duties, the vehicles of countless rude political awakenings. British goods, Breen argues convincingly, brought the bliss and the bale of empire home to colonists in a way that rhetoric alone could not. Imports furnished seductive material forms, a vivid symbolic language, and handy performative cues for the daily drama of colonial citizenship, and when that status began to feel second-class or second-hand to colonists in the wake of the Stamp Act crisis, those same commodities provided convenient props in the counter-theater of resistance.

For Breen, then, the colonial marketplace is far more than a scenic backdrop for the unfolding drama of revolution; it is the revolution's principal player. In contrast to Bernard Bailyn, who traced the sparks of colonial insurgency to the miswired “switchboard” of republican ideology, Breen grounds those same political energies in the intricate colonial grid of urban, inland, and coastal trade. No ideas but in consumables, so to speak. At a minimum, the “strikingly new commercial language” (p. 133) of British goods made it possible for colonists to bridge their regional differences and imagine a national community. At a maximum, it enabled them to monitor, enforce, and thereby bring that virtual nation into existence. Precisely because clothing, ceramics, tea, and newspapers had become commonplace items, ordinary men and women were able to use the alternating, shop-and-stop current of non-importation and non-consumption to signal—indeed to electrify—a new American political identity. The logic propelling Breen's narrative of retail politics is in many ways the logic of collective action: the role of goods as signals of intention in the taming of risk and the timing of trust among strangers. It is by far the most original and persuasive feature of a nuanced and multi-faceted argument.

Yet the logic that most intrigues Breen is what he calls the “corrosive logic of choice” (p. 148). Against the misogynist and deferential strictures of republican ideology, he argues, the cumulative habit of making daily marketplace decisions “was acquiring an ideological voice” (p. 184) that translated the experience of choice as such into a militant “discourse of rights” (p. 151): a distinctively proto-liberal ideology of consumer or bourgeois virtue available to white men and women of all stations. This is by far the boldest and most speculative argument in the book, but at various points the reasoning feels more neo-liberal than proto-liberal, as if one were reading, say, *The Lexus and the Liberty Tree*.

The case seems all the more presentist when one considers the colonists' own ritual deployment of the classic republican and Protestant jeremiads against consumer luxury, indulgence, and superfluities. Why

would such timeworn sumptuary indictments have had any traction in a world where, as Breen would have it, private consumer choice had metamorphosed into constitutional principle? Or, conversely, how could liberal principles motivate the collective and coercive surveillance, stigmatization, and regulation of private consumer choice? One would have to look to other authors—the Morgans among them—to answer such questions. That said, Breen does take pains to limit the causal claims he is making for his revolutionary marketplace, and it is a credit to the candor and care with which he has pieced together his complex and compelling mosaic of consumer politics that one leaves it marveling at how goods were made—in his words—“to speak to power” (p. xvi).

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HELEN TANGIRES. *Public Markets and Civic Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*. (Creating the North American Landscape.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003. Pp. xx, 265. \$45.00.

Helen Tangires uses the history of public markets in the United States to chart the course of the shifting meaning of civic virtue throughout the nineteenth century. In the process, she offers a social history of the food supply, the city, and reform.

In the wake of the American Revolution, citizens and cities proclaimed public markets to be preservers of concepts of good citizenship and egalitarianism. Well-regulated markets provided convenient places to buy and sell foodstuffs, but they also ensured that products were not monopolized, hoarded, or spoiled. According to Tangires, laws governing the market dictated “the ethics of exchange” and defined “good social and economic behavior” (p. 25), and the market house itself, whether a simple or elaborate structure, testified to the commitment of local governments to broadly held values of fairness, decency, and equal access to food products.

Before the Civil War, however, in cities like New York and Philadelphia, the communitarian values that constructed public market space to serve as signposts of republican virtue waned. In New York, some butchers, acting out of a sense of occupational identity and anxious to serve the needs of a city expanding geographically, abandoned the public market. For nearly two decades, those butchers and soon others also, decried the public markets as restrictive and corrupt. Within city government, the butchers found allies, who regarded public markets as expensive and contrary to individual enterprise. By the 1850s, more than 500 meat shops were spread across the city; grocery stores and fish and oyster stands appeared in neighborhoods, too. Yet New York, perhaps largely because of the forcefulness of the butcher, historian, and advocate Thomas F. De Voe, continued to support thirteen public markets.

In 1859, Philadelphia was in the throes of a move-

ment to consolidate city government and to remove from the city disorder, n'er-do-wells, and odors offensive to middle-class folk. As a growing mill and port city, Philadelphia needed cleanliness and good order; railroad companies—the emerging star of the city's economy—needed access to streets then blocked by public markets. Consequently, the city demolished the well-known High Street Market, and the legislature authorized incorporation of thirteen privately held market house companies. An additional seven were incorporated before 1862. The houses built by the companies were immense and grand, and stalls within the market houses commanded high rents, at least initially. But the companies struggled to survive. Poor management and an over-abundance of market houses led to the failure of firms.

The relatively short lifespan of many private market companies in Philadelphia did not discourage other cities from demolishing public markets in favor of off-street market houses. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania had incorporated over 100 private market houses. The epoch of laissez-faire and government friendliness toward the corporation had begun to shape the distribution of food. By the 1880s, private and public markets in the commonwealth developed a national reputation for success.

In 1871, the New York Assembly incorporated a private market house—the Manhattan Market Company—in New York City. Yet New York's affection for public markets did not diminish. Indeed, in 1871, the leading proponent of public market houses, De Voe, was named superintendent of markets in the city, a position he held for a decade. Even as the Manhattan Market Company began its short-lived operations, De Voe set about reforming the management of public markets to ensure their long life. Largely because of De Voe, public markets occupied a more prominent place in New York City than in Philadelphia.

When Philadelphia and New York City inaugurated private markets, local governments around the country did not follow suit. Public markets provided a source of income to cities; tragedy had proven that deregulated food supplies could pose a public health risk; and cities remained interested supplying working men and women with affordable food. Even as unregulated, suburban markets proliferated, cities continued to sustain public markets. In fact, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, in part spurred on by Horace Capron, commissioner of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, who was intensely interested in improving the food supply chain, cities strove to extend and incorporate public market houses into the urban landscape. Technological improvements and the exponential growth of railroads gave new life to the municipal market, and as the Progressive era began the federal government and the National Municipal League engaged in a national campaign to improve public markets.

Tangires locates her text appropriately in the histo-



riography of the city and reform movements, but the historical context for events she describes is, at times, vague and elliptical. For historians of the nineteenth century, the city, and reform, the context will be apparent, although other scholars may be left with questions. That nagging criticism, however, points to Tangires's greatest achievement: in a handsomely illustrated and well-written book, she constructs an argument about specific market houses and cities that nineteenth-century historians and general readers interested in those places will appreciate and understand.

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ELIZABETH D. SAMET. *Willing Obedience: Citizens, Soldiers, and the Progress of Consent in America, 1776–1898*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 273. \$55.00.

Elizabeth D. Samet's book is a study of authority and democracy. It reads as a roving conversation that begins by characterizing the competing voices of George Washington, then attempts to demystify the works of Herman Melville, outline the differing styles of William Tecumseh Sherman and Ulysses S. Grant, and link Frederick Douglass's texts with the famed black unit in the Civil War, the 54th Massachusetts Infantry. It closes with a critique of the enthusiasm for war expressed in 1917 by Theodore Roosevelt. Although not meant to be "a systematic study of the psychological, sociopolitical, legal, or ethical dimensions of obedience" (p. 8), Samet's book explores, in useful ways, republican masculinity born of war.

One must be patient with the book's organization. Part of the fault lies with its seriously misleading title, because Samet deals superficially with the half-century from Washington's death to the buildup to the Civil War, and she skips all the history from Appomattox to the Spanish-American War. And how can a book on masculine military models entirely ignore Andrew Jackson? This study has far less to do with the "progress" of consent than with manipulations of character and dramatic means of securing obedience. The author's insights are many, but dispersed.

The Washington section examines the spectacular myths built up around the general-turned-president, which established two, equally admirable, Washington images: the "citizen" and the "soldier." Samet shows how Washington "acted" as president and how his several retirements and reappearances were self-consciously designed to personify virtue. Thomas Paine targeted Washington as a paramonarch, recognizing in him the raw ambition and lack of sentimental attachments that the myth builders refused to see; in the end, however, Washington remained, in social memory, the military man who resisted power.

Melville's *Moby Dick* (1851) provides Samet with an opportunity to exemplify a different type of leader. Ahab is similar to the demythologized Washington in

the way that command isolated him from his human connections, and the character of Starbuck is similar to the invented Washington in his uprightness: "there is nothing hollow about his life of action" (p. 83). But Ahab is in charge, and Ahab's power comes from his theatrical bearing, his perverse ability to paralyze the crew, and his bloodlust. The futility of his passion matches the failure to sustain any sense of individual autonomy or democratic attachment on board the ship. We are left to question what kind of authority will best support the American ideal of moderation, alongside appropriate discipline.

Generals Sherman and Grant represent two sides of a coin: the first took pleasure in war and became comfortable with violent tendencies in his troops; the second was "resolutely undramatic" (p. 112), practical, economical, and fatalistic. Like Ahab, Sherman exhibited a persistent theatricality that allows us to continue to see him as an oversized man, a literary type: he famously threatened the crumbling South with his supposed powerlessness before the rage and fury of his men. Grant was not like this: once he saw that the war could only be won through total conquest, he exhibited a "perversely amiable intransigence" (p. 117). Walt Whitman considered Grant to be America's "greatest hero," Samet notes, precisely because there was "nothing heroic" about him (p. 121). It was this reluctant lead actor who "redefined the democratic general's role as that of citizen-defender or facilitator of union" (p. 138). Combined, the two Union generals represented the energy and confidence that it took to win the war.

The reader is next reminded of the race issue that weighed so heavily in the coming of that war. The chapter "Habits of Command, Habits of Obedience" concerns the interaction of liberty, violence, and manhood. Thomas Wentworth Higginson's quote, "One half of military duty lies in obedience, the other half in self-respect," sums up the dynamic of this section of the book, which can hardly be expected to synthesize the voluminous studies that deal with race, humanity, and inhumanity; Samet shows how black valor was not honored, how black bodies would always haunt the American consciousness.

Samet's narrative returns at length to Melville, focusing on *Billy Budd* and the sailor's plight. The analysis drifts: the author stops considering the tension between democratic rhetoric and paternalistic structures. The professional historian can only feel frustrated when metaphysical expressions of power and influence trump actual historical experience. It is a tiring forty pages later when the reader reaches the "coda" concerning the quarrelsome Teddy Roosevelt. In these last several pages, we learn that this one ex-president believed manly defiance should rule all human endeavor; and if TR's words outlast those of the proponents of military professionalism, Sherman



and not Grant will loom as America's model of heroism.

ANDREW BURSTEIN  
University of Tulsa

CHRISTOPHER COLLIER. *All Politics is Local: Family, Friends, and Provincial Interests in the Creation of the Constitution*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England. 2003. Pp. xi, 224. \$39.95.

This short book on Connecticut and the framing and ratification of the Constitution has two goals: to demonstrate that the proceedings in and outcome of the Philadelphia convention were shaped by specific state interests that the delegates brought to the convention, and to show that the vote on the Constitution in Connecticut's ratifying convention was determined neither by economic interest nor ideology but by personal networks and local political conflicts. "The Constitution's many original meanings" (p. 2), Christopher Collier contends, can only be captured by detailed studies of local circumstances in individual states.

The first four chapters explain how the economic structure and political traditions of Connecticut gave rise to three specific aims that the state's delegates promoted at the Constitutional Convention. First, they wished to safeguard Connecticut's long tradition of political autonomy. The result was the Connecticut compromise over representation, which should be seen not as an attempt to defend the interests of small against large states but as a way to represent state governments in the federal government. Second, they strove to defend Connecticut's interests in the Western Reserve. Here again they were successful. Third, they tried to secure a number of intertwined goals relating to trade. On the one hand, they wished to nationalize import duties and to grant Congress the right to regulate commerce. On the other hand, they sought to prohibit federal export duties as well as interstate duties. These aims led to the other important Connecticut compromise: the infamous deal with South Carolina over commercial regulation and the slave trade.

This far Collier's account will be familiar to students of the Constitution. After all, it has long been recognized that the states brought different, and often conflicting, interests to the Constitutional Convention and that the Constitution itself was a bundle of compromises made to accommodate them. The remaining three chapters of the book, however, challenge established views. Explanations of the vote on the Constitution in the states have pointed either to differences in the socioeconomic status of the delegates to ratifying conventions or of the constituencies that elected them, or to the different political persuasions of Federalists and Antifederalists. In Connecticut, Collier argues, neither explanation works. The lack of Antifederalist political writings in the state makes it impossible to conclude anything about Antifederalist ideological convictions. Nor is it possible to

find significant differences in age, occupation, and income between opponents and proponents of the Constitution, or in the wealth and geographic location of the towns that voted to adopt or reject it. Instead, Collier finds the explanation of the Antifederalist vote in personal networks held together by kinship and common service in the militia, and in a host of local political conflicts.

Collier claims that "the real question" to be explained about Connecticut's 128-40 vote on the Constitution is why "any rational Connecticut man" voted no (p. 95). Today it is common among historians to think that the Antifederalists are the key to understanding the framing and ratification of the Constitution. Nevertheless, what seems particular about Connecticut compared to the rest of New England is why so many voted yes. While Collier does not disregard this question, his answer rests on factors that are neither local nor particular to Connecticut. First, he says, there were "objective" reasons to approve the Constitution. Connecticut stood to gain from a new national government that promised to promote American commerce and to protect national interests. But such an explanation points to the role of international economic and political influence on Connecticut rather than local networks or conflicts. Second, Connecticut also ratified because the Federalists were better organized and better led than their opponents, and because they controlled the press. But in this respect Connecticut did not differ from the rest of the nation. Historians say the same thing about Federalists everywhere. Thus Collier's own analysis casts doubt on his claim that local and state specific circumstances were the most important determinants on Connecticut's vote on the Constitution.

Despite these objections, this book will serve as a convenient starting point for future studies of the framing and adoption of the Constitution in Connecticut. In addition, Collier's analysis of political networks is a welcome corrective to the focus on rhetoric and ideas that so dominates the field and provides important insights into the political life of the early republic.

MAX M. EDLING  
Uppsala University

MAX M. EDLING. *A Revolution in Favor of Government: Origins of the U.S. Constitution and the Making of the American State*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 333. \$35.00.

Twentieth-century studies of the making of the U.S. Constitution commonly identified its sources and the conflict over its adoption with a clash between competing economic interests or an effort by a troubled national elite to put a brake on populist forces in the revolutionary states, restore direction of the nation by a "better sort" of men, and safeguard private rights and long-term public needs against majority excesses. As the century turned, however, Peter Onuf, Roger Brown, David Hendrickson, Karl Walling, and other

scholars called for a renewed attention to the problems of the union as a union. Max M. Edling's book is a valuable addition to this recent work, building on the past three decades' studies of the eighteenth-century British state and its internal critics to construct a novel framework for this story.

Eighteenth-century states, the author tells us, were essentially designed for war and for extracting the resources necessary to sustain repeated conflicts—or, to put it more precisely, for extracting taxes adequate to manage the public debts without which wars could not be carried on successfully and thereby to maintain the public credit needed for the next one. Of all these “fiscal/military states,” Great Britain, with its funded debt and heavy taxes, was incomparably the most successful. By contrast, the United States, in the Confederation period, was incontestably incapable of managing its debt, securing further loans, or fielding forces necessary to defend its national interests at a time when North America was still contested terrain and American prosperity was crucially dependent on open markets overseas. The Constitution was an effort to construct a viable competitor to Europe's fiscal/military states and to legitimize this project in a culture in which opposition to strong government was standard and the circumstances underpinning such a state were vastly different than in Britain. America's economy was cash-poor and extractive, its politics enfranchised several times the numbers who could vote in Britain, and its citizens would not, or could not, bear with heavy direct taxation. The Federalists were forced to build and justify a state appropriate for these conditions.

Edling grounds his case primarily on a very broad reading in the literature of the ratification contest. This, he argues, shows that the contest over the Constitution was fundamentally an argument over state formation, not a clash between aristocracy and democracy or republicanism and liberalism. Antifederalists, who seldom doubted that a stronger government was needed, were nonetheless the heirs of anti-statist, eighteenth-century British opposition thought, concerned especially that the removal of the states as intermediary institutions and the constitutional provisions granting an unlimited authority to Congress to create armed forces and to levy both internal and external taxes would expose Americans to European-style big government, oppressive taxes, and a standing army. Federalists, however, were by no means simply ideological descendants of the English “Court” tradition, nor were they insensitive to limitations necessary in American conditions. They insisted on equipping the United States with the essential powers of competing states, but in the federal features of the Constitution, in their insistence that an impost would provide most of the revenues essential to the nation's needs, in their conception of a small, constabulary peacetime army, and, eventually, in their assumption of the states' remaining debts, they won approval of the Constitution, avoided the military impositions Antifederalists

feared, created a state that was both “inconspicuous and light” (p. 58), and even managed to reduce the felt load of taxation for the nation's ordinary farmers.

This is not an easy work to read. It is repetitive and graceless, decidedly monographic, and heavy handed in the stating of its case. And yet, despite a number of mistakes with scholars' names or titles (*James Murrin*, *Karl Wallinger*, etc.), the scholarship is deeply impressive and the argument is an important contribution. It will certainly repay the efforts of every scholar in the field.

LANCE BANNING  
University of Kentucky

FRANK W. BRECHER. *Securing American Independence: John Jay and the French Alliance*. (Contributions in the Study of World History.) Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2003. Pp. xiv, 327. \$74.95.

This monograph on the diplomacy of the American Revolution is the second volume in a trilogy on Franco-American relations that will cover the period from the French and Indian War to the Louisiana Purchase. It purports to concentrate on John Jay's relations with France in the making of the alliance in 1778 and in the subsequent peace negotiations that led to the Treaty of Paris in 1783. The book does not break new ground. The story is familiar, and Frank W. Brecher credits the long line of scholars who have preceded him in this area. Although not an academic specialist in American diplomatic history, the author, a former senior officer in the U.S. Foreign Service, has immersed himself in the primary and secondary sources to produce a sprightly, authoritative account of the major issues in the complicated relationship between the emerging nation and its senior partner in the war for American independence. Of the 226 pages of text, sixty-seven are given to extensive and often enlightening footnotes, although their provenance is not always clear.

The major figures in this relationship are Jay, the well-connected New Yorker whose Huguenot background left him suspicious of the motives of French diplomats, and Charles Gravier, comte de Vergennes, France's foreign minister during this period. The encounters between the two men were weighted in favor of the experienced French diplomatist whose support for the American cause was modified by his concerns both for his Spanish ally and for the future role that a chastened Britain could play in the European balance of power. In this context, Vergennes tried to fulfill France's obligations to an independent United States without accepting all the aspirations of the American negotiators. Brecher credits Jay's suspicions, nourished by his unhappy experience at the Spanish court, for pressing his more Francophile colleague, Benjamin Franklin, to violate the instructions of the Continental Congress to defer to Vergennes in any peace agreement with Britain. Convinced that France would limit America's territorial objectives, Jay and John Adams

were the driving forces behind a deal with Britain that gave the United States far more than a French-brokered treaty would have provided.

The French alliance with Vergennes at its center comprises the bulk of the book. Not until he is named minister plenipotentiary to Spain in 1779 does Jay become a significant figure, and even then he does not occupy central stage. When he makes his major contribution by exposing Vergennes's dispatch of a secret mission to London in 1782, the author over-emphasizes Jay's contributions. Although Adams is given recognition as Jay's supportive colleague, he appears as a minor player in the peace negotiations. Franklin's success in confronting Vergennes over the separate arrangements with Britain deserves mention in this monograph on Franco-American relations.

Brecher makes a point of criticizing historians for dismissing Jay's Spanish mission as not worth detailed study. He calls Samuel F. Bemis to account for asserting that "its only noteworthy events . . . being the date of his arrival, and the date of his departure" (p. 149). Brecher claims that Jay's Madrid experience affected his performance as a peace commissioner. This is an appropriate judgment, given Jay's unhappiness with the behavior of the French ambassador during his stay in Madrid. Yet the author himself did not choose to give Jay's mission to Spain the "detailed study" he felt it merited. This section occupies little more than a dozen pages of the text.

There is a disjunction in this book between the course of the Franco-American alliance, which is fully treated in a masterly fashion, and Jay's parallel path as he worked his slow way from New York to Philadelphia and then to Madrid and Paris. Jay's is a lesser role in the process. Brecher frequently displays an ambivalence over his performance. Jay's demand for a formal, explicit, and irrevocable recognition of American independence from Britain may have cost the United States better terms in the peace treaty with Britain. Brecher seems to side with Livingston's position over Jay's when he discusses the peace commissioners' violation of Congress' instructions to be guided by France in their negotiations with Britain. Jay was overly suspicious of Vergennes's actions. The French foreign minister appeared more reasonable than Jay and Adams in seeking a peace treaty that would provide independence for the United States without damaging France's alliance with Spain. On balance, however, Brecher judges that both Jay and Vergennes deserve credit for achieving most of their respective objectives in 1783.

LAWRENCE S. KAPLAN  
Georgetown University

WILLIAM HOWARD ADAMS. *Gouverneur Morris: An Independent Life*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 345. \$30.00.

An unapologetic pursuer of sensual pleasures in private life, Gouverneur Morris was also one of the most

farsighted and courageous politicians of the revolutionary generation. As a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1787, Morris relentlessly attacked slavery in the face of the institution's diehard defenders, and as American ambassador to France from 1792 to 1794, he remained on the job throughout the Terror, condemning its atrocities in powerful, unambiguous language. Morris never backed down from his bold political motto: "Let Man take a great Line of Conduct and let him take the Consequences" (p. 121). Remarkably free of the demons of personal vanity and ambition, Morris did not repine or repent when the consequences of his actions and words proved to be loss of public office and branding as an unenlightened "aristocrat" by his Jeffersonian enemies.

The "aristocrat" label, however, has not served Morris well in the pages of history, obscuring as it has for many years the originality and relevance of his political thought. The modern scholarly process of rehabilitating Morris's historical reputation began with Mary-Jo Kline's insightful dissertation, "Gouverneur Morris and the New Nation, 1774-1788" (1970), about his "first" career through the ratification of the Constitution. It has now come to fruition with this full biography by William Howard Adams. Meticulously delineating Morris's complex character as one "precari-ously balanced" between self-indulgence and inner discipline (p. 199), Adams moves quickly beyond the aristocratic stereotype to suggest a new label, "cosmopolitan," which puts Morris in the vanguard of his society rather than its rear guard. "There is," Adams writes, "a uniquely modern, cosmopolitan, urban quality that separates Morris from the nostalgic, pastoral models" associated with most of the founders (p. xiii). Equally at home in New York, Philadelphia, Paris, and London, Morris developed a sophisticated taste for the amenities and sardonic spirit of city life and an acute understanding of the emerging possibilities of international laissez-faire trade.

As a man of the city and the commercial world, Morris understandably arrived at very different political views than did the agrarian and philosophical Thomas Jefferson. Skeptical and pragmatic with a sharp eye for the absurdities of life, Morris distrusted and despised popular romantic ideas about democracy and equality. His message was the politically incorrect one that American society was inescapably oligarchic in structure and that unless the role of the wealthy and educated few in government was openly acknowledged and built into the constitutional machinery, they would inevitably corrupt the poor and ignorant masses with bribery and deceit—much, Adams observes, as the robber barons of the late nineteenth century would attempt to do. The solution, Morris advocated, was "to corral and isolate the aristocratic interest exclusively in the Senate," where it would provide "consistency and permanency," checking any misguided egalitarian impulses that might undermine the individual rights that Morris so strongly championed: freedom of speech, religion, and the press and freedom from slavery (p.



154). Morris feared that the tyranny of kings would be replaced by the tyranny of the majority, and he particularly distrusted the will or ability of narrow-minded state officials to serve as protectors of individual civil liberties. Those essential rights, Morris believed, could be sustained only by a fully empowered national government carefully balanced between class interests. "We had better take a supreme government now," he said on the floor of the Constitutional Convention, "than a despot twenty years hence—for come he must" (p. 151). At the convention, Morris played a crucial role in defining the structure and powers not only of the Senate but also of strongly independent executive and judicial branches, and as chair of the style committee, he literally had the last word in writing the Constitution, giving it a precision and simplicity that, Adams says, camouflaged the "makeshift" nature of the document and lifted it "onto the moral plane of the Declaration" (pp. 163–64).

Considering the emphasis that Adams places on the unequivocal clarity and revealing sensitivity with which Morris wrote his letters and his engaging diaries of the French Revolution, it is surprising to find that many of the scholarly documentary editions of the past thirty years are not cited and that Adams often uses older, less complete sources like Jared Sparks's 1832 life and letters of Morris and Edmund C. Burnett's 1921–1936 edition of the *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*. This book, nevertheless, is a solid scholarly work that will long be the standard biography, providing readers a welcome introduction to the man whom Alexander Hamilton called an "exotic genius" (p. xiii).

PHILANDER D. CHASE

*The Papers of George Washington*

JAMES G. CUSICK. *The Other War of 1812: The Patriot War and the American Invasion of Spanish East Florida*. (New Perspectives on the History of the South.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2003. Pp. xvi, 370. \$55.00.

The collapse of the Spanish state by fits and starts following the Napoleonic invasion of 1808 allowed problems of race, land, national identity, and ideology originating in the colonial contest for control of the Southeast to combine with the territorial ambitions of the Jeffersonian Republicans and the varied motives of men on the Georgia-Florida frontier to produce violence once again in the spring of 1812. "The other war of 1812" was, James G. Cusick tells us, a southern war only vaguely connected to the war that the United States declared against Spain's ally, Great Britain, in June 1812. Indeed, it began before that declaration of war.

Only one part of the history of this "other war" is presented here, with the rest (which culminated in the Battle of New Orleans in 1815) briefly noted (pp. 300–304), as are the steps leading to U.S. acquisition of the Floridas in 1821. The first overt North American reaction to Spain's collapse, the West Florida Rebel-

lion of 1810, receives but passing reference as one of the contexts for what President James Madison, Secretary of State James Monroe, their agent, General (and former governor of Georgia) George Mathews, and the so-called "Patriots" attempted in East Florida beginning in 1811. Cusick concludes that the whole affair was "an early and poorly managed example of the type of armed diplomacy that would be used with more finesse in later years," a result arising from the lack of a formal plan to effect a "forcible seizure of the province" (p. 295). Nonetheless, the wartime destruction of property and East Florida's prosperity helped to persuade Spain to accede to U.S. demands five years after the fighting ended.

Taking as its precedent the West Florida Rebellion, the Madison administration hoped Mathews would find "local authorities" who would request a U.S. occupation. Several prominent residents of East Florida had sounded Mathews in early 1810 about joining the United States, when it appeared that the Spanish empire might fall under French control or into anarchy, but all save one, John Houston McIntoch, refused to sign on when, in 1811–1812, Mathews tried to raise an army to seize East Florida. Most of the "patriots" were Georgians. Using a vague authority to employ U.S. naval and military forces should "local authorities" request help, Mathews also drew in the reluctant Commodore Hugh Campbell (USN) and Colonel Thomas A. Smith (USA) and an enthusiastic Winslow Foster (commander of one of Campbell's gun boats) and others. Crossing into East Florida on March 12, 1812, the patriots quickly captured Fernandina (with Foster's help) and, aided by Smith's troops, laid siege to St. Augustine in early April, at the very moment when Monroe, under diplomatic pressure and embarrassed by Mathews's use of U.S. forces, was revoking Mathews's authority. Thereafter the war settled into a long series of destructive raids and periods of inactivity as the Spaniards, eventually aided by the Seminoles and their black associates, began to strike back, and various southern American frontiersmen rallied to a cause that had been officially abandoned by their government. A final effort to seize the Alachua area faded in 1814. Spanish Governor Juan José de Estrada and his successor Sebastián Kindelán y O'Regan, with some help from Cuba and residents who remained loyal, preserved Spain's hold on St. Augustine, although little else. The Seminole paid for their activities with the death of Chief Payne, the destruction of their Alachua settlements, and, in time, the Seminole wars.

The dominant motive of the men who wanted to overthrow the Spanish regime was a determination to assert white supremacy in the face of Spain's use of free black militia and regular soldiers and the continued flight of slaves to the Seminole towns in East Florida. But land, settling scores, and simple larceny were also factors. Almost no one involved in these events was admirable, although the blacks and Seminoles fought with great courage in the service of other persons' purposes.



This so-called "Patriots' War" has been examined a number of times, notably by Rembert W. Patrick (*Florida Fiasco: Rampant Rebels on the Georgia-Florida Border, 1810–1815* [1954]) and most recently by Frank L. Owsley, Jr., and Gene A. Smith (*Filibusters and Expansionists: Jeffersonian Manifest Destiny, 1800–1821* [1997]). Cusick's method is to view events from the ground in East Florida, using quotes from the American and Spanish actors wherever possible. Short biographies introduce the principals, and a concluding chapter recounts their lives after the Patriot War, if they survived it. At appropriate intervals the narrative is paused to describe economic and social conditions in East Florida and along the Georgia frontier and various geographic and other facts. Maps from the period and drawn for this book assist the reader who may be unfamiliar with the geography of northeast Florida. A strength of the book is Cusick's use of Spanish sources. The result is a superb, highly readable history of events as seen in the local context.

PAUL E. HOFFMAN  
Louisiana State University

COLIN G. CALLOWAY. *One Vast Winter Count: The Native American West Before Lewis And Clark*. (History of the American West.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2003. Pp. xvii, 631. \$39.95.

As part of our professional training as historians, our mentors commonly admonish us not to review books based on how we would have written them. Fair enough, but in the case of Colin G. Calloway's new book, I have a bit of difficulty with such distance. A decade or so ago, I was one of the historians whom Richard Etulain, the general editor of this excellent new series on the West from the University of Nebraska Press, approached about authoring this particular volume. Seeing it in print is a bit like encountering the girl you didn't marry at a high school reunion, and realizing how well she's done on someone else's arm.

In short, Calloway's book comes very close to being an absolute tour de force. It is engagingly written by a historian with a great eye for the telling quote and the riveting story. It is sweeping, with (at last!) a *longue durée* approach to Indian history, that in the first quarter of the book, covers almost twelve centuries of migration, adaptation, and empire-building by Native peoples before a modern European ever sets foot on the continent. That alone requires a use of archeology and oral tradition that many historians have pushed from the table before now. In the remaining three-quarters of the text, where rich Spanish, French, and British sources are available to historians, Calloway proves himself capable of superb synthesis. In every controversial area of interpretation, he is up on the recent literature, gives due credit to those who are pushing the envelope in Indian history, and presents conclusions fairly and accurately. Indeed, the notes and bibliography comprise nearly a third of the total

pages of the book (196 pages out of 631). For research purposes, the bibliography by itself is invaluable.

Here are some of the modern insights Calloway synthesizes for us. Far from being a New World 500 years ago, North America was an ancient homeland that had witnessed hundreds of generations of human history, even the rise and fall of state-based empires like the Chacoan civilization of the Southwest and the Cahokia moundbuilding one of the Mississippi valley, whose power and reach lasted twice or more longer than the present history of the United States or Canada. Hundreds of years before Europeans arrived, these civilizations collapsed, quite likely from environmental causes. But in the kind of science fiction future we sometimes indulge for our own civilization, echoes of them remained—in the form of the richly ceremonial Pueblo peoples and some of the agricultural villagers of the Mississippi system (the Natchez, particularly)—when Europeans made contact.

Calloway also makes sure readers understand other recent insights about the contact period. What produced the demographic holocaust in the Americas was not nearly so much European technology or the modern weapons in European hands but the microbes on their breath. He is particularly good at showing how the continent-wide smallpox epidemic of the 1770s–1780s spread through and devastated the West just prior to Lewis and Clark. Early revolts against European manipulations were very widespread; the famous Pueblo Revolt of 1680 was in fact only one of dozens during the period. Calloway also consults enough oral histories, Indian documents such as painted winter counts, and contemporary tribal historians to show us that Indians were not passive and helpless victims in the centuries after contact. Building on ancient Indian trade networks, European traders quickly ensnared Indians in the global market. But in 1805, Lewis and Clark would find very shrewd Indian consumers on the Northwest Coast. And groups like the Osages on the Southern Plains played trade and diplomacy beautifully, for a century or more literally dictating terms to competing Europeans.

Having expressed so much admiration, I do have to say that I do not approve of everything here. (In things I know well I found small errors. The date of the French founding of my hometown of Natchitoches, for example, is wrong—unimportant except that it is the oldest European town in the Louisiana Purchase.) The most egregious lack, to me, is balance. Calloway is not a historian of the American West, and perhaps has not been privy to debates that have given us a modern consensus about where the West is. The result is that his book contains very lengthy sections on European/Indian diplomacy/war across the East and Midwest, the settings for Calloway's previous work but not part of the true American West. Two consequences result, neither good. The book is too long. And it not only excises Alaska but comes close to lopping off California, and nearly sacrifices coverage of the Northern Plains and Rockies. I regret those decisions, but hardly

anything else. In sum, this book is a marvelous accomplishment.

DAN FLORES  
University of Montana

MAUREEN KONKLE. *Writing Indian Nations: Native Intellectuals and the Politics of Historiography, 1827–1863*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 367. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

This comprehensive study of the written productions of mid-nineteenth-century American Indian intellectuals and activists makes a significant and welcome contribution to the growing body of scholarly work dedicated to the retrieval of the more obscure of these early writings and the revisioning of some of the more familiar ones. Maureen Konkle's study is indebted to the prior work of a number of other scholars who have addressed Native intellectuals and intellectual traditions, including LaVonne Ruoff, Barry O'Connell, Philip Deloria, and Robert Allen Warrior, but its major debt is to Vine Deloria, Jr., whose insistent focus on the continuing struggle for Native sovereignty provides the conceptual grounding for Konkle's own analysis of Native writing as a form of political negotiation and resistance.

The book's title suggests its primary argument. At the heart of the mid-nineteenth-century writings, Konkle argues, whether in the form of memoirs, broadsides, Christian testimonials, memorials to Congress, or tribal histories, is the strategic aim of contesting white authority, both political and narrative, and asserting Native sovereignty. She supports her argument through a close reading of a wide variety of texts by an array of writers that includes Elias Boudinot and John Rollin Ridge (Cherokee); William Apess (Pequot); Peter Jones and George Copway (Ojibwe); and Ely and Nicholson Parker and David Cusick (Seneca). Konkle reads each Native writer as responding specifically to the many ways in which white writers and authorities attempted to deny political viability to Indian persons and nations, especially by assuming the kind of stance that would allow them to substitute benevolence, sympathy, or vague admiration for serious engagement with the political issues that were of paramount concern to the Native spokespersons. The argument is energized by Konkle's response—often a bristly one—to a pattern of previous readings that she identifies as typical of both literary and cultural critics, a pattern she sees as continuing the nineteenth-century model of eliding Native political histories and issues. The literary critics, she contends, have focused primarily on the psychological identities of individual writers, the cultural critics have treated Indian nations as cultural rather than political entities, and both groups have been paralyzed by their acceptance of the enduring stereotype of the Indian intellectual as bewilderingly trapped between two worlds.

The greatest strengths of this book are, first, its refreshing insistence on seeing the Native intellectuals

as canny political thinkers who were neither culturally trapped by tribal tradition nor psychologically torn by it, and second, its deep immersion in the historical archive and in the relevant historical literature. Each section of the text—on Cherokee resistance to removal, the career of Apess, Ojibwe historiography, and Iroquois contestation of white land speculation—makes supple use of the available forms of documentation to construct relevant and compelling contexts for the readings of individual texts. This attention to, and respect for, the full range of documentary evidence sets Konkle's work apart from much (though certainly not all) of the previous scholarship in more compelling ways than do her frontal attacks on individual critics. Those attacks, in fact, often work to open up questions about some of Konkle's own assumptions. When, for example, she writes that Copway's writing "dramatizes the inevitable epistemological struggle in Native writing in the wake of settlement and colonization" (p. 222), it is not clear why that statement is not finally just a more sophisticated way of articulating the position of being "torn between two cultures" (p. 290) that Konkle finds such a reductively condescending description. Nor is it completely clear why the argument insists on a distinction between cultural and political motivations in examining the work of both the Native writers and their critics. Apess's motives are described, for example, as being "better understood as economic, political, and intellectual rather than vaguely cultural" (p. 158), and contemporary critics in general are criticized for having ignored Native political struggles in their valuing of Native writing "for its expression of cultural difference and therefore of native cultural identity" (p. 27). Although Konkle's effort to resituate these nineteenth-century Native writers in the political contexts from which they emerged is both important and welcome, it would be helpful if her analysis were more attentive to the complex relationship between those arenas of thought and action that she designates as the political and the cultural and less intent on marking them off as distinctive categories.

LUCY MADDOX  
Georgetown University

JILL NORGREN. *The Cherokee Cases: Two Landmark Federal Decisions in the Fight for Sovereignty*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2004. Pp. x, 212. \$21.95.

In 1829, Cherokee leaders decided to seek the help of the federal judiciary in their effort to defeat Georgia's campaign to absorb much of the Cherokee homeland. The resulting Supreme Court cases—*Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831) and *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832)—formed a crucial part of the foundation of American Indian law. Jill Norgren describes the context for the Cherokees' legal challenge and examines Chief Justice John Marshall's famous opinions. She describes the essential ambiguity of the Court's rulings on the subject of Indian rights; ambiguity that today still

hinders the work of Native Americans seeking to strengthen tribal sovereignty.

There are many accounts of Cherokee removal, but most use the Supreme Court cases primarily to demonstrate the villainy of Georgia and the Jackson administration. Norgren does much more than that. She offers succinct descriptions of the legal doctrines available to the Court in the Cherokee cases and clear explanations of Marshall's opinions. She also places the legal material within the context of Jacksonian politics and the development of the Cherokee republic. The result is a highly useful guide to the early history of United States Indian law.

Norgren sees the Marshall Court's approach to Indian affairs as an effort to strike a balance between territorial expansion and adherence to international law. American citizens wanted Indian land; however, tribal possessions could not simply be taken without violating established Western legal traditions. America needed to expand with some degree of legitimacy, and that process required law that would acknowledge Indian rights without obstructing too severely the absorption of Indian land.

*Fletcher v. Peck* (1810), a case better known for its influence on contract law, provides an early example. Marshall's opinion stated that Indians possessed an "occupancy" title to their lands, a weaker title than fee simple. They should be allowed to use their territory as they saw fit, but they did not own the land the way Euro-Americans owned their farms. The United States or an individual state was the ultimate owner, an idea that fit well the common American assumption that "civilized" whites had a stronger claim on land than did "savage" Indians.

In *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, Marshall established a similarly restricted definition of tribal sovereignty, describing Indian tribes as "domestic dependent nations." Native Americans had the right to govern their own internal affairs, he suggested, but they did not belong to fully sovereign nations. Rather they existed in a "state of pupilage" to the United States. As Norgren explains, this definition was a legal "sleight of hand" (p. 102). The Cherokees had asked the Court for an injunction preventing enforcement of Georgia's harassing laws on the grounds that the Cherokees constituted a foreign nation. With his decision that tribes were "domestic dependent nations," Marshall was able to reject the Cherokees' request and avoid a showdown with the Jackson administration or the state. Native Americans, however, have had to live with this odd half-acknowledgement of their political rights ever since.

In *Worcester v. Georgia*, Marshall's opinion endorsed Cherokee sovereignty in much stronger terms. Marshall dismissed all of Georgia's anti-Cherokee laws as unconstitutional, not simply the law under which the missionaries Samuel Worcester and Elizur Butler had been imprisoned. He affirmed the Cherokees' treaties and their right to self-government. As Norgren points out, however, Marshall continued to refrain from

designating the Cherokee Nation as fully sovereign. The Cherokee republic was still something short of a political equal to the United States. Of course, even "domestic dependent nations" were too much of an obstacle to expansion for Jackson and Georgia.

In Norgren's account, the Marshall Court's Indian affairs rulings amount to a fascinating failure. Marshall proved unable to balance law and land hunger. Moreover, as Norgren ably demonstrates, Marshall's efforts to find that balance led him to twist international law and misrepresent the history of Indian-white relations. His opinions neither persuaded expansionist Americans nor offered a clear-cut endorsement of tribal sovereignty. While the *Worcester* decision proved useful to later generations of Native Americans laboring to defend Indian rights, thanks to Marshall's indistinct language it has been "both a lifeline and a hollow hope" (p. 153). This book is a reprint edition of a 1996 McGraw-Hill volume. Historians should be grateful to the Oklahoma University Press for reissuing the book, for it is the best short treatment available of this vital episode.

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TANIS C. THORNE. *The World's Richest Indian: The Scandal over Jackson Barnett's Oil Fortune*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 292. \$35.00.

For a book offering a small slice of American Indian history, Tanis C. Thorne's narrative contributes significantly to a better understanding of lingering issues for Native Americans. Thanks to two 1830s U.S. Supreme Court decisions, the federal government assumed a trust responsibility to protect Indian legal rights as sovereign but dependent nations. The responsibility extended to individuals whose shares from accumulated tribal funds rest in federal trust accounts. Although this trust relationship has been modified over time, it has not disappeared; indeed, this special relationship between federal power and Indian persons has erupted into a major and continuing scandal in the 1990s, involving the neglect and misuse of trust accounts of over 300,000 Native Americans.

In the 1800s, an increasing number of oil companies underwrote the costs of drilling test wells on reservation land in Indian Territory. These yielded samples of high-grade petroleum that required only minimum refining and allowed cheap extraction as the oil composed vast pools located at shallow depths. Development of oil fields that would eventually produce enormous profits was initially slow but burgeoned during and after World War I. With the exceptions of the Osage and Kansa tribes, which retained their mineral rights tribally and shared benefits equally among all members, Indians receiving individual allotments by 1907 might become extraordinarily rich from royalty payments if their land covered part of an oil pool. Jackson Barnett, who was born in 1856 and died in



1934, was one such person, popularly touted as "the world's richest Indian."

Barnett was listed on the Creek tribal roll as a fullblood and was often characterized as a "traditional" tribesperson. Thorne effectively uncovers the truth obscured by this facile description to identify and describe a racially and culturally mixed individual. The Creeks, along with their brethren in the other Five Civilized Tribes, were forcibly relocated in the first half of the nineteenth century from the eastern seaboard to what was to become the eastern part of Oklahoma. Formerly slaves, African freedmen bands were included on tribal rolls after the Civil War. Barnett's father was a freedman whose parents were Scottish Creek and African Creek, while his mother was a fullblood Indian. Barnett was variously identified as "3/4 Creek," a "fullblood Creek," and in 1920 as simply "Indian."

Only a person unfamiliar with tribal cultures would dismiss this as mere essentialist nonsense. Every individual Indian's blood quantum reflects both genetic folk beliefs and real cultural differences. In Barnett's case, his Indian cultural orientation was strong due to his early association with his mother's family—the Creeks were a matrilineal society—and later somewhat modified by living with African Americans and marrying a white woman. His marriage in 1920 to Anna Randolph Lowe would never have occurred without her advance knowledge of his oil wealth. Barnett's allotment was earning him royalty checks at the rate of \$45,000 monthly by 1917. (Adjusted for inflation, that gave Barnett a yearly income of \$8.3 millions in 2002 dollars.) When his future wife deliberately sought him out, he was living a modest life in a small home purchased by his non-Indian legal guardian, who doled out a \$50 weekly spending allowance.

The bulk of Thorne's book is devoted to the bizarre history and aftermath of the marriage. Mrs. Barnett proved formidably resourceful in obtaining larger and larger payments from her husband's trust account to support an increasingly lavish lifestyle. Anna dressed Jackson in the most fashionable clothes, and the couple traveled and socialized extensively from their Brentwood home in Los Angeles after moving to California in 1923. Their marriage was continually the target of suspicion and challenge by Barnett's guardians, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Secretary of the Interior, and his relatives. A series of legal imbroglis ensued, all entertainingly detailed by Thorne and crying for a cinematic treatment by a hungry filmmaker. Even after Barnett's death, the story drew headlines as the public delighted over the widow's defiant actions to prevent her removal from the marital estate in what the newspapers termed "the Battle of Wilshire Boulevard." Barnett's saga sheds needed light on the matter of trust and Indians, and it is fortunate that an able chronicler describes the action.

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CANDY GUNTHER BROWN. *The Word in the World: Evangelical Writing, Publishing, and Reading in America, 1789–1880*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 336. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.

In recent years, noted bestseller lists finally have caught on to the fact that books from Christian publishers, marketed to a Christian audience through Christian bookstores, are huge sellers—the most notable example being the *Left Behind* series, which portrays in dystopian novel form what happens on earth after Jesus comes and whisks away his believers. In the nineteenth century, religious publishers were instrumental in creating the business of American mass publishing. David Morgan explored this development in the world of visual culture in his seminal work *Protestants and Pictures: Religion, Visual Culture, and the Age of American Mass Production* (1999).

Candy Gunther Brown's work complements and extends Morgan's analysis and provides a carefully researched and densely argued exploration of the creation, marketing, and meaning of religious texts of all kinds, from novels and theological treatises to tracts to newspapers and periodicals to hymnals and songbooks, from the late eighteenth century to 1880 (the latter date selected because of the publication that year of Lew Wallace's *Ben-Hur*, the nineteenth-century equivalent to the *Left Behind* books in terms of mass appeal). The phrase "the word and the world" encapsulates Brown's thesis that "evangelicals used printed texts . . . to enact a set of sometimes competing core narrative structures that envisioned the Christian life as contending for the faith, exemplifying the priesthood of all believers, sanctifying the world, and united as the church universal. Each of these story frameworks . . . balanced the goals of maintaining the Word's purity and creating a transformative presence in the world" (p. 33). In short, American evangelicals from 1789 sought at once to guard theological purity, create a trans-Protestant world of texts that could be used and appreciated by all sects, and shape the secular world.

Particularly fascinating is Brown's coverage of the history of hymnals. I had not previously known, for example, that when Benjamin Franklin opened his print shop, Isaac Watts's *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (1707) was his first product (p. 195); nor had I appreciated the strange career of the classic lines "Rock of Ages, Cleft for Me," first produced in 1776 as a hymn that refuted the Wesleyan doctrine of entire sanctification, but taken up and transformed in various other versions to support nearly every variant of Protestant doctrine (pp. 213–15). The spread of evangelical texts and hymns, moreover, raised the dilemma inherent to Protestantism: namely, that the notion of the "priesthood of all believers" stressed both the "importance of lay empowerment and, simultaneously, the need for expert regulation" (p. 203). Literate culture was increasingly prone to "sedimentation"—



that is, the ways in which texts that changed content over time became fixed in printed form—and canonized with standard selections that appealed to the generic Protestant audience. Meanwhile, oral culture and enthusiastic worship practices constantly threatened the purity of the established norm.

Brown shows how the trans-Protestant ideas transmitted in anonymous texts gradually gave way to a stronger sense of individual authorship and, most importantly, copyright protection. Additionally, Brown does a fine job of incorporating material from the history of black religious publishing. I only wish the dates covered in the work could have been extended to the end of the nineteenth century so as to include more detail on Richard Boyd, the black Baptist entrepreneur who ran the largest black publishing house in the country after his creation of the National Baptist Publishing Board in 1895.

Throughout the nineteenth century, evangelicals held “purity” (the Word) and “presence” (the world) in tension, but the techniques of the world, especially the mass production techniques of publishing, increasingly defined how evangelicals transmitted the Word across time and space, all the more so as the country rapidly expanded through the nineteenth century. Brown’s careful, abundantly detailed, and beautifully illustrated work is a major contribution to the ongoing enterprise of exploring the close but shape-shifting relationship between religion and American cultural life. The book is not easy reading by any means, but the overall themes of purity and presence serve well to keep the argument clear.

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KATHRYN CARLISLE SCHWARTZ. *Baptist Faith in Action: The Private Writings of Maria Baker Taylor, 1813–1895*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xxx, 399. \$39.95.

Maria Baker Taylor was the granddaughter of Richard Furman, South Carolina’s leading Baptist minister and theologian. (Furman University was named for him.) According to Kathryn Carlisle Schwartz, Taylor’s great-granddaughter, that Baptist faith was the biggest influence in Taylor’s life. In this fine addition to the literature of southern women’s history, Schwartz has sifted through some 650,000 words of Taylor’s “private writings” (letters, diaries, poetry, and unpublished essays), as well as a few pieces that appeared in the Baptist press, to give us a vivid picture of a remarkable figure.

Schwartz warns in her introduction that although her collection of Taylor’s writings “may occasionally bear a superficial resemblance to a standard biography, the product remains a documentary edition” (p. xxiv); Taylor’s words (one-tenth of her voluminous output), rather than Schwartz’s occasionally extensive editorial comments, carry the book.

Schwartz organized her book around several central themes (education, slavery, sickness and death, church life, and so forth) in each of four roughly equal chronological periods of her subject’s life. Baker’s first two decades were spent in central South Carolina, where she had been born into a prosperous planter family. Here she received an education that emphasized moral guidance and prepared her for a religiously oriented life. In 1834, following her marriage to John Morgandollar Taylor, she moved south to the state’s Beaufort district, to a plantation of over three thousand acres and eventually nearly seventy slaves, where she bore and began raising eleven of her thirteen children.

The Taylors bought another large plantation in the cotton belt of middle Florida in 1854. There they faced the turmoil of the Civil War and its aftermath. With their children growing older, the Florida years marked the most productive stage of Taylor’s writing. Following her husband’s death in 1872 and the settlement of the estate, Taylor moved near several of her children in Gainesville, Florida, where she lived the last years of her life (1876–1895). She continued to write, but she devoted more time to reading. According to Schwartz, Taylor’s reading habits late in life showed her to be quite inquisitive, dipping into not only Baptist sermons and literature but Presbyterian, Methodist, and Congregationalist ones as well, and even into works on Mormons and Muslims. She read Martin Luther as well as Swedish mystic Emanuel Swedenborg and Alsatian social and religious activist Johann Friedrich Oberlin. Her perusal of the popular press were also extensive. All this suggests that southern evangelicals were perhaps broader intellectually than we have realized. Taylor also spent considerable time educating the grandchildren.

“Religion should be carried into the minutest affairs of everyday life” (p. xxi), Taylor wrote in her diary in 1875, and in the book’s title, Schwartz suggests that Taylor was successful. But this is occasionally a frustrating proposition. For example, Schwartz explains “the Baptist theory of slavery” (pp. 68–69): the institution was divinely inspired; masters have a duty to care for their slaves, including religious and moral guidance; slaves have the responsibility to obey their masters; and so forth. But how is this specifically Baptist? Schwartz’s discussion in fact sounds like a summary of Charles C. Jones, a Presbyterian cleric from Georgia, whose *The Religious Instruction of the Negro* (1842) makes exactly the same points. Just as frustrating are those times when one suspects there was a distinctive Baptist perspective on a topic—the role of women, separation of church and state, education—but Schwartz does not show how Taylor’s writings reflected such thinking.

But this is not as big a problem as it may appear. For many readers, the book’s worth will be not so much what it tells us about “Baptist faith in action” but rather the light it throws on other aspects of southern history: “plantation life, southern evangelicals, educa-

tion of children, women's kinship networks, prescriptive models of womanhood . . . the grief process of women's private writings, ordinary people's perceptions of crucial historical events, and so forth" (p. xxv). This is the real value of the book. By her careful distillation of Taylor's writings, Schwartz presents useful primary sources for areas beyond the role of the Baptist faith in one person's life. Her footnotes guide readers to the relevant literature and help make this work much more than a book on a particular southern denomination.

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JOHN BEZÍS-SELFA. *Forging America: Ironworkers, Adventurers, and the Industrious Revolution*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 279. \$39.95.

Industrial development in colonial British America and the early United States is usually portrayed as either a process of risk taking, creative entrepreneurship, and the creative and efficient use of the factors of production, or as a process of proletarianization, the dissolution of the craft system, and the managing of resulting discontent by emergent political parties. Less typically is industrialization viewed as a series of challenges to ways of life and patterns of thought that most Americans considered fundamental to their identities and to their personal and collective well-being. In this book, John Bezís-Selfa reveals the personal and cultural meaning of industrialization in the first three centuries of Anglo-American history. Focusing on iron production, iron masters, and iron workers from the seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries, Bezís-Selfa recounts the story, not only of the early iron industry, but of the profound transformations that industrialization wrought in the cultural landscape of early industrial America.

Much like grist and saw mills, iron works dotted the early American landscape and provided local and regional communities with a commodity that was necessary for collective well-being and survival. Like their mill counterparts, iron works were also among the most capital-intensive enterprises in an otherwise agrarian and craft-oriented society. Bezís-Selfa accounts for these economic and organizational aspects in fluid prose and convincing detail, but the essence of his study lies in a reconstruction of the meaning of iron-making and the personal and collective transformations it represented for generations of Americans.

Iron-working was never just about the production of a commodity. To magistrates, ministers, and entrepreneurs in seventeenth-century New England and the Chesapeake colonies, iron-working was viewed as a system of social discipline and moral uplift that integrated the "rougher" members of society and kept them under control. To skilled iron-workers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the craft of iron-making was a fundamental source of identity, competency, and personal independence. For African

and African-American slaves, who formed a large portion of iron-workers in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, iron production was a means to achieve the maximum freedom and autonomy possible in a world limited by brutality and exploitation.

These early personal and group meanings of iron-making dissolved in the postrevolutionary world as the volume and scale of iron production soared and America became the world's third largest producer of iron. In these highly capitalized enterprises, wage and slave labor predominated and iron-making became more a business than a craft. By the early nineteenth century, the typical iron-worker was a dependent employee or slave, not a skilled craftsman. This fact posed an extraordinary threat to received notions of social probity. Iron-working required judgment and autonomy and this fact alone made it impossible for masters to think of their slave iron-workers as animalistic drudges who could only be made to work through the whip and violence. Successful production, masters learned, required personal investment in a norm of industriousness on the part of their slave workers. Iron-working thus made slaves human in the eyes of their owners, but at the cost of binding slaves themselves ever more tightly to the southern slave system.

Ironically, slave iron-workers acquired the attributes of manhood in the crucible of an "industrious revolution" that profoundly threatened the masculinity of their white counterparts. Since before colonial times, American notions of masculinity had been rooted in a concept of male autonomy and independence. What, then, did it mean to be a lifelong dependent wage earner? Could an iron-worker retain the respect of his family and neighbors if he was his employer's dependent? Could a wage-earning iron-worker continue to think of himself as a "real" man? Early nineteenth-century industrialization brought into question definitions of masculinity that had long been taken for granted and in turn posed a profoundly unsettling question: what did it mean to be a man? Out of the cultural crucible that was iron-working emerged an answer that presaged the broader gender redefinitions of the middle and later nineteenth century. For growing numbers of wage-earning iron-workers, true masculinity was not really a question of independence, but of industriousness—of being employed, working diligently at a job, and supporting a family through hard work. Under the pressure of life-long dependence, industriousness became a salve to threatened masculinity and also a shared value that linked employer and employee. Like their slave counterparts, free iron-workers found in industriousness economic and cultural recompense, albeit at the cost of integration into a system that diminished their social and personal control.

Integration into the industrious system was a price that most slave and free iron-workers were willing to pay. There were, as Bezís-Selfa points out, few alternatives. This book is thus more than a story of iron-making in early America; it is one of the best

accounts of the cultural transformation that was American industrialization.

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MICHAEL J. CONNOLLY. *Capitalism, Politics, and Railroads in Jacksonian New England*. (Shades of Blue and Gray Series.) Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 210. \$44.95.

Michael J. Connolly's short book is about the controversy over railroad construction in an area bounded by Boston and Salem, Massachusetts in the south, and Concord, Manchester, and other New Hampshire towns north of the Merrimack River. A debate, which he reconstructs largely from newspapers and the politics of the New Hampshire state legislature, unfolded between Whigs who championed railroad development without equivocation, and Jacksonian Democrats who resisted the taking of private land for railroad rights of way. Whig politicians of Boston and Salem reacted to the decline of sea trade by advocating more railroad construction from their towns to the west, including lines that crossed over into New Hampshire. The taking of land for railroad track could be justified, said the Whigs, as being in the public interest. Resistance to this came from a vocal group of "radicals" in New Hampshire who said that a private corporation could in no way represent the public interest, and that construction of railroads in New Hampshire would simply put trade in their towns under the private control of Whig capitalists from Boston.

In subsequent chapters, the author tests each side of the argument and finds that neither side was in all cases correct. The Jacksonians were right to the extent that only selected towns were served by each railroad, and others automatically declined in importance unless another line was constructed. They were right that land ownership was undermined, and that control of trade fell under the sway of Whig interests in Massachusetts. The Whigs were right to the extent that the area between Boston and New Hampshire did develop an industrial economy that revived the fortunes of both Boston and Salem. And they were right that the construction of railroads was the only way to profit from the western trade. But the patterns in both outcomes were seesaw. In other words, when population and prosperity go up in one town, they may well be fading in the next town, and not always because a railroad either came through or bypassed the town.

Railroad historians will find here reconsiderations of several controversies introduced in the past. The ideas of Albert Fishlow, Robert W. Fogel, and Joseph Schumpeter are among those that the author methodically applies to his study. All of these ideas, however, are woven into a historical narrative that is reminiscent of newspapers and town histories of the antebellum period, not of social scientific writing. The result is that the profound conflicts of Jacksonian politics and economic beliefs dominate his story, but do not cancel out

the more social scientific models, often faulted for their failures to account for conflict. This is an important result that is absent from most social scientific appraisals of the railroads' influence on this country. The other remarkable finding is that the opinion writers of Massachusetts and New Hampshire were political economists of no mean abilities. Although John Stuart Mill was not there, he probably would have learned something about conflict in political economy from them.

I personally would suggest one change in the author's focus. Connolly compares the Jacksonian spirit of local entrepreneurship based on private ownership to something Schumpeter calls "Liberal Capitalism." He then compares the Whig view with Schumpeter's idea of "Illiberal Capitalism," which is expansionist and imperialist. While this may hold true in New Hampshire, Jacksonian Democrats were at least as expansionist and imperialist in the American Southwest as any Whig. And while I do agree that they tended to expand through private ownership of land, they displaced and subordinated Native Americans, Mexicans, and African Americans in the name of empire. I think Jacksonian Democrats and the Whigs of Boston would agree that the proper model for their differences was much closer to home than Schumpeter. Look rather to the Navigation Acts of Britain for the Whig model, and to the small town and farm barter and coastwide trade of New England for a forerunner of the Democratic model. In either event, this book is a great leap forward in integrating the political, economic, and social scientific studies of railroading, using the discourse of political economy as the narrative voice.

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JOEL DAEHNKE. *In the Work of Their Hands Is Their Prayer: Cultural Narrative and Redemption on the American Frontiers, 1830-1930*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2003. Pp. 299. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$26.95.

Joel Daehnke's book "intends to map the synchronous concerns of the Christian and republican schemes" (p. 11) in American culture's vision of westward expansion. Daehnke argues that Frederick Jackson Turner's famous "frontier thesis" with its nationalist bias neglected the more far-reaching and enduring sacred and secular hopes that Americans projected onto landscape and ignored roots in older and ongoing European ideals of perfection and progress. Daehnke explores his theme in five connected essays that center on both well-known and more obscure texts. He begins with the theme of eastern womanhood redeeming (or at least attempting to redeem) the west as portrayed in Caroline Kirkland's *A New Home, Who'll Follow?* (1839), a saga of frontier Michigan. Kirkland's character, refined, eastern-born Mary Clavers, hoped "to find on her arrival a sort of naturalized citizenry ready to accept the standards and behaviors implicit in the



market economy that was at the heart of her civilizing vision" (p. 22). Instead, she discovered lazy settlers, literally unwilling to nurture the domestic geranium cuttings that would beautify, domesticate, and add value to their rude lives. Their indifference to her cultural guidance and expectations challenged not only Clavers, but the advance of civility and the republic. Paradoxically, these settlers would be the very ones who would move farther westward, breaking new ground on which to nurture the perfection of the nation and world as embodied in Kirkland's vision of redemption.

Daehnke finds similar tensions and ambiguities of purpose and result in the exploitation intrinsic to the mining frontier (Mark Twain's *Roughing It* [1872] and the Comstock strike figure prominently); in the founding and uses of Yellowstone Park as both a reminder of the hellish edges of nature and an inspiration of the grandeur claimed as national right; in Willa Cather's linking of European material culture and Christian salvation in *Death Comes for the Archbishop* (1927); and in the meaning of standing hip deep in a cold western creek, fly fishing. In total, the essays argue for the multicentury continuity of a central conflict in American identity, that of finding Eden but feeling the need to improve on it.

Cultural historians and American Studies scholars will find the methodology and "big" themes of this book unsurprising. They are basically elaborations of ideas and approaches in the air at least since the publication of Henry Nash Smith's *Virgin Land* (1950) and other "myth and symbol" classics. Furthermore, Daehnke's finely turned observations and interpretations exist in a somewhat flat surface of words, largely independent of specific social, cultural, and economic forces at work during the time periods in question. Daehnke makes his most interesting contributions in the choice of texts and some of the twists and turns of his thematic readings. He is especially good at revealing counterpoints: natural strength against civility; staying against moving; social harmony against individual competition; leisure against work; nature as heaven against nature as hell; hierarchy against equality—to name a few—as concepts of the sacred, the sublime, and American chosenness reveal their mutual dependence and divergence. Indeed, he seeks to explore texts rather than write history. Such ideas as republicanism and national salvation, as well as the ways in which work and leisure, sacred and secular, male and female, stability and progress continually recombine and reshape themselves gain clarity but also perhaps lose credibility without the dirty complexities of historical reality.

If Daehnke relies on the reader to place her or his readings in a more specifically historical frame, he leaves little doubt in the sport fishing chapter about where the personal core of this study resides. Clearly fishing is his passion, and it is reflected in the careful way he develops the interconnections among fishing, religion, masculine brotherhood, competition, white-

ness, and redemptive hopes and acts. His texts range from Izaak Walton to *Field and Stream* magazine, with Norman Maclean's *A River Runs Through It* (1976) at the very center. One imagines him conceiving the complexities of each of the essays amid the drama of the stream, waders on and waiting for the strike. It is a romantic notion, but one that does not entirely make up for the historical innocence of his approach.

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ROBERT E. ABRAMS. *Landscape and Ideology in American Renaissance Literature: Topographies of Skepticism*. (Cambridge Studies in American Literature and Culture, number 139.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 168. \$60.00.

This book offers a concise but ambitious reinterpretation of the rhetoric of landscape representation in the mid-nineteenth-century United States. Through examination of selected works by Nathaniel Hawthorne, Herman Melville, Henry David Thoreau, Margaret Fuller, Frederick Douglass, Rebecca Harding Davis, and (what survives of) Chief Seattle's speech on the advent of white settlement, American literature scholar Robert E. Abrams argues for a particular "cultural politics of American literary ambiguity," in the words of one of the book's six main chapter titles.

This study argues the case for what Abrams calls "negative geography" against what has become mainstream practice among students of U. S. literature and visual art since the so-called new historicism of the 1980s: the practice of reading settler culture depictions of American environments as synchronous, whether intentionally or de facto, with the ideology of national expansionism. Crediting its authors with wilier critical detachment, Abrams critiques the "magisterial gaze" school of art historians (e.g. Angela Miller, *The Empire of the Eye: Landscape Representation and American Cultural Politics, 1825–1875* [1993]), who see settler-culture landscape renditions as sympathetic replications of the course of appropriative nationalism, as well as the literary and cultural criticism associated with such figures as Sacvan Bercovitch and Myra Jehlen that reads ambiguity as symptomatic of acquiescence to national consensus. For Abrams, by contrast, ambiguation signifies his authors' uncertain and/or profoundly mixed, skeptical perception of national space and values, amounting oftentimes to a desire to disrupt or counter emerging nationalist tropes. The uneasy oscillations of Hawthorne's portrayal of a Patriot mob's tarring and feathering the bumpkin protagonist's Tory uncle in "My Kinsman, Major Molineux"; Thoreau's propensity for embroiling his reader in the confusing or chaotic elements of New England landscapes, Fuller's vacillation between reading through and with stereotypical portrayals of mid-western frontier life: these are some of the chief



defining moments of American Renaissance evocations of landscape from Abrams's point of view.

As befits an analysis of the strategic uses of ambiguation, the book does a more convincing job of introducing doubt than of making a positive case for the author's preferred reading of ambiguation as a subversive activity. The text becomes reductive, redundant, and predictable in pressing this interpretation. Its problems are compounded by omission of a good deal of significant previous work, both recent and longstanding, that is potentially pertinent to one or another side of the case: on the one hand, Sharon Cameron's *Writing Nature: Henry Thoreau's Journal* (1985), which anticipates more closely than any other previous critic what Abrams argues concerning Thoreau; and, on the other hand, Jonathan Arac's reading of ambiguity in *The Scarlet Letter* as a dishonorable cover for Hawthorne's political centrism, as well as Bercovitch's painstakingly careful reading of the significance of Hester Prynne's final return to Boston. Overall, these and other such omissions minimize the degree to which Abrams's revisionism reinvents previous critical arguments and the obstacles to making at this late date a convincing argument that representational skepticism or "negative geography" as such is politically contrarian or progressive.

In no sense do I mean to imply that Abrams's arguments lack basis, or that they are unimportant. On the contrary, the interpretative models he questions definitely deserve questioning in this age when a facile master narrative of "from conquest to manifest destiny to new imperium" dominates American literary and cultural studies. The promise of Abrams's desire to complicate the subject of the ideology of antebellum environmental representation becomes evident when one sets his book next to a more characteristic contemporary Americanist treatment of an analogous subject: Bruce A. Harvey's lively, provocative, but (more) reductive bestiary of antebellum textbook stereotypes of other national environments/cultures *American Geographics: U.S. National Narratives and the Representation of the Non-European World, 1830-1865* (2001). A gospel of landscape representation as perplexed skepticism strikes me as, on the whole, more plausible than a gospel of landscape representation as confident nationalist shrink-wrapping. My point is simply that this book does not rise to its challenge as successfully as it might have done, indeed not as successfully as Harvey does, even allowing for the limits of his evidential base and attendant conceptual framework. As an exemplary alternative study along the lines Abrams has attempted here, I strongly recommend Stephanie LeMenager's *Manifest and Other Destinies: Territorial Fictions of the Nineteenth-Century United States* (2005).

All this having been said, Abrams's monograph is significant as a barometer of what one hopes will be a shift toward more calibrated reading of the ideology of American landscape and for its best readings, chief

among which to my mind is Abrams's meticulous examination of Fuller's *Summer on the Lakes* (1844).

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SARAH BURNS. *Painting the Dark Side: Art and the Gothic Imagination in Nineteenth-Century America*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2004. Pp. xxiii, 303. \$39.95.

Thomas Cole's crumbling tower silhouetted against a lowering sky illustrated on its cover is a tantalizing hint of the troubled world that Sarah Burns resurrects in the pages of this fascinating book. Burns has sought out the morbid, violent undercurrents that, she argues, literally "haunted" the American imagination throughout the nineteenth century. According to Burns, this "constellation of themes and moods" such as "horror, fear, mystery, strangeness, fantasy, perversion, monstrosity, insanity" (pp. xvii-xviii, xix) has been recognized and studied in American literature and popular culture but until recently has not been associated with nineteenth-century American painting. Indeed, Edgar Allan Poe serves as the omnipresent spirit of this study; Burns deftly weaves his work throughout her narrative.

In her examination of these haunted paintings, Burns makes a distinction between those artists who, in their own day and in the subsequent construction of American art history, were considered "oddballs and eccentrics" located literally and psychologically "far from the center" (p. xvi) and those canonical, mainstream artists who have always played a reputable role in the story. One of Burns's stated goals is to reexamine the place of each artistic type in this narrative: to look for the traditionally overlooked dark side within the work of mainstream artists as well as to locate the oddballs more firmly within the context of mainstream American society. To do this, Burns has chosen eight white, male artists whose gothic paintings, she argues, convey a complex mixture of personal and cultural anxieties. Such anxieties of power—especially racial and sexual fears—were particularly potent, Burns explains, in the minds of nineteenth-century white men and found expression in the visual arts through their work. (She notes that literature served as the vehicle for gothic expression for women and minorities.) Using the tools of biography, psychology, and contextual social history, Burns skillfully excavates the layers of meaning implicit in the work of each selected artist.

At the risk of simplifying her detailed and nuanced analysis, Burns highlights a particular ghost for each artist: Cole's attraction to the terrain of psychological and social wilderness and ruin; David Gilmour Blythe's position as a "dark reformer" uncovering "new urban terrors" (p. 74); Washington Allston's southern slaveholder's guilt and fear of retribution; John Quidor's emphasis on the black figure as an object of fear; William Rimmer's allusions to the "shadows of slavery" (p. 157) and the figure of the fugitive slave; Elihu

Vedder's fear of the "deadly power of femininity" (p. 173); Thomas Eakins's "anxiety about sexual potency" (p. 215); and Albert Pinkham Ryder's embodiment in his life and art of the disorder and decay of the modern city.

Burns brilliantly illuminates the complex interplay of individual biography and broader historical and social context in the genesis and interpretation of the work of the eight artists that she studies. Although some might find her connections between the personal and the pictorial too speculative—the southern guilt that she argues underpins the failure of Allston's *Belshazzar's Feast*, for example—I found her arguments compelling and evocative, poetic and plausible. Their emotional and psychological logic, bolstered by textual and visual historical evidence, chipped away at my initial skepticism.

Burns describes all of her subjects as men "pushed to the margins" of the respectable art world, and through their examples she evocatively outlines the geography of a seamier place, a demimonde of scrabbling, struggling artists. In her analysis of their work, Burns ably "revisit[s] the eccentrics and reconsider[s] them in relation to the mainstream" (pp. xxi, xvi). Yet, this selectivity undercuts the author's attempt to situate the dark side in the center, to find the gothic strain within the mainstream of nineteenth-century American art. With the exception of Eakins, Burns's choice of artists is a roster of the usual suspects whose works have long been included in the canon of nineteenth-century American painting in order to illustrate the existence of a tiny shadow of a darker vision.

I admire the elegant structure and conceptual tightness of Burns's study, but a greater inclusiveness might have reinforced her central arguments. An artist like the mid-century Charles Deas, for example, whose violent images of the West and whose own mental illness seem to make him a natural for further study, would have been an appropriate and less well-known inclusion. Or, for example, a discussion of the mainstream artist Eastman Johnson's depiction of a fugitive slave family might have had a place in Burns's treatment of the theme in her chapter on the eccentric outsider Rimmer.

In fairness, Burns explains that she did not intend her study to be a thorough and complete survey of the dark side in nineteenth-century American art. In her beautifully written, handsomely presented book, the author has uncovered hitherto hidden veins of meaning and shines a welcome light on terrain ripe for further exploration.

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THOMAS AUGST. *The Clerk's Tale: Young Men and Moral Life in Nineteenth-Century America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 321. \$25.00.

This is an important, inspired, and difficult book. Thomas Augst explores the moral education during

the nineteenth century of young, male, white-collar workers, following them through places of work, family, and leisure. He finds inspiration for his investigation in studies by Michel Foucault and others of "an ancient humanist tradition of ethical practice in which individuals used acts of reading, writing and speaking to alter their thoughts or conduct to achieve some particular idealized version of the self, such as wisdom, happiness, or purity" (p. 33). Adopting Foucault's term for these acts, "technologies of the self," Augst hopes "to move our thinking about moral life toward practical techniques and material contexts of conduct" (p. 15). Augst sees antebellum clerks' reading in business manuals, fiction, conduct books, and biographical sketches as "a means of spiritual exercise" and of exercising "moral agency" (p. 118).

The literary dimension of moral life in the nineteenth century encompassed a wide range of handwritten and oral performances like diaries, letters, lectures, and conversations. Indeed, Augst believes that conversation "offered a compelling model for all literary activity because it exemplified this culture's profound commitment to language as a medium of social cohesion" (p. 96). He coins his own term, "literary leisure," to refer to the "cultivation of taste across multiple sites of education and recreation" (p. 63). Augst examines the diaries of some twenty clerks to show how they moved in action and appraisal among boarding houses, libraries, lecture halls, parlors, and offices, staged debates and orations, and, in an era when spoken eloquence had a unique authority, evaluated the styles of those who addressed them in churches and lyceums.

To show the significance of the social and institutional settings in which his clerks' moral education developed, Augst devotes one chapter to Emerson's writing about character in the context of his preeminence in the lecture hall. Ralph Waldo Emerson's ability to move his audiences made instruction a "pleasure," advancing the democratic ideal of citizenship (p. 138). In another fascinating chapter on the century's most successful circulating library, the Mercantile Library Association run by clerks themselves, he suggests that their participation in its governance helped develop a managerial sensibility or ethos. Remarkably, this private organization soon responded to an expanding market capitalism by ordering books according to consumer demand rather than, as the library did initially, from prior estimation of what borrowers should read. Fiction came to loom large, as did the tastes of women borrowers. Through the library, like the lecture hall and other urban venues, "middle-class people increasingly sought character through 'middle brow' habits of recreation and consumption." Because "the emotional habits and moral proprieties of middle-class intimacy became exercises of literary leisure," Augst finds his young men "literally talking themselves into the moral obligations of middle-class domesticity" (pp. 100, 109).

Optimism about democratic opportunity gives way

to melancholy as Augst turns to the changing situation of clerks during the century, as chances for becoming successful businessmen themselves decreased and the proportion of dead-end white-collar jobs increased. In a chapter that includes interpretations of the narrator in Herman Melville's "Bartleby, the Scrivener" by two critics, Augst argues that clerks' diaries moved away from their earlier preoccupation with moral accounting toward an aesthetic appreciation of the writer's subjectivity. The same period witnessed a broader trend in which "writing became a medium in which to reconstitute hierarchies of cultural deference." Whereas the antebellum democratic project had replaced the humanist eighteenth-century cultural monopoly of aristocrats, the professionalization of learning in the late nineteenth century and the modern educational system institutionalized "development as a climb up the ladder of meritocracy: from childlike sincerity, to clerical accuracy, to the creativity and singularity of the truly successful" (p. 251). Individuality now would flourish at the social top where the professionally accredited could, and in our time still can, withdraw into a solitude of expert reading and writing. In his epilogue, Augst notes continuities with the past he has described: a Barnes and Noble bookstore and a Starbucks coffee shop "serve the popular taste for reading and sociability that the New York Mercantile Library had served in the same location," and "the literary practices of character survive as well in the skills with which ambitious young people continue to seek their places in the adult world of work" (pp. 264–66).

Is Augst's documentation as persuasive as his analysis? His extended quotations from two diaries especially, those of Thomas Patterson and Jonathan Hill, do show vividly their preoccupation with self-improvement and their sophistication and heightened self-awareness. But do Augst's diarists' preoccupations and sensibility represent clerks outside major urban areas in the northeast? The scant biographical information he provides suggests that his clerks mostly worked in New York City, Boston, Worcester, and Hartford. Historians familiar with the variety among nineteenth-century diaries in relative importance of types of entries may have doubts about the universality of Augst's emphasis upon diarists' self-invention, moral accounting, and obsession with linear progress.

Readers should be warned that Augst repeats his generalizations, in many variations, and that his complex prose can be heavy going. But so provocative and rewarding an investigation deserves a wide reading.

CLYDE GRIFFEN  
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MICHAEL ZAKIM. *Ready-Made Democracy: A History of Men's Dress in the American Republic, 1760–1860*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. x, 296. \$30.00.

In this book Michael Zakim argues that the man's ready-made suit was a major democratizing factor in nineteenth-century America. Furthermore, manufacturers and retail establishments that spawned its development were at the core of capitalism and democracy, the principle systems of organization in the new republic. With this analysis Zakim rescues the subjects of business, fashion, and the commodity from the dustbin of political history. He offers an insightful addition to the history of the men's clothing industry in America and shifts its importance to center stage. In many ways, his book provides clues to the origins of American consumer culture.

Zakim's interpretation considers the ideology of homespun, the rise of the clothing industry, and the reinvention of tailoring. He examines the changing work force that supplied the cutters, tailors, and seamstresses for the clothing industry and its customers, the rising number of white-collar businessmen and clerks. Although ideas of economy and industry were embedded in homespun during the revolutionary period, Zakim observes that it was the decline of homespun and the patriarchal household that made way for the new systems. The clothing industry began in earnest with small shops selling both custom and ready-made suits. Some of these shops were owned by merchant tailors, others were run by clothiers, such as Frank Brooks, who was not a tailor. The Brooks name, of course, is still associated with the menswear industry. At the time, around 1818, great quantities of cloth were being sent to America in an effort by the British to discourage American cloth production. Sold at auction, cloth was cheap and thus allowed tailors and clothiers to produce suits at a very reasonable cost to their customers. Zakim offers details of the ready-made menswear clothing market in the South and Midwest, noting that agents for these shops contracted for ready-made suits with manufacturers in New York City and other urban centers.

As Zakim points out, success came with good fit at a low fixed price. The labor-intensive industry clearly benefited from the development of various drafting systems meant to cut labor costs and reduce the time it took to make a suit. The tape measure was adopted to speed the transmission of information about these systems. The men's clothing trade publication, the *Mirror of Fashion*, promoted the use of these systems. While a good fit was assured, low cost was not. Even the development of the sewing machine in the 1850s was not a significant cost cutter. In cutting wages, manufacturers gained the ire of the hired journeyman tailors, cutters, and other "hands" (both men and women). Zakim discusses the conflicts that emerged over low pay that led to the creation of various labor organizations structured on the basis of ethnicity, such as German or Irish, and also by type of work, salesmen, cutters, journeyman tailors, and gender.

It was the woman worker, however, who appeared to be most exploited by the success of this industry. Zakim focuses on her plight and the various welfare



organizations established to aid her. Women were often contracted out at barely subsistence wages, and they became known as “sweaters,” working in their homes, often just a room, on a piece-work basis. As Zakim notes, women represented two effects of the industrial revolution, waged independence and waged exploitation, and both were in opposition to the traditional view of woman’s role and status, as well as to notions of civic order. It was thought that their persistent low pay created the potential for their succumbing to the temptations of better pay through prostitution. Thus, as Zakim observes, women’s labor did not provide them with civic equality or buttress their independence. Instead, poverty was feminized by their situation, and women laborers came to be viewed as the most deserving of charity. In contrast, middle-class women sewed in their homes to make items for charities that supported poor women. Ironically, these middle-class activities were considered virtuous and industrious. While the definition of a “surtout” and other garment and textile terms are left unexplained, these omissions can be overlooked in light of Zakim’s revelations about the nineteenth-century men’s fashion industry and its main product, the ready-made suit. The suit was not ostentatious. In fact, it was just the opposite. Zakim comments on its modest design and color that allowed its wearers to fit in with businessmen throughout America. The suit reflected popular taste, and as a political entity it became the democratic dress of the American male. Its manufacture saw the rise of capitalism and, in its wake, a shift in the “ideals of economy and industry” from their site in the ethos of homespun to the ethics of the factory, and thus “implanted” in the threads of the ready-made suit.

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PAUL E. JOHNSON. *Sam Patch, The Famous Jumper*. New York: Hill and Wang. 2003. Pp. xiii, 240. \$23.00

A problem for scholars who write micro-histories is linking the particular with the general. Here the particular is “the story of Sam Patch, a factory hand who, in the 1820s, became America’s first daredevil” (p. ix), attaining fame as a jumper of waterfalls. The general (as always with Paul E. Johnson’s writings) is the early Jacksonian conflict between the patriarchal culture of working-class men and the domestic culture of middle-class reforming evangelicals. Sam Patch’s career resolves that problem wonderfully: the very feats that made him famous began as conscious if symbolic gestures of the larger conflict.

Patch’s very first public leap was a protest that disrupted the elaborate ceremonies opening a private pleasure park at Passaic Falls in the industrial town of Paterson, New Jersey. The park was carved out of what had been a spot informally open to all, and frequently used as a gathering place for young male workers in the local mills, Patch among them. A local entrepreneur had prettified the landscape, constructed an

ornate bridge across the falls, placed an ice cream parlor on the grounds, and (partly in an effort to insure respectable behavior and to exclude men like Patch) was charging admission. Patch timed his dramatic leap for the climactic moment of the ceremonies, in a mock reappropriation of the site. And he repeated the leap a year later, on July 4, 1828, just before the start of a major strike of Paterson’s mill workers. To accompany his feats, Patch even devised for himself a motto that cryptically compared his own skills with those of the bourgeois entrepreneurs: “Some things may be done as well as others.”

Paul Johnson is a master storyteller. His prose is elegant and easygoing, his narrative structures splendidly wrought. And the book is filled with the dense and imaginative research we have come to expect of this author: first into the sorry career of Patch’s poor but ambitious father, a failed New England patriarch who eventually abandoned the family; and then into the rich fabric of the four communities from which Patch (whose life history otherwise eludes even Johnson’s skilled search) literally vaulted himself into the historical record.

After the two jumps at Passaic Falls that made him a celebrity, Patch became embedded in the very world he had been protesting. He left Paterson, and for the remaining year of his life he jumped for fame and money, placing his performances “into the hands of impressarios” (p. 134) and even succumbing to a touch of “dandyism.” Somewhat like the title character in Johnson’s *The Kingdom of Matthias* (1994, with Sean Wilentz), and indeed like his own father, Patch was briefly a self-made man. His successful leap of Niagara Falls (the first ever), was carefully arranged for the tourist trade; its only political gesture involved an American flag, which Patch ostentatiously kissed before he jumped.

Patch’s career ended in the same industrial community where Johnson’s published scholarship began: Rochester, New York, just as the place was being evangelized by temperance reformers. (Indeed, the cover of Johnson’s 1978 study of Rochester in this period, *A Shopkeeper’s Millennium*, contains a woodcut of Genesee Falls that amazingly shows Patch himself, perched on a platform at the right as he is about to jump the falls.) Unsurprisingly, while waiting in Rochester for word to spread of his forthcoming performance, Patch fell in with a crowd of hard-drinking anti-evangelicals, one of whom turns out to have been—another extraordinary coincidence—a free-thinking brother of Robert Matthews, the same man who would soon establish the “kingdom of Matthias.” In Rochester, both Sam Patch and Paul Johnson were back on familiar cultural turf. But Patch’s return was brief; after successfully conquering Genesee Falls, he attempted a second leap, his highest ever—and this time he killed himself in the attempt. Patch was probably drunk; Johnson speculates that he was also suicidal.

Patch’s extraordinary story lends itself well to John-



son's particular take on the early Jacksonian culture wars. Johnson has long been concerned not just with the struggle of the underclass to preserve its practices in the face of industrial capitalism but also with the way that struggle was gendered. Again and again he applies to the social life of Patch and his fellow artisans such phrases as "a democracy of males" (p. 51), "Anglo-American manhood" (p. 53), "men who enjoyed the company of other men" (p. 141), or "the rough, democratic companionship of boys" (p. 141)—all this set against what he terms "the cant of domesticity" (p. 135). In one of his many vivid character sketches, Johnson notes that Timothy Crane, the entrepreneur whose creation of the middle-class pleasure park at Passaic Falls led to Patch's first public leap, "was no longer one of the boys. He had become an inventor of American bourgeois culture." Crane was both a gender and a class traitor: his marriage to a "polished young woman" had been accompanied by "his withdrawal from the old male democracy and his new interest in exclusivity and romantic sentimentalism" (p. 52). Again, when Patch's own father had abandoned his patriarchal responsibilities, his abdication led to what Johnson terms "a full-scale feminine takeover" of the household (p. 25), a takeover that introduced religion and the veneer of respectability. Much like Johnson's two earlier books, this one could have been subtitled *The Feminization of American Culture*.

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LAWRENCE B. GOODHEART. *Mad Yankees: The Hartford Retreat for the Insane and Nineteenth-Century Psychiatry*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2003. Pp. xviii, 218. \$34.95.

For the past two decades or so, there has been something of a vogue in the history of psychiatry for books devoted to the analysis of a single mental hospital. A number of these have made serious contributions to the historiography of the asylum, breaking important new ground in the analysis of the relationship between institution, patients, and families. The Hartford Retreat, known since the early 1940s as the Institute of Living, has hitherto been examined only as part of a larger group of asylums, the so-called corporate asylums that, early in the nineteenth century, pioneered the new moral treatment approach to the mentally ill that originated in Britain and continental Europe. Its history, however, is a fascinating one, and well worth examining on an individual basis. Lawrence B. Goodheart has now attempted such a full-length treatment, and if his book fails to constitute a very original contribution to the literature, it remains nonetheless a useful survey of the development of an important asylum from the Jacksonian period to the early 1870s.

The Hartford Retreat opened its doors in 1823. As

its name implies, its direct inspiration was a famous English Quaker institution, the York Retreat, which had been founded by the Tuke family in 1792. From the outset, however, the Hartford asylum departed from its ostensible inspiration in one very important respect: its counterpart at York was a lay-run institution, one where contemporary medicine soon came to play a very minor role. By contrast, the driving force behind the construction of the Hartford Retreat was the Connecticut Medical Society, and as one might expect, the asylum was entrusted from the first to a medical man as its superintendent, and remained firmly under medical control all through the nineteenth century.

Similar, privately funded institutions were being organized almost simultaneously in Philadelphia, in New York, and in Boston. These, however, were located in or near sizeable towns, and in prosperous states. Connecticut, by contrast, was comparatively poor and rural, and the Hartford Retreat was under chronic economic pressure in its early years, even as it attracted two of the most talented early American alienists, Eli Todd and Amariah Brigham, as its superintendents in its first two decades of existence. It was partly the difficulties this situation created that led asylum authorities to begin accepting indigent patients in 1842, with the support of a subsidy from the state. This almost proved to be a fatal mistake, since the institution became overrun with paupers, its fabric deteriorated, and its attractions to the affluent classes diminished almost to a vanishing point. Moreover, because the state was now able to evade the capital cost of constructing an asylum of its own, it continued this arrangement for more than a quarter century, only opening a state asylum at taxpayer expense in 1868, in Middletown.

Having lost much of its prestige, and with a deteriorated and outdated physical fabric, the Hartford Retreat was rescued from its fate by superintendent John S. Butler. Regardless of his clinical limitations, Butler was a superb administrator, and he acted quickly to upgrade the physical facilities at the Retreat. Employing the famous landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted to redesign the hospital grounds, and investing large sums in transforming the buildings into more attractive facilities that could attract paying patients, Butler moved the asylum sharply up-market, allowing it to capture a substantial clientele among the wealthy, a market niche it occupied through the twentieth century.

Goodheart is quite good at describing the broad sweep of these changes, from the hospital's early years to its state after the Civil War and the emptying out of the indigent patients into the new state asylum. He spends considerable time on the careers and attitudes of the successive men who headed the institution, and in surveying the general trends in the administration of the place. Only occasionally, however, does he attend to the people for whom the asylum ostensibly existed: its patients, their existence and fate, and their interac-

tions with those who supervised what was proclaimed to be a therapeutic captivity. Others have exploited asylum case records, and in some instances correspondence between asylum heads and patients' families, to construct sensitive accounts of life inside a nineteenth-century asylum. Regrettably, nothing comparable is attempted here. Goodheart's book, then, is a generally reliable guide to the administrative evolution of the Hartford Retreat, and he provides some useful information on the biographies and careers of the medical men who successively were in charge of its wards. On other questions, such as the issue of who ended up in nineteenth-century asylums, at whose initiative, and with what results, Goodheart has rather little to say, and his book therefore, has some clear limitations.

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STEVEN M. STOWE. *Doctoring the South: Southern Physicians and Everyday Medicine in Mid-Nineteenth Century*. (Studies in Social Medicine.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. x, 373. \$45.00.

This book by Steven M. Stowe is pathbreaking in many respects, not the least of which is the contextual change in what has been traditionally identified as medical orthodoxy. Not only does the author bring new insight to the orthodox tradition of book learning, apprenticeship, and medical school education for the southern medical student, he adds to it the dimension of self and place which he aptly calls "country orthodoxy." In other words, he views southern doctoring as being as much the product of the physician's allegiance to the South as a region (i.e. the focus on personal livelihood, neighbors and family caregivers, local lore, and practical care) as it is the product of the physician's more formal education. Preferring to focus on the ordinary physician in his study, Stowe views country orthodoxy as shaped by the recurring tensions between the ideals of professional learnedness and the physician's daily work habits. It was the nexus of this tension, where slavery, racial order, ecology, culture, climate, diet, and family intersect, that gave the southern doctor his unique power and professional image.

The book, which is divided into three sections, centers first on the initial elements of career choice, medical education, identity, and the emergence of medical knowledge apart from the layman's world. In this section, Stowe explains the mid-nineteenth-century medical school as less of a representation of modern medicine than a fluid environment where the formal curriculum of classroom lectures competed with a shadow curriculum of pre-term courses, apprenticeship, hospital wards, grave robbing, and the obscure but ever present factors of slavery, sexuality, and class. In other words, the "schooled orthodoxy . . . bore

the imprint of the social world it sought to rise above" (p. 75).

The second section shifts to the sickroom, where the dichotomy between objective disease and subjective illness exposes the social and economic dynamics of country orthodoxy. Using physicians' daybooks, he explains how knowledge and professional skills collided with rural and small-town practice that included racial protocols, household-by-household idiosyncrasies, charity patients, conditions of weather and terrain, and the co-attendance of other family and community caregivers who competed for control of the sickroom. As Stowe relates, the bedside "was a place given over to many voices, littered with past experiences, wishes, fears, and hope for recovery" (p. 133). Here at the bedside, medical orthodoxy and country orthodoxy met, revealing a social context for the competing notions of expectancy and aggressive therapy.

The final section is about the "style" of country orthodoxy when the physician stepped away from the patient and began to view the record of his experienced medical observations in the context of larger forces such as science, politics, race, and Christian faith. Here, as Stowe explains, the fault lines of southern culture were potentially the most visibly exposed as the doctor's professional authority came up against issues of race, social class, gender, and the dialectic of disease and therapy. In the end, however, country physicians combined their expressions of Christian faith and orthodoxy to help extend antebellum social, racial, and economic assumptions into the late nineteenth century. Stowe utilizes the continuity of time and place in the solo practices of country orthodox physicians to reject the Civil War as the single defining moment in the texture and moral meaning of southern medical practice.

Two observations come immediately to mind after reading Stowe's work. First, he seems to infer that there were far greater differences between and among orthodox physicians from different regions of the country than there were between and among orthodox and domestic healers within a given region or culture. In other words, the closer one studies regular and irregular medical practices as a function of time and place, the more blurred the distinctions become. If this can be extrapolated from Stowe's book, I concur in it wholeheartedly. Secondly, with the exception of the southern physician's role on matters of race, one can speculate that so-called country orthodoxy can apply to almost any rural or small town region of the country. In this I would also strongly concur.

Stowe has written a superb book. Thoroughly researched and supported by an excellent bibliography and index, it offers a level of insight into mainstream practice that sets a much higher standard for future scholars. Stowe has raised the bar on medical scholar-

ship and, in doing so, provides a useful template for others to follow.

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University faculty are selected with the advice of the  
Board of Editors.]

ALAN M. KRAUT. *Goldberger's War: The Life and Work of a Public Health Crusader*. New York: Hill and Wang. 2003. Pp. xvi, 313. \$25.00.

Alan M. Kraut's biography of Joseph Goldberger is an extraordinarily successful attempt to merge the biographical tradition of the "Great Men/Women" of medicine with the writing of serious social history of medicine. Goldberger, best known for championing the diet theory of pellagra, is without a doubt an appropriate figure through which to accomplish this. A Jewish immigrant from the fringes of the Austro-Hungarian empire, Goldberger was educated at City College and Bellevue and joined what would become the Public Health Service soon thereafter. He married an "upper-class" Episcopal woman from New Orleans. Her family raised little objection to her marriage but pointed out the social difficulties that she and her children would experience from antisemitism, while his family did not attend their wedding but welcomed their new daughter-in-law into their home and family. Goldberger seems the paradigmatic case of acculturation for Central European Jews during the early twentieth century. Born and buried a Jew, his life was shaped by the awareness of antisemitism, without it becoming an obsession or having much of a function in his daily life. He insisted on having his sons circumcised but, as Kraut notes, this was the age where the meaning of this procedure had moved in the United States from Jewish ritual to notions of hygiene.

Kraut details how Goldberger, following his work on yellow fever and typhoid (with the requisite self-experimentation), was given the mystery of pellagra to solve because of his unique combination of epidemiological knowledge and hands-on bench science. While a connection between pellagra and diet had been assumed for over a hundred years, the dominant theory of the day was that it was an infectious disease that preyed upon those with systems weakened from eating corn. Goldberger, in a series of studies at orphanages and prisons in Mississippi, showed that pellagra was the result of a "poor" or "unbalanced" diet. Kraut details these studies, especially the key one at the Rankin Farm Prison, showing the complexity even a century ago of a reward system for medical research done in prisons. We have heard much about the duress that prisoners were (and are) under that vitiates any claim of informed choice on their part. The political implications of the pardons offered to prisoners, as Kraut shows, were and are just as real. The political bravery of the governor of Mississippi who enabled Goldberger (in a period after the Leo Frank

lynching, when Jews and Northerners were not the allies one wanted to have) to undertake his experiment is a powerful counterweight to the story of the prisoners.

The irony of Goldberger's success was that he was confronted with a paradox: had pellagra been the result of an infectious disease, a "magic bullet" might have been found. But to change the eating habits of the South, even to get southern politicians, bent on improving the image of the rural South in the 1920s, to admit to hunger existing in their states, was an insurmountable problem. Goldberger's awareness of the need for political change as part of the claims of public health rings true today. His discovery that a "magic bullet" did exist—the addition of brewer's yeast to the diet eliminated or cured pellagra—was a compromise. By the 1940s, after Goldberger's early death from cancer (it was claimed by his enemies that he had contracted pellagra from his patients), it was found that niacin and the rest of the B complex vitamins were lacking in the diet that he was unable to change. Public health education over time changed the American diet, and pellagra has all but vanished as a public health problem.

Kraut's biography is in many ways the answer to the "death of the social history of medicine" that now puzzles many young historians. It represents a return to narrative history, but with clear attention within these narratives to the social context and patterns in which the narrative evolves. From the questions of antisemitism and nativism to the problem of the political implication behind changing patterns of consumption, Kraut draws on a wide range of social and cultural materials to frame his biography. It is not that all of these questions focus on "Goldberger's War," but they illuminate the web of social forces in which he lived and worked to enable the reader to make connections. It turns out that these connections were real: coming from the fringes of a society does enable you to ask questions that those (such as the leadership of the South Carolina medical establishment) could not ask. Thus the complex tale of the "private" life and its relationship to the "public" life of Goldberger makes sense within the social and cultural demands of the world in which he found himself. Certainly his wife's insistence on being included among those healthy individuals injected with the blood of sufferers from pellagra to show that there was no basis for the claim that it was spread by infection is proof enough of the necessary intersection of public and private in narrative history as illuminated by social and cultural forces.

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Chicago, Illinois

NATHAN STORMER. *Articulating Life's Memory: U.S. Medical Rhetoric about Abortion in the Nineteenth Century*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2002. Pp. xvi, 235. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$22.95.



Nathan Stormer's foray into the nineteenth century, looking in the rhetoric of medical practitioners for the origins of the modern-day debate over abortion in American society, is a worthy enterprise. He analyzes primary medical works so as to clarify their cultural impact and to show how they established a way to think about women's bodies locking in an inescapable dialectic of abortion and anti-abortion discourse. His contribution to historical scholarship is the use of rhetorical analysis. Interdisciplinary in format, chapters swing between predominant rhetorical examination of sources and stronger emphasis on a historical perspective. Rhetorical devices and terms such as hypomnesis, anamnesis, and mnemonesis serve as framework for this book.

In the nineteenth century, American medical practice experienced radical changes in the process of laying the foundation of modern medicine, shifting toward clinical and laboratory science-based medicine. Doctors engaged in a war with female midwives over the supervision of childbirth. Existing institutions of medical education simultaneously blocked women from admittance. Meanwhile, women's bodies increasingly became the subject of medical attention.

Abortion established itself as a growing concern among physicians, and in 1859 the American Medical Association (AMA) began an anti-abortion campaign. Stormer's thesis is that, in addition to the push of the national organization of the AMA, individual physicians used their published works to promote what he calls a memory of the womb as primarily life-giving. Women had "forgotten" to see their bodies this way. Medicine saw women as "the sex," or as fully represented by their reproductive organs. While there was a legal campaign to make abortion illegal, there was also a cultural phenomenon that established as a transcending truth that the social meaning of women's bodies was primarily procreative.

The book proceeds on the idea of articulation as "the production of bodies, language, and the space of their interaction through the ligature of diverse material and semiotic elements" (p. xii). In other words, articulation goes beyond a clear statement of an idea to pushing it forward into the future and deep into culture. The book argues that medical writing worked through biopolitics, imbuing social and political networks with anti-abortion sentiment and supporting the criminalization of abortion. In the process of professionalizing medicine, doctors won the right to define the standards of women's moral conduct via governance of their bodies. Doctors also won authority over life and death. Biopolitics wove together issues of race, sex, and class with the practice of medicine and "discovered" truths about women's bodies, imprinting them on the social order. Even though women continued to have abortions and some physicians continued to perform them, opposition to abortion became the dominant cultural sentiment.

Stormer argues that this notion of life's memory, which supplanted past understandings of conception

and quickening and coincided with a version of conception as somatic and as truth, established new terms of the discourse about abortion. Abortion was no longer equated with a miscarriage but became instead a willful destruction of life. Among those who remembered women's bodies as procreative alone there was no possibility of choosing abortion being anything but choosing death.

The book does an admirable job of synthesizing significant works written on the wider topics of gender, women's bodies, and women's health. Stormer is masterful in representing postmodernists. Here he is able to show, for instance, how Londa Schiebinger's ideas of complementarity in gender play into his focus on physicians' reading of women's bodies. Complementarity ruled out the possibility of equality of men and women, especially in the context of the emerging scientific paradigm for modern society. Stormer takes interpretations from scholarship not focused on abortion per se and shows their applicability. The cultural designation of women as different instead of equal shaped medical thinking.

Stormer argues that historically resistance among women was virtually meaningless. He maintains that many women, such as Elizabeth Blackwell, embraced anti-abortionism in spite of their groundbreaking status as medical practitioners. His perspective has some truth. In terms of power and authority in general, male medical practitioners did go to great lengths to control and order society through women's bodies, and they were largely successful.

In this text, a stronger use of chronological change and context likely would have deepened the historical analysis and provided a more precise periodization. Private voices could have added texture to show more clearly what women who were denied abortion experienced. Letters and diaries as a rule offer a more nuanced view, and might have shown the quality of resistance among women and/or physicians. Details of urban versus rural life, rates of maternal and infant mortality, puerperal fever, the demographic transition, and much else are absent. If present, such additions would have provided balance for Stormer's evidence. His analysis and conclusions are nonetheless thought provoking.

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PAUL FOOS. *A Short, Offhand, Killing Affair: Soldiers and Social Conflict during the Mexican-American War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. 223. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$18.95.

Although the U.S.-Mexico War of 1846-1848 has been an understudied topic in most U.S. history and literature courses, in recent years an emerging body of scholarship has focused on this "forgotten war" as an important episode of U.S. empire building. Much of this work connects empire building in Mexico to the



reshaping of U.S. class, ethnic, and race relations, and it thereby underlines the historical relationships between U.S. foreign affairs and domestic divisions. This book by Paul Foos is a valuable contribution to these discussions, especially because of its insistence on military service as a form of labor.

Foos examines soldiers' letters, diaries, and personal narratives, particularly those that offer "commentary that eschews the heroic mode so common in personal and public accounts of the 1840s" (p. 4). In the introduction, he states that one of his central concerns is "the reclamation of the points of view of the laboring population that drifted in and out of military service in this era" (p. 4), and he returns to this idea throughout the book. Foos shows how the regular army drew on "the same desperate and despised labor force" (p. 15) that was employed throughout the 1840s on canal construction projects, while officers trained at West Point, who qualified for careers in engineering, frequently took on "increasingly managerial roles in canal and railroad construction—often supervising the same sort of men whom they had overseen in the military" (p. 21). It is not surprising, then, that the hierarchies that structured U.S. labor relations were replicated in the battlefields of Mexico. Foos contends that recruits "were constantly reminded that they occupied a static and inferior position in society" (p. 24), but he also suggests that soldiers often resisted these hierarchies in a variety of ways, notably by deserting.

The first chapter examines how the regular army "both reflected, and was an integral part of, the labor system of antebellum America" (p. 13). Although the new mass-circulation press championed the volunteers as exemplary citizen-soldiers, much of the hard fighting in Mexico was done by the regular army, which included large numbers of immigrants from Ireland and Germany. The next chapter places the U.S. volunteers within a longer history of citizens' militias. Chapter three looks at the recruitment of volunteers in several different locations, including Cincinnati, Illinois, Indiana, and New Orleans, while chapters four and five explore accounts of compulsory recruitment and desertion. Chapter six, which is one of the most effective chapters, focuses on war atrocities. Foos argues that in "a war in which the United States never lost a battle, the much vaunted magnanimity of the victors was belied by the hidden dirty war" (p. 125) in which many volunteers, particularly those from Texas, perpetrated illegal acts of racist violence. Chapter seven returns to the idea of *herrenvolk* republicanism, which articulates the ideal of democracy to white supremacy, in order to explain the motives and contradictory actions of the soldiers who occupied northern Mexico after the war ended. Finally, chapter eight explores the connections between the Free Soil political movement of 1848–1852 and the experiences of soldiers in the war. Here Foos also discusses the citizen-soldier ideal of the U.S.-Mexico War era in relation to ideas about citizenship, nationalism, and

military service during the Civil War and the Spanish-American War.

Although Foos analyzes military service as a form of labor, he does not romanticize the soldiers' work but instead attends to the ways that the war "promised propertyless whites the opportunity to seize the lives and property of non-whites" (p. 58). He also documents the divisions among poor whites. While some immigrant soldiers may have hoped for inclusion within what Michael Rogin has called the "magic circle of whiteness," the U.S.-Mexico War era was also one of intensified nativism, and the anti-Catholic sentiments of nativist soldiers were sometimes mobilized not only against foreign foes and Mexican Catholic churches but also against immigrant Catholics within the U.S. Army. It is not surprising, then, that some of the many soldiers who deserted switched sides and fought for Mexico; the San Patricio Battalion, which is still remembered in Mexico today, "was the organized body of American deserters within the Mexican army" (p. 107).

In summary, this is a useful book that will contribute to debates over early U.S. empire building, labor history, and military service. While some attention to issues of gender and sexuality would have made this good book even better, Foos does a fine job of explaining why the U.S.-Mexico War matters and why it should not be forgotten, especially in this current moment of war and empire building.

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BARBARA CUTTER. *Domestic Devils, Battlefield Angels: The Radicalism of American Womanhood, 1830–1865*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 285. \$44.00.

In this book, Barbara Cutter tackles a familiar topic—gender roles in the American antebellum and Civil War years—and yields fresh and intriguing results. Ever since Barbara Welter's path-breaking critique of the "cult of true womanhood" appeared in 1966, American women's history has focused on how real women opposed, defied, modified, restrained, and subverted this gender paradigm. Indeed, although it has become commonplace to point out its many limits, true womanhood, and the related notions of separate spheres and domesticity, remain the standard characterization of antebellum gender roles. One reason may be a lack of compelling alternatives, and this is what Cutter's concept of "redemptive womanhood" provides.

Cutter argues that what was truest about an antebellum woman was neither her submission to patriarchy nor her focus on domesticity but "her ability to use her special moral, religious, and nurturing nature to redeem others" (p. 7). "Redemptive womanhood," she suggests, better describes what many women were actually doing in their lives as well as how those actions

were understood and interpreted by the larger culture. "[W]omen were actively responsible for the moral and religious health of America" because "only women could sustain the nation's virtue or redeem its sins" (p. 8). Moreover, unlike true womanhood, redemptive womanhood reached across class and racial categories to include working-class, African-American, and immigrant women. Any woman could be a redemptive woman, Cutter finds, because motive, not behavior, was the key to unlocking the categories of "good woman" and "fallen woman" (p. 5).

By this measure, even a criminal—perhaps especially a criminal—could be a redemptive woman so long as her motives were pure. Cutter's analysis of the trials of "murderesses" finds that whereas an earlier generation had denounced Bathsheba Spooner as an example of innate human depravity, later generations were more conflicted when it came to women who murdered. In the fifty years after the revolution, the market economy's core values of self-interest and competition, which were gendered male, had increased the value of American women's morality and, therefore, the value of women's redemptive influence. So necessary was this association of moral womanhood with national redemption, she argues, that "it became more and more difficult for Americans to convict a woman of murder—even if she admitted killing someone—as long as she made a claim to respectability, however superficial" (p. 26). The tales of criminal trials reported in the penny press had less to do with the facts of a case than with the desire to sell a story, a tactic picked up by defense lawyers. "As a result," Cutter argues, "juries seem to have been willing to overlook the most incriminating evidence if a female defendant acted convincingly enough the part of a proper woman" (p. 35).

Even prostitutes could stake a claim to redemptive womanhood. Worries over the era's rapid changes took shape in the fear that respectable young women were being seduced and abandoned to a life of prostitution. Thus, "if many prostitutes started out as respectable women, it seemed plausible that they could pass as the virtuous women they once were" (p. 48). Since anti-seduction laws proved unenforceable, Cutter argues, women had to learn to protect themselves and not depend on others—an argument that was also embraced by the contemporary women's rights movement. Redemptive womanhood was therefore inherently active and inherently radical.

Women who defied tradition by speaking in public could also rely on the defense of redemptive womanhood. Abolitionist and feminist lecturer Abby Kelley, for example, confounded some critics because her fiery reputation did not match her pious demeanor. Cutter concludes insightfully: "Because of the binary opposition inherent in redemptive womanhood, women who claimed respectability tended to become respectable almost by default . . . [I]f these women were not depraved, they must be virtuous" (p. 125).

When the Civil War made a reality of the long-

feared threat to the nation, women responded as they had been conditioned to: "the war presented not a challenge to gender ideology, but the perfect opportunity to exercise their redemptive nature" (p. 157). Both on and off the battlefield, women's war work was the logical culmination of decades of social change. It is little wonder then that redemptive womanhood remained a force long after the war was over.

The argument for redemptive womanhood is strongest in its discussion of northern women; redemptive southern womanhood is not addressed as thoroughly. Overall, however, Cutter deftly weaves archival and literary sources into a graceful and lively narrative that offers a compelling new interpretation of antebellum American gender roles.

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DEBORAH BINGHAM VAN BROEKHOVEN. *The Devotion of These Women: Rhode Island in the Antislavery Network*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 283. \$39.95.

The study of the abolitionist movement in the United States has had a long and rich history. Over the last twenty-five years, attention to women abolitionists has resulted in the growth of scholarship on their contributions to the movement and on the dynamics of race and gender politics within antislavery organizations. Although historians have acknowledged women's work in such activities as petition drives as well as various activities to raise funds for the cause, little attention has been given to how important these activities were for sustaining the movement in particular geographic locations and within specific economic and political contexts.

In the case of Rhode Island, a focus on the male-led state organization and its eventual collapse might easily lead historians to conclude that abolitionist activity had died. Deborah Bingham Van Broekhoven argues that despite the disintegration of the state's antislavery society and the divisions in the national organization, women abolitionists in Rhode Island kept the movement alive in the state for both men and women through grassroots organizing. By shifting away from women's participation in formal organizations, the author is able to focus on the more elusive facet of social reform: the use of friendship and kinship ties to organize various antislavery activities. Van Broekhoven maintains a focus on local leaders, who may have been well known in their own communities but would likely be invisible in general histories of the movement.

In order to understand more fully the significance of the role of women in the Rhode Island movement, Van Broekhoven argues that historians must take into account the specific economic and political conditions at the state and community levels, which shaped antislavery politics in the rural communities and mill towns. As she demonstrates, the "uproar" in Rhode

Island between Whigs and Democrats was a racialized one. Many blacks supported the Whigs despite the party's sympathies toward slavery because the Whigs had enfranchised black men, while working-class whites, many of whom worked in the mill towns, tended to support "Dorr" Democrats, supporters of Thomas Dorr, a former Whig who had organized against the prohibition of antislavery activity in 1841 but who also emphasized political rights for working-class white men. The race and class politics that characterized Rhode Island during this period created a complex situation for which many abolitionists, both inside and outside the state, were not prepared.

In addition to local controversies, abolitionists at the national and state levels debated issues like the "woman question" and the antichurch sentiment brewing among a radical faction of the movement. By 1841, these issues contributed to a formal split in the national organization, resulting in the creation of two national antislavery organizations. In Rhode Island, abolitionist men devoted much of their time and energy to these politically contentious questions. By contrast, Rhode Island abolitionist women and girls kept out of the political fray, focusing instead on grassroots activities. Why the apparent sexual division among these activists?

According to the author, ingrained gender roles, combined with an unwavering commitment to abolitionism as a moral cause, accounts for women's decision to stay out of national debates and tend to more tangible activities in their communities. As Van Broekhoven's study reveals, women's grass-roots activism, although it occurred off the national stage, was, nevertheless, both public and political as women traversed their communities on petition drives and participated in well-publicized fairs. Women were highly visible in their own communities, as they maintained a steady "devotion" to the daily grind of sewing circles, petition drives, and annual antislavery bazaars. This gendered division of activities and priorities within the movement did not mean, however, that there was a clear split over the public vs. private, a paradigm that has until recently framed historians' understanding of nineteenth-century gender roles. The author misses a crucial opportunity to make more explicit the implications of behind-the-scenes activism. Does nineteenth-century female grass-roots activism necessitate a rethinking of gender roles during this period and, in the process, complicate the public/private dichotomy?

In addition, although it is clear that women kept the movement in Rhode Island afloat during a time of turmoil, it is also clear that the women themselves benefited from grass-roots activism. Abolitionist women maintained a reciprocal relationship to the movement; the informal kinship and friendship networks that sustained them in turn sustained the movement in their state.

This book makes a valuable contribution to abolitionist historiography by encouraging historians to look behind the visible signs of abolitionist activity—

the formal organizations and the leaders—to the social networks that enabled ordinary women to sustain the movement on a daily basis.

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SCOT FRENCH. *The Rebellious Slave: Nat Turner in American Memory*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 2004. Pp. x, 379. \$26.00.

Scot French did not set out to write a definitive account of America's most famous slave insurrection. Instead, with his interest in the dynamics of social and collective memory, French uses the insurrection to meditate on "America's search for transcendent meaning in its troubled past" (p. 3). Not surprisingly, no single transcendent meaning emerges from this search, and French's study moves deftly among these competing interpretations to show how Nat Turner, "a maker of history in his own day," has been made "to serve the most pressing needs of every generation since" (p. 6). Writing in the long shadow of Turner and the "Turner industry" of the past three decades, French is both a valuable synthesizer of previous scholarship and an important contributor of new insights and connections.

Opening with a chapter on how Thomas Jefferson, David Walker, and William Lloyd Garrison each warned of "an upcoming race war should America fail to eradicate its slave past" (p. 4), French turns from these jeremiads to the real thing. According to French, the official investigation into Turner's rebellion "entailed the drafting of a historical narrative that would satisfy public curiosity, restore public confidence, and make possible the reconciliation of blacks and whites, slaves and masters, throughout the region" (p. 33). French is careful to show, however, that other accounts (those offered by *Constitution Whig* editor John Hampden Pleasants and a slave girl named Beck) worked both to support and to undermine the official narratives of Thomas Gray and Governor John Floyd.

French's next chapter, an analysis of Turner's "apotheosis" in pre-Civil War historical and literary narratives, is his most densely packed. Here, French works with material that has been covered in more detail by others (most recently by Mary Kemp Davis in *Nat Turner Before the Bar of Judgment: Fictional Treatments of the Southampton Slave Insurrection* [1999] and several essays in Kenneth S. Greenberg's edited collection *Nat Turner: A Slave Rebellion in History and Memory* [2003]). French's contribution to this discourse comes in the tightly constructed juxtapositions that allow him to work over this ground in new ways, and he is particularly good at discerning Turner's presence in the nation's response to John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry. Because French is synthesizing so much material in this chapter, some of his discussions are briefer than one would like, but his swift, compact analyses do have the added benefit of suggesting Turner's presence as a free-floating signifier useful to both sides of the slavery debate.



The same holds true for French's account of Turner's role in the "social revolution wrought by emancipation" (p. 135). In his most wide-ranging chapter, French explains that while black conservatives were appropriating Turner as a "patriot and a Christian martyr" (p. 136), radical black leaders were promoting Turner as a defiant "race hero" (p. 147). This move paved the way for a "small cadre of revisionist scholars, writers, artists, and activists" (p. 136) in the "New Negro" movement to claim Turner as "one of the great men of American history" (p. 179). However, in his final chapter, French reveals how "the rebellious slave so openly embraced . . . in the radical thirties" did not hold up well in "the conservative climate of early cold war America" (p. 215). Clashing with the philosophy of nonviolent protest, Turner's memory "played no significant role in the King-led campaign for civil rights" (p. 215), and the iconoclastic historian Stanley M. Elkins reinterpreted the rebellious slave as a neo-abolitionist fantasy. When French turns, as any Turner historian must, to William Styron's *Confessions of Nat Turner* (1967), he shows all his virtues. Previous scholarship is tightly synthesized, and new materials (archival research and interviews) are added for fresh insights. Again, others have covered this ground in greater detail, but what French's study lacks in depth it makes up for with its ambitious scope.

In his introduction, French invokes Merrill Peterson's work on Jefferson as a model of scholarship in the field of social and collective memory. The model has served him well. Interested less in the history that Turner made and more in what history has made of Turner, this book improves our understanding of how American memory is forever wrestling with troublesome presences.

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LOUIS A. DECARO, JR. *"Fire from the Midst of You": A Religious Life of John Brown*. New York: New York University Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 349. \$32.95.

Malcolm X famously commented that John Brown was one of the good white folks in history. In contrast to the depiction of Brown as a fanatic, Louis A. DeCaro, Jr.'s portrayal, like Malcolm's, is appreciative. The author develops several assumptions that help to put the subject in a fresh light. He appropriately focuses on the religious context and Brown's personal spirituality, issues that are central to the rationale for holy war against the evil of slavery. The biography nicely integrates the moral imperative of the Brown family, particularly the ideal of racial egalitarianism, with increasing sectional tension. The story unfolds around two crucial issues: the anomaly of Brown's militant abolitionism with his conservative theology, and the religious justification for the use of violence to free the slaves. In understanding historical causation, DeCaro argues that, for antebellum America and the modern civil rights struggle, the "fear of escalating violence is

a far greater catalyst for change within an indifferent majority than 'moral suasion' or appeals to the conscience of a society" (p. 39). Brown and Malcolm X were then essential foils to the pacifism of William Lloyd Garrison and Martin Luther King, Jr., respectively. Brown represented the most dramatic example of "the higher law" doctrine during the Civil War era.

Brown remained aloof from theological innovation during the Second Great Awakening, unlike many evangelicals in Connecticut and Ohio where he was raised. Neither the preaching of revivalist Charles Grandison Finney, the nonresistance of Garrison, nor political abolitionism attracted him. Traditional in belief and old fashioned in habit, Brown revered the inerrant word of scripture, kept a strict Sabbath, dressed plainly, and ruled his family as a stern but just patriarch. Brown was relatively unschooled; his devout father was his most important teacher. Owen Brown's outspoken commitment to the just treatment of African Americans was a lifelong influence on his son. The basis of their challenge to ubiquitous white supremacy was biblical. They believed the divinity had created all people as one blood, and, as earnest evangelicals, they practiced what they preached. John was very much his father's son: he aided fugitive slaves, befriended free blacks, and directly confronted bigots. Much to the consternation of his Ohio congregation, he and his family switched seats in their pew with blacks that were segregated at the back of the church. He denounced Masons, because their exclusive rituals detracted from the worship of God. He refused on principle to fight mistreated Native Americans on the frontier. He did not, however, embrace nonviolence as an absolute. On a personal level, he was ready to defend himself or to use violence in a just cause.

As the conflict between slavery and its opponents mounted, Brown's militancy kept pace. At the height of anti-abolitionist activity during the late 1830s, he and his family knelt in prayer, vowing to continue the struggle against slavery. He relocated his family to North Elba, New York, to participate in abolitionist Gerrit Smith's experiment in creating a black community in the rugged Adirondacks. He passed out bowie knives to parishioners at a black church in Springfield, Massachusetts, so they could defend themselves from the strengthened Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. He also proposed a United States League of Gileadites, an organization in black communities that would resist bounty hunters. Following family members to Kansas, he was commissioned a captain of the Liberty Guards, free state militants who fought "the enemies of God" (p. 219). He subsequently commanded a group in 1856 that notoriously executed several unarmed proslavery partisans with broad swords at Pottawatomie Creek. After an antagonist killed his son Frederick, Brown refused to seek revenge. His war was on slavery, not slaveholders. "I act from a principle," he explained. "My aim and object is to restore human rights" (p. 239). An outlaw, he smuggled weapons into Kansas and expanded assistance to fugitive slaves. He



launched a bold raid into Missouri that liberated eleven slaves, killed one resisting slave master, and eventually relocated the escapees in Canada, some 1,100 miles later. During the flight to freedom, Brown assumed the *nom de guerre* Shubel, Hebrew for "captive of God." Backed by clandestine abolitionist supporters, Brown launched his Provisional Army of the United States on October 16, 1859, against the federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, in an effort to establish maroon bastions in the Appalachians that would wage guerrilla war on slavery. Lingering too long at the arsenal, he was captured. Hanged on December 2, 1859, Brown was hailed by African Americans and was remembered by Malcolm X a century later. DeCaro's engagingly written book explains why.

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MELINDA LAWSON. *Patriot Fires: Forging a New American Nationalism in the Civil War North*. (American Political Thought.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2002. Pp. xv, 265. \$29.95.

Melinda Lawson's study of northern identity during the Civil War commands our attention both as scholars and as citizens. The issues raised in her book—changing and contested definitions of loyalty, patriotism, nationalism—seem as fresh and relevant today as they were during the years 1861–1865. The book traces the rise of what Lawson describes as "transcendent patriotism," which called forth a powerful individual emotional response to the nation's traditions, replacing a more "contractual" prewar nationalism. "By war's end," she writes, "a 'Union' of states had become a 'nation' of Americans" (p. 3). This emerging "European-style" nationalism was based on powerful symbols, a perceived shared history, and a heartfelt patriotism. Lawson's book is especially valuable in demonstrating the specific ways in which emblems—such as flags or a stirring song—of nationhood united the people around the endangered Union. Together with Susan-Mary Grant's exploration of antebellum northern nationalism (*North Over South: Northern Nationalism and American Identity in the Antebellum Era* [2000]), it opens a vital window on how northern citizens connected to their country during turbulent times.

As Lawson makes clear, the enthusiasm and support for the war (as well as the dissent) came from all levels of the northern population. There was no centralized machine spewing out propaganda and no bureaucratized state directing the economy. Indeed, early on, the national government was clearly unprepared to deal efficiently or humanely with the consequences of the mobilization and deployment of so many young men for battle. Private associations sprang into action. A major portion of Lawson's work delineates how different sorts of citizens' voluntary organizations provided urgent and valuable assistance to the war effort. At the

same time, she shows how effectively these same organizations imbued northern Americans with an enthusiasm for the war effort and for the history of their nation. Six chapters present compelling case studies of wartime building blocks of national identity that came from both private and public sectors. Lawson studies sanitary fairs, bond campaigns, partisan clashes between Democrats and Republicans, Union Leagues, abolitionist oratory, and the ideological legacy of Abraham Lincoln. Within these smoothly written chapters, she effectively analyzes a wide range of evidence including speeches, advertisements, artifacts, flags, political rhetoric, literature, processions, and the "Grand Review" parade.

A good example of the book's strength can be found in Lawson's excellent discussion of financier Jay Cooke's bond drives for the U.S. Treasury Department. Here, she highlights the wartime wedding of economics, nationalism, and patriotism. She shows how Cooke's skillful use of popular symbols and emotional appeals on behalf of the soldiers bound ordinary people's prosperity to the continuance of the Union. The burden of paying for the increasingly expensive war fell squarely upon northern citizens. The Republican Congress passed the necessary laws to create a national currency and at the same time raised new and heavy taxes. Unpopular, yes; controversial, yes; but both measures were indispensable to the amazing success of the northern economy that produced guns and butter from 1863 to 1865. Bonds were the third element in this winning combination. Secretary of Treasury Salmon Chase turned to Cooke to develop and implement national campaigns to market and sell war bonds, which he did with spectacular results through brilliant advertising and by employing legions of agents and salesmen to sell the bonds all over the country. Lawson scrutinizes the nature of Cooke's appeal to the patriotism as well as to the self-interest of individual citizens. One million northerners eagerly bought bonds, and the United States remained solvent. For the first time, ordinary people bound their futures to, and pledged their support for, the continuance of the federal government with important consequences for national identity.

Lawson criticizes the tendency—particularly by the Republican Party and the elites who formed the Metropolitan Urban Leagues—to define patriotism as an unthinking loyalty to country, and, by extension to the party that was waging the war and responsible for issuing the Emancipation Proclamation. Lawson reserves her highest praise for the abolitionist orators such as Wendell Phillips, Anna Dickinson, and Frederick Douglass, who advocated, like Lincoln, "a new birth of freedom" and looked beyond emancipation to urge equality for all. Lawson is hardly the first to suggest that this particular strand of identity was not strong in the Reconstruction years, as reconciliation between whites trumped black freedom. Her last chapter, "Lincoln and the Construction of National Patriotism," explores the role played by the president's

rhetoric, his leadership, and the effect of his death and subsequent martyrdom in evoking the image of a mystical nationalism. Lawson comments rightly that in "Calling for the immortality of American democracy, Lincoln suggested that the immortality of the nation-state was essential to its survival" (p. 171).

I have few quibbles with this fine work. I do wish, however, that she had paid more attention to the importance of the Union Army as a major component of American identity and nationalism during (and after) the war. As an institution and a symbol, the vast volunteer army (and popular generals such as Ulysses S. Grant, William T. Sherman, and Philip Sheridan) was the center of attention from women, from politicians, from reformers, from ministers, and from financial wizards. Arguably, the army deserved at least a chapter of its own. But this is a small criticism of a book that makes an important contribution to a growing and lively scholarly literature on northern nationalism during the Civil War.

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GREGORY J. W. URWIN, editor. *Black Flag Over Dixie: Racial Atrocities and Reprisals in the Civil War*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 265. \$45.00.

In this compact, well-organized collection of essays (including eight articles published between 1958 and 2000 and three original pieces), editor Gregory J. W. Urwin probes the intersection of war crimes and the complexities of remembrance in the American Civil War. He has assembled a useful set of articles that chronicle Confederate racial violence directed at fugitive slaves and free blacks, the U.S. Colored Troops (USCT), and their white officers.

Racial atrocities and reprisals, Urwin explains in his introductory essay, resulted from "the merciless quality that racial hatred inspired" during the emancipation process (p. 15). "Confederates not only targeted the United States Colored Troops," he adds, "but also fugitive slaves of all ages and both sexes. Feeling betrayed by the runaways, Rebel troops assumed the role of wronged lovers and took their revenge" (p. 7). In post-September 11 America, Urwin muses, "it remains to be seen if fear, anger, hatred, and a desire for revenge will stampede Americans into embracing the savage excesses that represent the most painful memories of their great Civil War" (p. 12).

In her essay, Anne J. Bailey examines the brutal murder of black troops and contrabands by Texas Confederates in Louisiana in mid-1863. She explains their behavior as the result of the rage white southerners experienced when encountering blacks with guns, the isolation of these troops in the Trans-Mississippi department, and the soldiers' determination to protect their families back home. Howard C. Westwood traces the confused legal status and fate of

black troops captured by Confederates in South Carolina. James G. Hollandsworth, Jr. investigates the treatment of captured white USCT officers by Confederate troops. He concludes that while Confederates did not officially execute USCT officers, they nevertheless routinely gunned down prisoners whom they asserted were trying to escape.

In his influential 1958 article on the Fort Pillow massacre, Albert Castel maintains that in April 1864 Confederate troops under Major General Nathan Bedford Forrest "out of a combination of race hatred, personal animosity, and battle fury" murdered black troops "after they had either ceased resisting or were incapable of resisting" (p. 101). Examining three racial atrocities and reprisals in Arkansas in 1863, Urwin writes "Confederates regarded the employment of African-American soldiers as such a crime against humanity that they felt absolved from any obligation to treat black troops and their white officers as honorable opponents. Rebellious slaves and white abolitionist agitators had to be exterminated to keep other blacks in their place and save a social system based on racial subordination" (pp. 146–47).

In their meticulously researched essay, Weymouth T. Jordan, Jr., and Gerald W. Thomas sort through conflicting testimony and determine that in April 1864 Confederates massacred black recruits, white Unionists, and fugitive slaves as they fled into a swamp at Plymouth, North Carolina. Employing statistics gleaned from a broad range of sources, Bryce A. Suderow calculates a 423 to 757 ratio of blacks killed to wounded at the July 1864 Battle of the Crater at Petersburg, Virginia. Suderow's statistics incline him to characterize the Crater as "the worst massacre of blacks during the Civil War" (p. 208). Black occupation troops during presidential Reconstruction, Chad L. Williams argues, symbolized freedom for African Americans and defeat for white southerners. Their mere presence exacerbated longstanding racial fears and led whites to fear an insurrection by blacks in late 1865.

David J. Coles, Derek W. Frisby, and Mark Grimsley contribute this collection's three original essays. Coles describes atrocities committed by Confederate troops against wounded and captured black troops following the February 1864 Battle of Olustee, Florida. Frisby analyzes how Radical Republicans, led by Senator Benjamin F. Wade, used the April 1864 massacre of black troops at Fort Pillow, Tennessee, for partisan political purposes. The Republicans' official report of the battle, Frisby writes, "not only revealed what the Civil War had become but what the Radicals wanted the war to be: a hard war to overthrow the Southern slaveocracy and reconstruct the society that supported it" (pp. 124–25). In his insightful response to the other essays, Grimsley contextualizes Confederate racial violence within the dark history of antebellum white racism. Racial fear and hate were so ingrained in Americans, North and South, Grimsley notes, that the history of the 179,000 men of the USCT has been

forgotten until quite recently. So, too, the history of racially motivated atrocities committed by Confederate troops. Although specialists will be familiar with the previously published articles contained in Urwin's anthology, the book nevertheless provides a valuable primer for students and general readers. While neo-Confederates continue to prattle on about black loyalty and slaves who allegedly fought for the Confederacy, the essays in this book capture accurately the tone of race relations in the Civil War-era South. Confederates considered slave fugitives in general and the men of the USCT in particular to be traitors worthy of murderous revenge. This story has regrettably fallen through the interstices of Confederate historical memory.

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MITCH KACHUN. *Festivals of Freedom: Memory and Meaning in African American Emancipation Celebrations, 1808–1915*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 339. \$39.95.

In this book, Mitch Kachun writes: "The shift from a culture mired in slavery to one driven by the expanding promise and prospect of freedom is central to understanding the earliest freedom festivals" (p. 11). Activist black clergy, fraternalists, journalists, and other leaders "helped to construct the institutions and ideology that allowed black Americans to envision and work toward a *legitimate identity*" (italics mine; pp. 21–22). But that leadership's lack of knowledge of slave achievements, economic and artistic, greatly handicapped black people in their own eyes, a failing that goes unremarked in this book.

Kachun identifies freedom festivals—more private ones in churches and other venues, and large ones in public space—from the abolition of the slave trade in 1808 to the fiftieth anniversary of the end of U.S. slavery in 1915. His treatment of their meaning, of how black leaders interpreted the black past and present, however, is continually open to question. Although black opinion is not represented as a monolith, the argument of Martin Robinson Delany and William Wells Brown that African traditions survived the Atlantic slave trade does not enter the discussion. An epigraph to chapter one indicates, sadly, that Kachun believes, with Ralph Ellison, that Negro traditions "were 'mammy-made' right here at home." African cultural influence is greatly underestimated in this book.

In his discussion of New York's Pinkster festival, Kachun argues that the activities at Pinkster "were seen by whites primarily as exotic entertainments that reinforced their view of blacks as imitative." Going no deeper, he fails to tell us that John Diamond, the greatest white dancer in America, modeled his dance style after that of slave dancers and was bested, in the 1840s, by free Negro William Henry Lane in New York

City, then as now the most important public space for the arts in America. Taught by black dancer "Uncle" Jim Lowe, Lane made the enormous contribution of prefiguring jazz dance. His rhythmic figures launch the extended dance scene in Herman Melville's *Moby Dick* (1851). In fact, black dance and music are dominant in that work with Melville, in a revolutionary move for creative literature, introducing the New Orleans-style funeral parade. Can folk art, one must ask, be more legitimate?

In 1827, black bands paraded down Broadway celebrating the New York Emancipation Act, a parade especially remarkable for the places of origin of the participants. Native-born Africans, blacks from the West Indies and from every state in the union marched, men and boys five abreast, as their wives, daughters, and sisters—some from the Caribbean wearing colorful bandanna handkerchiefs—shouted for joy from the sidewalks. This unusual convergence of the African diaspora is found in James McCune Smith's invaluable *Introduction to a Memorial Discourse; By Rev. Henry Highland Garnet* (1865), which Kachun did not read.

There is no discussion of parades found in Thomas Wentworth Higginson's Civil War classic, *Army Life in a Black Regiment* (1870), to which Kachun refers. A remark from a black man in that freedom regiment is overlooked: "And when dat band wheel in before us, and march on,—my God! I quit dis world altogether." For a book about celebrations, the author's unfamiliarity with African-American art is a severe shortcoming.

Kachun puts his finger on a key concern of those who, after slavery, inveighed against slave spirituals being sung in slave dialect, a language they thought degrading, but he does not seem to be aware that the blues as well as the spirituals were opposed by educated blacks, in part for the same reason. Moreover, James Weldon Johnson, whose song lyrics provide Kachun with the title of his last chapter, "Faith That the Dark Past Has Taught Us," was the chief opponent of dialect in creative writing before the advent of Ellison, but their views are not mentioned.

A poem by a leading poet that is precisely about memory and meaning bears a title that is almost identical to the chapter in Kachun's book entitled "'Let Children's Children Never Forget': Remembrance and Amnesia, 1870's–1910." The poem is Sterling A. Brown's "Children's Children," in which he writes of descendants of slaves having forgotten what their sires had to endure, of diamonds of song, beneath the weight of dark and heavy years, having been sole comfort. But that was before a new generation of youth in the 1960s went to those songs, among them "We Shall Overcome," seeking renewal while nonviolently resisting the oppressor.

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ROBERT DAVID WARD and WILLIAM WARREN ROGERS. *Alabama's Response to the Penitentiary Movement, 1829–1865*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2003. Pp. xii, 163. \$55.00.

In several publications, over the course of long, productive careers, Robert David Ward and William Warren Rogers surveyed Alabama's penal system within the context of the state's economic and political development and as a post-Civil War mechanism for racial control. The convict-lease system provided Alabama's burgeoning coal industry with a compliant labor force until a series of mining accidents and scandals brought the system to an end. In this volume, the authors move backward to the state's antebellum years. In this well-researched and articulate study, the authors found a striking lack of continuity between pre- and post-Civil War era prison affairs.

Admitted as a state in 1819, Alabama experienced excessive violence and lawbreaking on its frontier, where "flush times" threatened property, cost lives, and encouraged vigilante activity. Even when lawbreakers were actually prosecuted, Alabama's laws merely dealt out pain and shame on criminals. County jails were little more than holding pens for the accused, serving no part of a rational criminal justice system. But by the late 1820s—roughly the same time frame that the national penitentiary movement emerged—Alabama's leaders moved to construct the penitentiary, and make it an effective vehicle for restraining, deterring, and rehabilitating miscreants. Public opinion about the need for such an institution was divided. Support for the penitentiary predominated in the northern and the southern parts of the state where nascent urbanization began, as opposed to rural areas where isolation and individualism prevailed. Reform efforts were further hampered because the new system required complete overhaul of the state's criminal code in order to make the penitentiary an ancillary of a well-managed criminal justice system. A bill to create a penitentiary passed in 1839, and the Wetumpka facility opened in 1841. Contrary to its postbellum equivalent, Alabama's penitentiary was conceived as a method of restraining and removing white wrongdoers from society. Slaves, though subject to criminal prosecution, received corporal punishment or simple "plantation justice" meted out by masters or overseers. Too valuable to put at risk in a prison, slave labor was reserved for the benefit of masters. The few free blacks and women that were incarcerated were anomalies.

Prisoners in Alabama's penitentiary made barrels, clothing, wagons, shoes, saddles, furniture, hats, and cigars; and on numerous occasions made their escape through both their own ingenuity and the incompetence of their keepers. The authors ably survey the treatment of the prisoners, their point of origin, and the types of crimes for which they were incarcerated. Mobile, Alabama's largest city, supplied the penitentiary with the most inmates, and most inmates were in

custody for stealing things. Advocates argued that the penitentiary would pay for itself, or even provide modest revenue for the state. It never did, and the 1846 legislature's pivotal decision to lease the entire facility, its contents, and convicts to a private individual proved a dangerous precedent. While the move angered reformers, the state leased the facility until one year into the Civil War, when an inmate brutally murdered the penitentiary's leaseholder. This unforeseen event combined with the penitentiary's profitable wartime production pushed authorities to reclaim control of the facility.

While it is tempting to consider the antebellum leases a mere precursor to the post-Civil War penitentiary system, the authors are quick to point out that this was not the case. "Despite the commonality of the word 'lease,'" they write, "they were different systems founded on different principles, operated through different processes, and with far different results. If the original penitentiary system followed a muddled desire for prison rehabilitation and reform, post-Civil War convict lease system made no pretense of rehabilitation. With never a hint of altruism, economic profit for the state, individuals, and corporations was used to justify the post-Civil War convict lease system. Alabama's first state prison was far different" (p. 121).

One of the many strengths of this volume is the cautionary warning the authors invoke against scholars who automatically dismiss reform impulses among some southern whites because of a preoccupation with slavery. They demonstrate that until the 1840s, many Alabamians and other southerners could espouse slavery and reform with little sense of contradiction. On the contrary, they argue, Alabama was an integral part of the reform mainstream until the late 1840s, when Alabama and other southern states became so absorbed with the slavery question that they parted ways with the rest of the nation over prison and other reform movements.

This tightly argued, persuasive, and well-written book adds substantially to our understanding of antebellum reform movements. Employing an impressive array of sources, including newspapers, legislative journals, manuscripts, and previously unused penal records housed at the Alabama Department of Corrections, it is a major contribution to the history of American penal reform.

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JAMES C. KLOTTER. *Kentucky Justice, Southern Honor, and American Manhood: Understanding the Life and Death of Richard Reid*. (Southern Biography.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 197. \$34.95.

This book is a gem. James C. Klotter uses the caning and subsequent thrashing with a cowhide whip by attorney John Jay Cornelison of Superior Court Judge and "Christian gentleman" Richard Reid, on April 16,



1884, to explore not only Reid's life and death but also the clashing values of "forgiveness and forbearance" on the one hand, and "revenge and retribution" on the other, values that demand our attention and thought as much in the twenty-first century as in the late nineteenth.

In reconstructing Reid's public triumphs and his little-known private difficulties, in explaining his death and its meaning, and in placing all these in context, Klotter draws on his own extensive work as a historian as well as on an array of primary and secondary materials in the fields of history, law, gender studies, sociology, psychology, and medicine. He includes brief but comprehensive summaries of a variety of relevant topics in the late nineteenth-century, including the criminal justice system and politics in Kentucky, the idea of honor in the South, the crisis and competing concepts of American manhood, and the extent and nature of personal violence and views of it, North as well as South. The author is never heavy handed in the use of any of his sources; instead, he renders Reid's life and death as deftly, clearly, and succinctly as he does the segments that place them in context.

Klotter's astute organization and gripping narration add to the book's appeal. One example of the author's thoughtful organization is the very appropriate inclusion of a discussion of the three major primary works pertaining to Reid near the end of the book as Klotter explores the aftermath of his death, rather than including them in the introduction, where most historians, including myself, would likely have placed them. Klotter's intimate portrayal of Reid, and his remarkable ability to reveal precisely the right amount of information at the right time as the story unfolds, keeps the reader transfixed. Indeed, I have omitted references to certain details of Reid's life and to investigations of some topics by the author, so that readers can experience the book as the page-turner that it is.

Klotter is also to be highly commended for the careful balance with which he constructed every aspect of his work. More than once, the actions of Reid's nemesis are explained, not condemned: "Partly dependent on his wife's parents, perhaps frustrated over the prospects of his own legal practice, certainly angry over recent court decisions, likely jealous of Reid's success, the two-hundred-pound Cornelison closed the door to his office behind the man who seemed his antithesis" (p. 58). The author treats the three concepts that comprise the heart of his work in the same fashion, noting that, "Janus-like, justice, honor, and manhood continued to show two contradictory faces. Neither visage represented total good or total evil; each had strong elements as well as weak" (p. 139). Klotter then proceeds to explore the extremes and range of each idea.

One wishes that Klotter had explored the role of female agency in the construction and maintenance of Kentucky violence and southern honor. Indeed, the initial reaction of Reid's wife, Elizabeth "Bettie" Jameson Rogers Reid, to her husband's caning would

seem to have offered the author such an opportunity, but he did not take it. Nevertheless, drawing on a wealth of experience and research, Klotter has written a fascinating book that will be of interest to a wide audience. Faculty should find it very useful in generating serious thought and extensive discussion among undergraduates about important ideas as they relate to domestic and foreign affairs, past and present. The work can also serve as an excellent vehicle for encouraging students to think about the construction of history and its parameters, and it would be an extremely effective way to jump-start a course on law and society in the United States. Certainly, it would be wise of the press to issue the work in paperback as soon as possible.

I hope that this highly accessible, exceedingly thought provoking, and very balanced book will render Reid's life meaningful and ensure that his death was not in vain, outcomes that he and his latest biographer richly deserve.

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KAREN L. COX. *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture*. Foreword by JOHN DAVID SMITH. (New Perspectives on the History of the South.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2003. Pp. xvii, 218. \$55.00.

For almost a generation, from 1894 to 1919, the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) held sway as the largest voluntary organization of women in the U.S. South. In the process they did, according to Karen L. Cox's new history of the organization, what their fathers, brothers, and husbands failed to do during the Civil War: they won the war for the South. These white women of the postwar South were steely in their commitment to carry on the battle on their own turf: in their homes, in their communities, in their schools, and in their churches. Of course, this was war reframed through the gendered location of women, reframed most particularly as winning the minds and hearts of the younger generation of the white South. This book details the cultural war of the UDC in great detail, tracing its roots back to the Confederate Soldier's Aid Societies of the war years, and noting that it reemerged after the war in the Ladies Memorial Associations that memorialized the Confederate dead.

Although the UDC was formed in the 1890s in order to address the needs of the aging Confederate generation through the building of Confederate Soldiers Homes, Cox argues that the real significance of the organization lay in the way its members took their mother's cultural war of graveside memorialization to new public and political heights by aggressively promoting it as a war of vindication. It was no longer enough to memorialize the dead in the local cemeteries, nor was it even sufficient to care for the aging veterans. This younger generation of white southern women was committed to the public vindication of

their parent's wartime experiences. They did this through a massive program of monument building, but as Cox astutely argues, they were even more effective in promoting a pro-Confederate interpretation of the Civil War. They transmitted this view to the younger generation of white southerners, thus assuring that the class and race politics that led to the Civil War would persist long into the twentieth century.

While the central point of this work—that women as women were uniquely located and motivated to make war on the cultural level—is presented through a detailed history of the UDC, the basic frame of the study is sometimes incompletely developed and at times appears to limit the core argument, which is perhaps more appropriately a matter of social structural relations rather than one of institutional formation and activities. If the book is read as being an institutional study of the UDC, the reader would like to know more about how it related to other organizations, particularly Confederate memorial organizations of men, and other women's voluntary organizations that were emerging during the period. Cox's claim that the UDC was the most important memorial organization during the 1894–1919 era could be demonstrated by a more concrete discussion of its relationship to other memorial organizations, like the United Confederate Veterans or the Sons of Confederate Veterans. The cultural significance of the UDC in constructing the attitudes of a younger generation of white southerners might be further demonstrated by discussing the work of other women's voluntary organizations with a similar focus on children and their social and cultural significance.

While the book does note the relationship between the UDC and its mother organization, the Ladies Memorial Association, the work fails to acknowledge that many of the cultural activities attributed to the UDC actually predate the organization. If the study had been cast more widely as a study of gender and memorialization in the postwar South, rather than as the history of a single organization or even an organization in relation to other organizations, a more powerful case for the central role of women in war as a cultural contest might have been made. The book is also underdeveloped in its discussion of the race politics of the UDC. Rarely discussed in the body of the text, the question is instead taken up the epilogue, where the author suggests that the long arm of the UDC reached deep into the twentieth century, revealing its lasting cultural influence in the militant resistance of many white southerners to the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. While this appears to be a plausible suggestion, and it certainly reinforces the argument for the cultural significance of the UDC, it does not derive from any sustained discussion of the race politics or race relations of the UDC.

Whatever the shortcomings of this book, it is the first and the only scholarly history of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and it certainly makes a case for the larger significance of the organization

that other scholars will want to consider and to carry forward. In retrospect, it is hard to imagine how all the other historians who have written about the lost cause could have overlooked so many of the lay historians and even more of the lay teachers of their own subject of study.

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NINA BAYM. *American Women of Letters and the Nineteenth-Century Sciences: Styles of Affiliation*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 265. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$22.00.

The role of women in the historical development of American science has been well established. Through the work of Margaret W. Rossiter and others, historians are now aware of both the difficulties faced by and the achievements of women scientists. Faced with numerous barriers, from denial of educational opportunities to lack of recognition for their work, women nonetheless contributed significantly to several disciplines and often played important roles in institutional developments. Although much work remains to be done in order to provide a more complete portrait of American women scientists, their contributions are no longer invisible.

Noted literary scholar Nina Baym, however, has chosen to examine a different aspect of women's roles in science. Focusing on well-educated New England women in the decades surrounding the Civil War, she explores the ways in which they contributed to science without, in fact, being scientists. Because these women had access to scientific knowledge through their education (women's schools of the time included science in their curricula), public lectures, and the growing body of popular science writing, many of them became "affiliated" with science in diverse ways.

Baym offers a series of case studies to describe the ways women affiliated with science during this period. Almira Phelps serves as a good example of science textbook authors primarily concerned with the education of women. Her *Familiar Lectures on Botany* went through twenty-eight editions between 1829 and 1872, selling some 350,000 copies. This text included both laboratory and field work in an attempt to achieve her goal of the scientifically literate public necessary for an educated citizenry in the mid-nineteenth century. Phelps also believed that the study of botany would produce well-educated women who would be important as patrons of science, especially through their husbands.

Much of the affiliationist science described by Baym included a strong focus on the concept of "separate spheres" or "women's work." Sarah Hale, the guiding force behind the widely read *Godey's Lady's Book*, included significant information on science and technology in her journal. Of particular interest was the application of science to homemaking, creating what

Hale referred to as "Domestic Science." Hale, like most of her contemporaries, did not think women were capable of original scientific work. Women's mental forte was the spiritual or moralistic realm, whereas men were more attuned to the materialistic realm. Because science was clearly materialistic in its fundamental outlook, men were obviously better suited to such activity. Even noted astronomer Maria Mitchell, who discovered a comet in 1847, viewed her success as a result of careful routine, not genius. Women were good at such efforts, Mitchell argued, so they could be scientists of a sort, but she suggested that women should accept their status as popularizers and teachers, laying the foundation for later women as scientific professionals.

Baym also examines an intriguing change in American science during this period. Science increasingly was defined as a commodity, with men as the producers of that commodity and women restricted to the role of consumers. Although this helped to legitimize women as science popularizers, it also reinforced the view that women could not be "real" scientists. This situation was especially noticeable in medicine, as the nineteenth-century professionalization of the field created a male-dominated medical world. Women writing about women doctors (fiction and nonfiction) almost always did so in gendered terms, describing women in the role of nurse and caregiver, but rarely in the role of scientist.

Supposed unique characteristics also led to religious and spiritual movements led by women, which Baym characterizes as a merger of the idea of female spirituality and the language of science. Because there was essentially no question that science was the highest level of human ability, it was necessary for women to be part of this world through scientific literacy. This acceptance of science allowed Mary Baker Eddy (Christian Science), Ellen G. White (Seventh-Day Adventism), and various women involved in spiritualism to argue that they were following science and natural law rightly understood. The invisible forces revealed by science (gravity, electricity) could be seen as "spiritual" in a sense. Spiritualists, for example, could thus argue that their world view offered scientific proof of the afterlife, as spirits operated through matter to connect the spiritual and material worlds.

In this well-written and cogently argued study, Baym reveals that the concept of female exceptionalism was fundamental to women's affiliationist scientific efforts. She shows not only that mid-nineteenth-century American women were intensely interested in science (her discussion of science in Emily Dickinson's poetry is especially revealing in this context), but also that they made important contributions to the broader public understanding of science. Baym has thus added significantly to our understanding of the intriguing relations between gender and science in nineteenth-century America.

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EVELYN SAVIDGE STERNE. *Ballots and Bibles: Ethnic Politics and the Catholic Church in Providence*. (Cushwa Center Studies of Catholicism in Twentieth-Century America.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 294. \$34.95.

"I think one is wrong," wrote Alexis de Tocqueville in *Democracy in America* (1835), "in regarding the Catholic religion as a natural enemy of democracy." Although Evelyn Savidge Sterne does not invoke Tocqueville's insight explicitly, her excellent new book confirms his observation and illuminates it with great detail. Sterne explores the political culture of American Catholicism in Providence, Rhode Island, in the years between the Dorr Rebellion of 1842 and the pivotal political campaign of 1928. She points out that although property qualifications for voting effectively disenfranchised the majority of Providence's immigrant poor (and especially its Irish, French-Canadian, and Italian residents) this does not mean that they were apolitical. To the contrary, Sterne shows us how Catholic immigrants, women and men alike, fashioned a robust public presence in the life of the city.

The local parish served as the launching pad for Catholic political activism. Sterne wants us to look outside the world of labor unions and machine politics to see precisely where Catholic residents cut their political teeth. "In an era when so many lacked access to unions and electoral politics," she writes, "they learned to be political through their parishes" (p. 254). Local churches sponsored reading societies and debating clubs, they trained communicants in matters of church organization and administration, and they nourished social activism. Even uprisings of communicants against unpopular priests, evident in a 1920 riot at the Holy Ghost Church in the city's Federal Hill neighborhood, provided experience in the politics of confrontation. In short, Sterne argues persuasively, Catholic parish life gave immigrants an impressive tutorial in political work.

Catholic communicants exercised their lessons in politics beyond parish walls. They participated in labor actions (evident in the 1902 streetcar strike and the 1918 loomfixers' strike), took an active role in supporting U. S. involvement in World War I, and fought tirelessly to overturn the city's municipal property requirement for voting. Even after the passage of the Bourn Amendment in 1888 (which abolished the state's property requirement), the municipal government and its power structure clung to the property requirement until 1928. Culture, too, became a terrain for political battles. French Canadians and Italians fought against the Peck Act of 1922, which threatened to curtail the survival of their immigrant languages in public schools. They bristled against the revival of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s and the kind of red-blooded "100 percent Americanism" that sought to cast all immigrants as second-class citizens. By 1935, Sterne shows, decades of Catholic political activism paid off in the "Bloodless Revolution" that placed the General



Assembly firmly in the hands of Rhode Island Democrats.

Sterne's book possesses many virtues. First, she links the Providence story with developments embroiling the nation as a whole, charting especially the impact of World War I and Al Smith's 1928 political campaign in Providence. She also connects the uphill fight for an expanded franchise in Rhode Island with developments in the South, revealing that the battle for voting rights continued to be an important issue for all Americans in the Gilded Age. Second, Sterne is effective in showing how Catholic women as well as men embraced urban politics. Even after the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, Sterne argues, the municipal property qualification fell with substantial weight on Providence's Catholic working women. Indeed, she shows that Catholic women emerged as significant political players well *before* the Constitutional Amendment was ratified and not as a result of it. Finally, Sterne writes of the diversity of the Catholic immigrant experiences with sensitivity, showing where the interests of Irish, French-Canadian, and Italian Catholics overlapped and where they diverged.

In sum, Sterne opens to us the rich political world made by Catholic immigrants. Her crisply written and well-organized book should be of interest to students of urban, Catholic, political, and labor history. Tocqueville was shrewd to intuit the democratic leanings of American Catholicism. Now Sterne has given us the historical evidence to bolster that hunch.

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REBECCA J. MEAD. *How the Vote Was Won: Woman Suffrage in the Western United States, 1868–1914*. New York: New York University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 273. \$45.00.

In this superb study of woman suffrage in the western states and territories, Rebecca J. Mead convincingly demonstrates the importance of the region to understanding the success of the national suffrage movement. She accomplishes this by skillfully connecting the vicissitudes of the suffrage movement to the fluidity of western regional politics. Moreover, her well-researched account introduces the reader to a wonderful array of relatively obscure and radical western suffrage leaders such as Emily Pitts-Stevens of San Francisco, Caroline Churchill of Colorado, and May Arkwright Hutton of Oregon.

Mead does a nice job of organizing her discussion of woman suffrage campaigns within broader themes of political developments in the West and the nation, in particular Reconstruction, Populism, and Progressivism. During Reconstruction, for instance, debates over citizenship and suffrage became entangled with territorial organization and campaigns for statehood in Wyoming, Utah, and Washington. In addition, suffragists sought unsuccessfully to use both the Fourteenth Amendment's definition of national citizenship and

the Fifteenth Amendment's guarantee of voting rights for black males to ensure a wholesale right to vote for white women.

Mead's most significant contribution concerns the association of western suffragists' successes with working-class and radical political movements. It was these alliances, Mead contends, that allowed western suffragists to neutralize powerful anti-suffrage pressures in urban centers. The author demonstrates this point with her analysis of the post-Reconstruction phase in western suffrage victories, which coincided with the rise of Populism and the successful 1893 referendum in Colorado. Labor activists, socialists, and Populists combined with politicized middle-class clubwomen to engineer a successful mass-based campaign.

Mead next discusses the failed referendum campaign of 1896 in California, where suffrage supporters attempted to duplicate the farmer-labor-reformer alliance employed to such good effect in Colorado. Nonetheless, the lessons learned in that defeat provided the foundations for a spate of victories facilitated by the rise of progressivism. Although frequently embroiled in internecine strife, an innovative new generation of leaders in California and the Pacific Northwest—elites based in women's clubs and voluntary associations, working-class activists in trade unions, and socialists—organized and secured key suffrage victories in Washington State (1910), California (1911), and Oregon (1912), largely without direct interference by national leaders. Mead presents the California campaign as a turning point for the national suffrage movement, with suffragists mobilizing a decentralized yet sophisticated mass campaign that borrowed techniques from both the labor movement and the emerging advertising industry. The attempt to dissociate the question of woman suffrage from that of temperance eased the task of labor suffragists and socialists in garnering urban working-class support, and, with the addition of majorities among rural voters, the California referendum prevailed by a narrow margin.

With subsequent triumphs in Arizona, Alaska Territory, Montana, and Nevada, all of the western states with the exception of New Mexico had woman suffrage by 1914. At that point, Mead shows, western women voters affected the national drive for a federal suffrage amendment by bringing pressure to bear on congressional representatives and the moderate leadership of the national movement. Younger, radicalized activists such as Nevada's Anne Martin and Montana's Jeanette Rankin brought western insights into the national suffrage drive and contributed their skills in forging alliances with working-class and racial-ethnic constituencies.

While Mead's conclusions about western influence on the national suffrage movement are necessarily tentative, they are nonetheless compelling. The fluidity of western politics facilitated suffragists' development of effective methods to advance a radical political goal. Linking the question of votes for women to the broader reform agendas of Populists and Progressives



also played a significant part in western successes. Likewise, the linkage of voting rights to economic justice assisted in bridging class divisions within the broad coalitions of winning suffrage campaigns. As Mead states in her conclusion, the importance of working-class and socialist support for woman suffrage has been obscured by the biased accounts of elitist suffrage leaders and uncritical historians. This book is an excellent starting point for painting a far more complex, multilayered picture of western suffragists and their crucial impact on women and politics nationwide.

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LYNN MUSSLEWHITE and SUZANNE JONES CRAWFORD. *One Woman's Political Journey: Kate Barnard and Social Reform, 1875-1930*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 231. \$34.95.

This new biography by Lynn Musslewhite and Suzanne Jones Crawford sees Kate Barnard as a key figure in Oklahoma politics during the Progressive era and claims that she was the first woman in the United States to be elected to a state post. Barnard played an important part in securing social justice reform in the state. Her career was not without its setbacks, but this first full-length biography argues that she was one of the most influential women in Oklahoma at the height of her career. Barnard was responsible for securing child labor laws, a compulsory school attendance law, and a juvenile justice system, as well as modernizing the penal structure in the state. She managed to do so by persuading the all-male legislature to do her bidding. After her initial successes, however, Barnard was increasingly thwarted in her reform ambitions. She was not always able to secure the budgets she needed, nor the personnel she wanted, and her position as Commissioner of Charities and Corrections came under threat. Her attempts to use her office to protect Indian property rights were defeated in Oklahoma, and she became progressively more disillusioned with politics.

Over the last few years, the scholarship on women's involvement in Progressive-era politics and reform has grown rapidly. Historians have examined the ways in which female reformers used their own institutions and networks to create what some have called a "maternalist" welfare state. Assuming it to be their duty to extend their female skills and concerns beyond their own homes, they insisted on a role as universal mothers, responsible for the welfare of all children, not just their own. Musslewhite and Crawford acknowledge this scholarship but contend that Barnard's career does not fit this model.

Barnard was not interested in being part of women's organizations, nor did she try to use networks of female reformers to lobby for social welfare reforms. Instead she was suspicious of women's clubs and believed that women's ingrained passivity undermined their reform potential. She remained outside the fe-

male culture of Progressive reform throughout her career. Moreover, Musslewhite and Crawford argue, while Barnard recognized the social and legal limitations women labored under, she refused to lobby for women's suffrage or for other women's rights. Such issues were contentious, Barnard believed, and would cost her popularity and the ability to secure reforms for society's dependents. Unlike many other female activists who insisted that women were above partisan politics, Barnard owed her office to, and preferred to work through, the Democratic Party. However, the authors argue, she still operated from a female consciousness. She used her gender as a form of protection, to exact respect, deference, and courtesy from male politicians as she attacked them; and her insistence that the state should be responsible for the welfare of children places her within the tradition of female reform.

Barnard's career suggests a number of questions that Musslewhite and Crawford do not satisfactorily answer in this biography. Part of the problem is that the authors rely heavily on narrative, and they see things through Barnard's eyes, accepting her point of view without considering what others might have thought. We are told little about the context in which Barnard was operating. The emphasis of Progressive reform was not the same in all parts of the country, but the authors tell us little about Oklahoma politics or society. Were the reforms she pressed for the result of her initiatives, as the authors seem to suggest, or were others involved? What exactly was the role of the national reform network in the form of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, and other national reform organizations in securing legislation in Oklahoma? Why were male politicians prepared to listen to her, since she seems to have had no obvious constituency? Why was she so wary of women's organizations and the potential support they could provide for her campaigns? Barnard was not alone among female Progressives who did not endorse women's suffrage—the General Federation of Women's Clubs did not sanction it until 1914—and her rhetoric sounds much like that of many of the female anti-suffrage organizations. The authors should not, perhaps see this as a particularly divisive aspect of Barnard's relationship with other female reformers. Barnard, like other Progressive reformers male and female, was a self-publicist; her centrality to reform in Oklahoma needs to be interrogated further.

This is a rather old-fashioned biography. It acknowledges recent scholarship on Progressive reform and women's part in it, but it does not fully engage that literature. Despite this, the book is well researched and provides an interesting account of the career of a fascinating woman.

ELIZABETH J. CLAPP

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DEREK VAILLANT. *Sounds of Reform: Progressivism and Music in Chicago, 1878-1935*. Chapel Hill: University

of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 401. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.

Derek Vaillant tackles a topic that has received less attention from historians than it deserves: the role of music in effecting social change. Popular music has been studied somewhat from this perspective, as has the place of music in certain movements, such as the workers movements of the 1930s or the protest songs of the 1960s, but Vaillant has in mind here a broader topic: the role of secular music of many different types as a weapon in Progressive reform. He focuses on Chicago, and on how music was used by various Progressive groups and organizations, in public spaces, especially city parks, and in a number of other venues, such as Hull House and the 1893 Columbia Exposition.

Progressive reformers were split on how to use music. Some advocated a Platonic, moral approach: educate and improve the masses by exposing them to the proper kind of music (often placed under the classical rubric). Others stressed a democratic approach: create civic awareness and solidarity among the masses by bringing them together for music that they preferred.

Prior to the 1920s, most reform activity occurred in park settings, and Vaillant traces the morphing concepts of public parks from the nineteenth-century vision of large, formal parks, centrally located, which attracted thousands throughout the city to Sunday concerts, to the creation of smaller parks in working-class neighborhoods where musical activities centered around field houses, thus providing an indoor site for performances. Use of the field houses themselves evolved over the years, as they became the locus of a number of experiments in musical venues and social reform.

Questions of ethnicity and race are woven through the study, as they inevitably must be when these factors defined neighborhoods themselves. Vaillant's most extensive analysis of this element occurs in the chapter "Unmasking Differences at the Dance," where he discusses different dance venues that sprang up during World War I and the 1920s, in particular the taxi-dance clubs where males paid women ten cents per dance. Taxi-dance clubs were strictly for men of color, but not African Americans, and employed only white women. Since the women were Eastern or Southern European, and the men Latino, Filipino, Chinese, or Greek, the stereotypical binary of African-American men and Nordic European women was not the reality; rather each group explored and negotiated complex roles involving race, ethnicity, and acculturation. In this fascinating chapter, Vaillant's analysis is sustained and nuanced and demonstrates how fluid and negotiated issues of identity and power could be.

The study does encounter two terminological problems. What exactly was musical Progressivism? Vaillant argues that "music served as a medium for the tendencies of the Progressive Era; these tendencies in turn redefined the centrality of music in expressing

individual, group, and civic aspirations" (p. 4). As the book demonstrates, Vaillant seems to mean that Progressives used music in various settings to advance their political agenda. Sometimes music was central, as in the extensive program at Hull House; at other times it was necessary but incidental to the Progressive agenda, as were the dances sponsored by the Civic Music Administration, a group whose purpose was to provide a more wholesome venue for young people than commercial dance halls. The park concerts of the late nineteenth century engendered considerable musical debate, as Progressive reformers split between a Platonic and a democratic approach. The Platonic approach in the United States may be traced back to the Whig Republican ideal, and surfaced several times throughout the nineteenth century.

A second problem deals with musical classification. The dichotomy between a high and a low art was not as polarized at this time as Vaillant suggests. What was classical? Where did someone like Giuseppe Verdi fit in? Verdi arias were essentially popular tunes of the day. Vaillant at one time uses Strauss waltzes as an example of classical music (p. 77). In the nineteenth century, Strauss waltzes were outside the classical canon, in both Germany and the United States. This issue is complicated by the question of ethnic music. Germans were an important ethnic group in Chicago, but German music was the *de facto* standard for classicism in the nineteenth century.

Most people of the nineteenth century, including many musicians, lived in a fluid musical world, partaking of one or another type of music, the mix varying day to day and with the occasion. John Philip Sousa's band, extremely popular at the time, juxtaposed marches, popular tunes, and classical arrangements. The summer garden concerts that Vaillant discusses had a long tradition not only in Germany but also in the United States, and even Theodore Thomas recognized them for what they were: informal evenings in a pleasant setting during the summer. That Thomas approached them quite differently than his indoor concerts suggests more a sensitivity to setting than a change of philosophy. Similarly the famous rivalry between Sousa and Thomas at the 1893 Chicago Exposition, treated in some detail by Vaillant, suggests a less hard and fast division between sacralization and catering to the public. The formal nature of the Thomas concerts within a fair atmosphere as well as an extra charge beyond admission to the fair contributed significantly to their failure to draw large audiences.

The 1920s brought an entirely new element into the aural landscape of Chicago, public radio broadcasting. Before the networks evolved, many independent radio stations appeared in the Chicago area. Vaillant stresses that although these stations catered to a multi-ethnic population, with a great variety of programming, Chicago radio was nevertheless characterized by "sound of whiteness" (p. 236). For African Americans radio was a mixed blessing. Jazz and blues

flooded the airwaves, but the intended audience was white.

There is little in Vaillant's discussion to suggest that radio itself played a significant role in Progressive reform in the 1920s beyond some occasional programming. Yet musical reform continued into the 1930s, mirroring the fate of radio, as it switched from a local to a national effort through the Federal Music Project. Vaillant finds other echoes of musical Progressivism extending at least into the 1980s. The sounds of the past have become an increasingly important subject in recent historical writing, and Vaillant's book, attempting to capture the use of specific musical sounds by a political movement within a geographical area demonstrates what fertile ground this remains for historical inquiry.

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VIRGINIA SCHARFF, editor. *Seeing Nature Through Gender*. (Development of Western Resources.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2003. Pp. xxii, 345. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$17.95.

This collection contains an assortment of readable and provocative essays relevant to environmental history and the history of the genders. The book's title is somewhat misleading, however, because the interlinking of the terms "gender" and "nature" signals a more abstract and theoretical approach than is found here. The *environment* is a material phenomenon, whereas *nature* refers not only to material phenomena but also to perhaps the most complex concept in the English language, particularly because it implies values—the *natural*. As these values are often highly gendered, a book on seeing nature through gender requires a well-developed integrative theory of the relationship between the concepts of nature and gender, in which gender is more than a particular sexual identity. This book lacks such theory. The overarching theoretical cohesion of a collection of essays is the editor's prerogative. The clearest declaration of Virginia Scharff's purpose is the statement that she is concerned to accomplish a "'tender coupling' between environmental history, women's history, and feminist analysis" (p. 3). This is a fair description of the bulk of the text, especially if one adds the male equivalent of "women's history."

The book is divided into four separate sections, on representation (three essays), bodies (four essays), consumption (two essays), and politics (four essays). The plethora of subthemes compounds the difficulty of identifying an over-arching nature-gender conceptual theme. The essays, however, are unified by their limitation to U.S. history, despite the broad topic's seeming call for the kind of cross-cultural comparison that is present only in Giovanna Di Chiro's "Steps to an Ecology of Justice: Women's Environmental Networks across the Santa Cruz River Watershed." This essay succeeds in integrating the history of Mexican-

American women's struggle for empowerment with the environmental history of a particular watershed.

In most cases, the book's two foci tend to be juxtaposed more than integrated. Paige Raibmon's contribution, "Naturalizing Power: Land and Sexual Violence along William Byrd's Dividing Line," illustrates the juxtapositional approach through a comparison of two different versions of Byrd's history of a 1728 expedition to survey the dividing line between Virginia and North Carolina. The "secret history," written for private consumption, contained lurid accounts of the sexual exploits of the surveying party, whereas the public version contains an account of the region's flora and fauna, thereby replacing "sex with nature" (p. 20). Byrd's roughshod approach to sex provides only circumstantial evidence, however, to suggest that his natural history was necessarily seen through gender in particular. The article remains, nevertheless, a fascinating presentation of material of relevance to environmental history, as well as to the history of sexual behavior, even if the connection is essentially implicit. The same sort of counterpoising of sexual identity, on the one hand, and nature, on the other, characterizes Catherine Kleiner's "Nature's Lovers: The Erotics of Lesbian Land Communities in Oregon, 1974–1984." It presents erotic and other texts by the "land lesbians" that document a connection between their rural lifestyle, notions of nature and their sexuality, thereby contributing both to the women's history and the environmental history of Oregon. It nevertheless remains unclear how we are to interpret the lesbians' gender identity in relationship to the concept of nature, especially given the traditional gendering of nature as both female and fertile (as in mother nature) and hence heterosexual, whereas homosexual intercourse is of necessity infertile, and hence often deemed unnatural. There is a mine of nature-gender issues to be explored here, but it has been left largely unexamined.

Many of the articles belong primarily to environmental history, or to the social history of sexual identity. Nancy Langston's essay, "Gender Transformed: Endocrine Disruptors in the Environment," reduces gender to the physical science parameters of sexuality. Nature is largely reduced to environment. The essay treats gender as a physical phenomenon, and in this sense its story of the influence of chemicals on the sex of fauna, including humans, is highly provocative. It raises implicit questions about the physical nature of gender that beg for a follow-up. At the opposite extreme lies Bryant Simon's "'New Men in Body and Soul': The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Transformation of Male Bodies and the Body Politic." Given the topic, one might expect Simon to discuss the relationship between the transformation of the physical body of land and the transformation of male bodies, but the transformation of the natural environment is barely mentioned. This article is primarily concerned with the social gendering of the male body in relation to its environment.



In some cases the articles are concerned with the construction of the gendered identities of particular women or men, or categories of women or men (e.g. firemen), but the point of departure is women or men, not gender itself. This approach can be illustrated by the contribution by Annie Gilbert Coleman, "From Snow Bunnies to Shred Betties: Gender, Consumption, and the Skiing Landscape." The author links female gender identity to the subject of environmental history when she states that "As consumers, therefore, female skiers and snowboarders used the ski industry to affect the social landscape as well as the physical one" (p. 213). The author presents little evidence, however, to show that women's consumption patterns actually had a specifically female effect on the physical landscape, and the perception of environment specifically as nature is largely ignored. This article offers a good example of how a focus on women's history, and the tendency to equate it with gender history, can detract from an otherwise highly perceptive explication of the role of gender in shaping the environment. If one shifts the focus away from the Bunnies and Betties, it becomes clear that the commercialization and the gendering of skiing went hand in hand, and that skiing was gendered both male and female. As a marketable male and female gendered product, skiing clearly has had an impact on the consumption of the physical and social landscape.

Scharff's essay, reprinted from an earlier collection, is titled "Man and Nature! Sex Secrets of Environmental History." It is the dominant role of "man," understood as male, in environmental history that disturbs Scharff. Men, according to her statistics and feminist analysis, are over-represented in the indexes of books by male environmental historians. This is an example of the "sex secrets" of environmental history. The tabloid headline of her paper, she explains, is just a "tease" (p. 3) to draw you into reading it. The same could be said of the book's eye-grabbing cover, a lurid Thomas Hart Benton painting of a gnarled, dark skinned, male farmer secretly ogling the smooth, pale, translucent body of a young, nude, sun-bathing female, hands clasped behind her head in a classic pin-up girl pose. There is more to this painting, titled "Persephone" (goddess of fertility), than titillation, just as there is more to the topic of nature and gender than this book attempts to deliver. But as an enticing and readable entryway to the subject, the collection has something to offer.

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JOEL TARR, editor. *Devastation and Renewal: An Environmental History of Pittsburgh and Its Region*. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 281. \$32.00.

This book, edited by Joel Tarr, is an important though sometimes uneven contribution to the booming sub-discipline of urban environmental history. The volume

also stands as the most recent contribution to what appears to be a scholarly trend: edited collections devoted to the environmental history of particular cities. St. Louis, San Antonio, and New Orleans have all been treated in this manner in recent years, and now Pittsburgh joins the club. Tarr's collection, however, contrasts with previous offerings by embracing a welcome shift in environmental history, as its contributors sometimes forsake narratives of unrelenting de-clension to focus on positive developments in the relationship between cities and nature. In short, as the title promises, some renewal accompanies the devastation that Pittsburgh has wrought on its environs.

This collection of nine essays begins with a sweeping survey of the intersection of the built and the natural in Pittsburgh penned by Tarr, one of urban environmental history's pioneers, and Edward K. Muller. A wide-ranging and well-written account of nature and culture in Pittsburgh, this chapter situates its subject within a broader historiography and provides a narrative arc that binds together the remainder of the book. Tarr and Muller suggest that, like many cities throughout the nation, Pittsburgh's unsettled relationship with nature was characterized first by a wanton disregard of environmental limits during a period of industrialization, then by a slight shift in priorities during the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Progressive period, and finally by a reappraisal during an era of ecological awareness—accompanied by deindustrialization in Pittsburgh—in the latter half of the twentieth century. Although this story will be familiar to students of the urban environment, Tarr's claim that "there is no city that surpasses Pittsburgh in terms of the scope of its air, land, and water pollution history and the extent to which its landscape has been altered and shaped" lends this case study particular urgency (p. 3). In other words, the author suggests, Pittsburgh is an ideal laboratory for studying urban environmental history.

From there, this book becomes more focused, using the elements as an organizing principle for the remainder of its contents. First come three essays on water: Muller's look at the evolution of Pittsburgh's typically distant relations with its three famous rivers, the Allegheny, the Monongahela, and the Ohio; Tarr and Terry F. Yossie's exploration of the city's tortured quest for potable water and effective wastewater treatment; and Nicholas Casner's account of the deleterious impact of acid mine drainage on the local water supply. Three essays on air follow. Angela Gugliotta first complicates readers' understanding of air pollution in her essay, "How, When, and for Whom Was Smoke a Problem in Pittsburgh?" Her compelling answer is that social and cultural context mattered as much as material conditions or economic trends. Next, Lynne Page Snyder reconsiders the 1948 Donora, Pennsylvania, disaster, when atmospheric conditions and airborne pollutants conspired to choke an entire town for nearly a week and helped to reframe the nation's perception of smog. Then Tarr and Sherie R.



Mershon examine the clean air movement in Pittsburgh from 1940 to 1960, arguing that environmental reform was only partly responsible for cleaning up the city's sullied air. More important, the authors conclude, was the emergence of natural gas as an alternative to coal as a source of energy. The earth is the subject of only a single essay, Andrew McElwaine's "Slag in the Park," which examines the tragic misuse of what could have been one of Pittsburgh's most beautiful landscapes. A final chapter is written by Samuel P. Hays, an environmental historian who was there when the discipline emerged from the primordial ooze of 1970s environmental politics. Hays, writing in the voice of an activist and first-person observer rather than as a dispassionate scholar, scolds Pittsburgh's boosters for their self-congratulatory rhetoric, suggesting that the city's environment remains despoiled. He, at least, believes that mostly devastation remains in Pittsburgh, obscuring any meaningful and lasting renewal.

Aside from Hays's criticism, it is refreshing to read urban environmental history that moves beyond the age-old perception that cities somehow are inherently antithetical to the natural world. This argument stretches at least as far back as Lewis Mumford, who wrote in his still-influential *The Culture of Cities* (1938), that "as the pavement spreads, nature is pushed away." The contributors to this book suggest that the relationship between Pittsburgh, which was once among the nation's most polluted metropolises, and its natural environment was far more complicated than simply one of advance and retreat. These scholars are not wearing rose-colored glasses; they acknowledge the brutal impact that urbanization in Pittsburgh has had on local nature and also on the city's vast hinterland. And yet, as Gugliotta argues, "moving beyond the narrative of problem and solution offers a better historical understanding of ways in which the environmental history and the social and cultural histories of particular places reciprocally shape one another" (p. 124). At its best, this collection of essays begins to do just that and so provides a model for future work on urban nature.

The book makes good on environmental history's broadly interdisciplinary promise with authors who come from a variety of backgrounds yet still manage to work well together. It covers enormous ground, as its elemental structure suggests, while remaining coherent. Ultimately, it seems that Tarr's vision holds the collection together—after all, he helped write more than half of the volume—and there is no greater expert on Pittsburgh's environmental history or the history of the nation's built environment. The result is a book that should be of great interest to students of urban and environmental history, as well as history of technology.

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RICHARD IAN KIMBALL. *Sports in Zion: Mormon Recreation, 1890–1940*. (Sport and Society.) Urbana and

Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2003. Pp. x, 217. \$29.95.

In his book, Richard Ian Kimball provides readers with a well-written, comprehensive history of Mormon recreation from 1890 to 1940. During that period, American Protestants exhibited an unprecedented enthusiasm for organized sports. Despite their distinctive theology, the Mormons can arguably be classified as Protestants, and like comparatively mainstream Protestants such as the Presbyterians, Mormons worried a lot during the first half of the twentieth century about urbanization and its supposedly enervating effect on young people, particularly young men. To prevent them from going soft through sedentary living, the Mormons established what Kimball calls "muscular Mormonism," which strongly resembled the broader phenomenon of muscular Christianity. Muscular Mormons celebrated physical fitness, and they believed that sports in combination with moralism could overcome the deleterious effects of urbanization.

The fact that the Mormons felt threatened by urbanization is rather surprising, since the Mormon stronghold of Utah was mainly rural. It did contain Salt Lake City, however, and Kimball argues persuasively that even though Salt Lake City was sacred to Mormons, it was not immune to juvenile delinquency, unhealthy living conditions, and other urban problems. Mormon leaders looked around during the Progressive era to see how other Protestants dealt with urban woes in "gentile" (non-Mormon) metropolises such as New York, where muscular Christian organizations such as the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), the Boy Scouts, and the Playground Association of America produced tons of anti-urban, pro-fitness literature. Influenced by this literature, the Mormons embraced scouting, basketball, and other gentile inventions originally intended to build up Christian character within the young.

Kimball concedes that muscular Mormonism was largely imitative of muscular Christianity. He goes on, however, to argue that there was much that differentiated muscular Mormons from muscular Christians. Most of the muscular Christians came from churches that had at one time opposed recreational activities such as dancing, but the Mormon Church from its inception allowed dancing. It was also more highly centralized than other Protestant churches, and its leaders were powerful enough to prescribe the recreation in which their followers could lawfully engage. As a result, the play of young Mormons was evidently more structured than the play of most gentile children.

In telling the story of the Mormons at play, Kimball quotes liberally from unpublished letters, Mormon periodicals, and other primary sources. He also quotes from relevant secondary sources, and he writes in a manner that is scholarly but not obfuscating. As a result, his book is enjoyable to read, although it does have a few problems. Among these are repetitive statements, overly detailed descriptions of recreational

activities, and inattention to racial conflict. Such conflict was perhaps insignificant in the overwhelmingly white state of Utah during the first half of the twentieth century, but after World War II, the Mormons' unwillingness to admit blacks into the church caused major problems for the athletic department at Brigham Young University.

Since Brigham Young is where Kimball teaches, he is undoubtedly aware of its formerly adversarial relationship with black athletes, but he does not mention that relationship in his book. This omission detracts a little from the book, but overall the work is quite admirable, particularly because it provides readers with the best available history of Mormon recreation. That subject used not to elicit much interest from historians of Mormonism, but Kimball proves that organized recreation was a central part of the Mormon experience. He also contends that the Mormon experience gainsays classic social control theory: the idea that Progressive-era recreation specialists were chiefly interested in reforming the children of immigrants. To attract those children into the Mormon fold, Mormon missionaries did use sports, but for the most part Mormons used sports to condition their own children.

CLIFFORD PUTNEY  
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JONATHAN M. HANSEN. *The Lost Promise of Patriotism: Debating American Identity, 1890–1920*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. xxii, 255. Cloth \$51.00, paper \$19.00.

Patriotism, writes Jonathan M. Hansen, "once sustained a democratic critique of political, economic and social injustice" in America. His goal in this book is to elucidate what he sees as a particularly important and instructive example of this, namely what he terms the "cosmopolitan patriotism" held by a "group of American intellectuals" in the early twentieth century. The book focuses particularly on the thought and activities of William James, Jane Addams, Eugene V. Debs, W. E. B. Du Bois, Randolph Bourne, and John Dewey.

While there are enough differences among these individuals, even in regard to their ideas about patriotism, to question whether the term "group" is appropriate here, Hansen does identify some significant similarities in viewpoint among them. More to the point, his exploration of their "cosmopolitan patriotism" confronts the reader with issues that are as topical, and as vital, now as they were early in the last century. What does it mean to be an American? How should Americans define themselves relative to one another and in relation to the rest of the people of the globe? What does it mean to be an American patriot? Is patriotism inherently bad or good?

Hansen's "cosmopolitan patriots" were deeply concerned about rampant individualism and materialism, about social and economic inequality, about centralized power, and about a society in which fewer and fewer people participated meaningfully in important

decisions. They lamented the decay of democratic life and of republican virtue and mourned the replacement of these by top-down manipulation. Anglo-Saxonism also drew their wrath. The author is especially effective at detailing the critiques of Americanization programs made by Addams, among others.

Likewise, surveying America's growing involvement abroad in these years, the "cosmopolitan patriots" deplored what they saw as calls for essentially blind obedience emanating from U.S. leaders. This was an empty, essentially "fraudulent" patriotism, often fronting for imperialism. Hansen argues that for the "cosmopolitan patriots," most notably James and Debs, the proper object of loyalty for Americans was not the state but America's founding principles and ideals. Given what they believed those ideals were, this made it possible for them to argue that they could be good and loyal citizens both of their nation and of the world.

The "cosmopolitan patriots" delineated models of citizenship and society that Hansen clearly believes are worth revisiting. They celebrated diversity and individualism but also emphasized social interconnectedness (in this regard disagreeing with "cultural pluralists"). They were civic-minded. They believed that the "blessings of liberty and property" should be widely distributed. They argued that "critical engagement . . . was the essence of good citizenship," and they cherished consensual government.

Hansen clarifies the outlook of his subjects by comparing their ideas with those of important contemporaries. This adds greatly to the value of his study. Especially noteworthy are his discussions of the contrasting notions about nation and society held by Oliver Wendell Holmes, Louis Brandeis, Morris Cohen, Horace Kallen, Booker T. Washington, and Herbert Croly.

The author is by no means uncritical of the "cosmopolitan patriots." Indeed, he makes clear how World War I and its aftermath created a crisis for their hopes and perspective (actually "souring the cosmopolitans . . . to the very concept of patriotism"). But the real value of this study lies in Hansen's thorough discussion of these and competing ideas. This is an intelligent, engaging, and useful work.

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WALTER A. FRIEDMAN. *Birth of a Salesman: The Transformation of Selling in America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. 356. \$27.95.

In his new book, Walter A. Friedman describes how modern strategies of sales management developed. Friedman demonstrates that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, older traditions of selling were systematized in much the same way and at much the same time that production was reorganized. Following Robert H. Wiebe, he argues that wholesale houses, entrepreneurs, and producers began to engage in an aggressive "search for order." Rather than

examining the lives of salesmen, as other monographs have done, this book studies the experiences and innovations of entrepreneurs and managers who gave shape to the system of distribution from the mid-nineteenth century to the Great Depression.

In the early nineteenth century, sales efforts were fairly unsystematic. Antebellum peddlers who offered lightening rods, clocks, and a variety of other what-nots plied their wares with little instruction; their sales efforts were largely unscripted and uncoordinated. Many described their vocation in evangelical terms, regarding it as an effort to spread a commercial gospel and to convert people to their goods. After the Civil War, however, salesmen and their employers saw their work not so much in evangelical terms as in military ones, giving birth to the idea of a tightly organized "sales campaign." Mark Twain's efforts to sell Ulysses S. Grant's memoirs using a cadre of veterans armed with uniform sales scripts typified fledgling efforts to create a national sales force. While Twain's army was refining the art of door-to-door selling, a new type of sales emerged simultaneously. Drummers, representing wholesale houses, began to sell business to business. Drummers created professional organizations and guidelines and worked to enhance their vocation's prestige. A network of sellers was developing, albeit a rather loose one.

Such looseness gradually disappeared as wholesale houses were eclipsed by producers like the Heinz company, which built its own sales force to sell ketchup and pickles. Salesmen employed by such companies found that their work was becoming more structured as industrialists tried to "Taylorize" sales, in an effort to bring to their distribution systems the same efficiency they were promoting on the factory floor. Friedman offers the example of John Patterson of the National Cash Register company who at the turn of the century created an international sales force that was required to follow scripts, submit daily reports, meet quotas, and attend conventions. Patterson believed that selling was a science, and newly emerging psychology and business school faculties supported and promoted this belief. Consequently, by the 1920s, salesmen had become part of a tightly organized, rationalized system, and had gained new cultural legitimacy.

The innovations that emerged between the Civil War and World War II set the pattern for modern sales management and networks, Friedman argues. Yet while the system was established by the 1920s, not all were comfortable with its fundamental tenets. The idea of sales as a science was particularly controversial. Some critics believed that that characterization underestimated the creativity of selling; others believed it encouraged the harsher tendencies of capitalism. Friedman maintains that despite this controversy, the efforts to systematize selling ultimately enabled the spread of global capitalism.

This is a well-written book, made compelling by the life stories of innovative sales managers. Friedman

focused exclusively on the architects of the system, and as a result, the system he describes at times sounds more prescriptive than actual. The book might have been strengthened by balancing its "top down" approach with more evidence of how sales strategies were received both by individual salesmen and by consumers, and how they were adapted accordingly. The story also might have been carried into the latter half of the twentieth century, when new forms of selling began to emerge—telemarketing being the most obvious. Surely the continued expansion of the consumer economy has depended on recent innovations as much as on earlier ones. That said, the book makes an important contribution to the scholarship of economic and business history, and the history of consumer culture. It fills a gap in the literature, which heretofore has offered far more descriptions and explanations of the rationalization of production than of distribution.

SUSAN J. MATT  
Weber State University

ROB SCHORMAN. *Selling Style: Clothing and Social Change at the Turn of the Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2003. Pp. 212. \$35.00.

In the wake of September 11, 2001, the people in my Manhattan neighborhood suddenly took to wearing red, white, and blue in place of their customary black and to sporting American flag pins. Not usually given to overt expressions of patriotism, my neighbors now proudly wore their American identities on their sleeves. But this is nothing new, as Rob Schorman's book makes vividly clear: in the wake of the Spanish-American War of 1898, an earlier generation of Americans also flaunted their fidelity to the United States via their clothes. Some waved red, white, and blue hankies; others wore suspenders festooned with images of the *Maine* and still others, with an unusual burst of patriotic fervor, transformed Old Glory into the stuff of everyday attire. "Do I think it shows true respect to our flag to see it made up into gowns, fashioned into shirt waists, turned into petticoats and utilized for stockings?" wondered one disgruntled patriot alarmed at the excesses to which her fellow Americans fell prey. "Most assuredly I do not" (p. 109).

Delicious details like these abound in Schorman's new book. With a keen eye for the juicy quote, the clever advertisement, and the winning diary entry, it demonstrates the extent to which Dame Fashion was bound up with Uncle Sam. Far from being something frivolous or incidental, dress loomed large in the making of modern America, a "testament to American industrial prowess and democratic freedom" (p. 29).

Focusing exclusively on the 1890s, the book explores that moment in time when both ready-to-wear and the advertising industry came into their own. Together, fashion and advertisements animated and completed each other, Schorman demonstrates, drawing on abun-

dant examples of that mutually reinforcing relationship. While this argument is hardly new, the book makes a real contribution to American cultural history when it uncovers and analyzes a lively discourse of reluctance that sprang up initially around the wearing of mass-produced clothing.

Despite their much ballyhooed predilection for fashion's novelties, middle-class American women at the turn of the century turned their back on ready-to-wear. They worried about the possibility of germs nesting in a sleeve, fretted about ill-fitting garments, and, armed with advice from the *Ladies' Home Journal*, which allowed as how "it is a laudable desire not to look exactly like one's neighbor," rued the consequences of uniformity. Ultimately, however, American women overcame their anxieties and took to ready-to-wear with a vengeance, a development that Schorman credits to advertising. Thanks to the latter's persuasive powers, which assumed both verbal and visual form, American women came to see the virtues of mass produced cloaks and suits which held out the promise of "always feeling well dressed," and to herald the delights of the shirtwaist ("Waist-energy!," enthused Carson Pirie Scott and Company).

Men, too, were caught up in the embrace of ready-to-wear. Having adopted ready-made clothing several decades earlier than women, American males of the 1890s still needed to be reassured that they made the right decision when buying a suit off the rack. Ads that duly informed them that they could look just as well in sack suits as in custom-made ones—and for half the price—assuaged their consciences even as it fanned their sense of themselves as modern, independent men. Insisting that a ready-made suit was itself a form of emancipation, some advertisers such as David Marks & Sons even went so far as to harness the nation's republican rhetoric to their own commercial ends. "We, the well dressed men of the United States do hereby declare our Independence of merchant tailors," trilled the firm's 1894 advertisement, offering its clientele "The New Declaration of Independence."

In this instance, as in so many others, Schorman has read widely. His account draws on and makes profitable use of *Godey's Magazine*, the *Ladies' Home Journal* and lesser-known professional rags such as the *Clothing Gazette* and the *Practical Cutter and Tailor* as well as diaries, mail order catalogs, and virtually every book on clothing published within the last few decades, all with the laudable aim of situating fashion squarely within the parameters of American cultural history rather than relegating it to some dusty corner of our past.

This admirable goal is at once the book's strength and its weakness. Marshalling evidence by the yard, Schorman makes a convincing case for the cultural importance of clothing in turn of the century America. At the same time, however, the book's central arguments tend to get lost both in its characteristic thicket of detail and in the author's insistence on linking fashion to just about everything in late nineteenth-

century America: gender, nationalism, citizenship, industry, advertising, manners, politics.

In the end, there is no need for such a hard sell. Fashion, after all, can sell itself.

JENNA WEISSMAN JOSELIT  
New York City

JOHN FABIAN WITT. *The Accidental Republic: Crippled Workingmen, Destitute Widows, and the Remaking of American Law*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. 311. \$49.95.

In a 1938 address on the third anniversary of the Social Security Act, President Franklin D. Roosevelt declared: "There is still today a frontier that remains unconquered—an America unclaimed. This is the great, the nationwide frontier of insecurity, of human want and fear. This is the frontier—the America—we have set ourselves to reclaim." FDR's words expressed a fundamental shift in American self-understanding, one that scholars and commentators usually date to the New Deal. A nation that had ascended on the wings of individualism now faced an untamed wilderness that called for solidarity as well as independence: the risks of an interdependent industrial society.

John Fabian Witt's groundbreaking book about this transformation begins not with FDR, but with another speech by another Roosevelt three decades earlier. The choice is deliberate. In Witt's telling, it was a crisis at the beginning of the twentieth century that was the first great step toward a new ideological paradigm centered on risk. In 1907, Witt recounts, President Theodore Roosevelt traveled to Virginia to speak about industrial accidents. It was not as odd a topic as it might seem. When TR spoke, one in fifty workers were killed or disabled each year. According to Witt, the restructuring of law and policy prompted by the accident crisis of the early twentieth century continues to exert a powerful pull in the early twenty-first.

Witt's panoramic story plays out on four levels: judicial, governmental, managerial, and communal. At the legal level, he links the rise of modern tort jurisprudence to the law's grappling with the problems of injury and compensation that arose in the new industrial workplace. At the programmatic level, he describes the birth of state workers' compensation statutes—the first true social insurance program in the United States. At the managerial level, he shows how corporate America's confrontation with injury litigation helped foster its distinctive role as a provider of security. Finally, at the communal level, he examines the formation of cooperative insurance funds that pooled workplace risks independently of corporate or government auspices. What links these institutional shifts in Witt's account is an underlying ideological shift, from the ideals of autonomy and individual contract to contemporary notions of risk and insurance.

Witt is a legal historian, and perhaps for that reason, his discussions of ideological change and political



conflict are not as clear or convincing as his brilliant analysis of legal and policy developments. At times, too, the succession of court cases and judicial legerdemain threatens to weigh down his otherwise well-crafted narrative. With his tight focus on formal institutions, Witt is also disinclined to examine broader questions of power. He notes, for instance, that corporations were near the forefront of the push for workers' compensation, which promised to rescue them from a rising tide of litigation. But he does not seem to recognize that this was the critical precondition for the rapid spread of state compensation laws—and a critical difference between workers' compensation and other social insurance proposals, such as health insurance. In a confusing passage, Witt seems to ascribe the broader defeat of social insurance before the New Deal to a clash of legal values. But the true reason for the failure is much simpler: employers vehemently opposed all social protections besides workers' compensation. And before the nationalization of political power in the 1930s, they wielded formidable influence because they could threaten to exit any state that took the lead on social insurance, taking jobs and investment with them.

Still, this book is a must-read for anyone interested in the development of American law and public policy. It takes up a sorely neglected topic. It reorients the study of American legal development around issues of risk and insurance, building on recent work in fields as diverse as law, history, political science, and business. And, perhaps most unusual for a historian, it includes an extended discussion of the role of contingency and continuity in historical processes—of how, to paraphrase Robert Frost's famous poem, the choice of one road rather than another can make "all the difference."

The title of Witt's book is meant to imply that the way in which the crisis of workplace injuries was addressed in the United States was accidental, in the sense that other outcomes were highly possible. But even though the choice of alternatives was contingent, Witt argues, the path that was ultimately followed had enduring effects and, in particular, profoundly shaped the New Deal and its contributions to U.S. social policy. It is a provocative and important argument, and although Witt does not spend much time elaborating it, he says enough to determine that it is not implausible. We can only hope that, having illuminated a vital and understudied chapter in American history, this compelling new scholar will marshal his formidable skills to show his arresting claim about the legacies of the accident crisis to be true.

JACOB S. HACKER  
Yale University

SUSAN E. HIRSCH. *After the Strike: A Century of Labor Struggle at Pullman*. (The Working Class in American History.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2003. Pp. x, 292. \$44.95.

For most historians, Pullman "after the strike" represents a great black hole. Beyond the heroic struggle of African-American porters to unionize, what possible interest could the story of George M. Pullman's company and its employees hold after the titanic strike of 1894? Susan E. Hirsch does not underestimate the significance of the great strike, but she convincingly argues for the importance of "the century of labor struggle" that followed. In so doing, she adds not just an interesting chapter to the history of a uniquely fascinating corporation and the efforts of its workers to organize; she uses the case of Pullman to remap the history of U.S. labor relations in the twentieth century. Hirsch successfully argues that race and gender form the essential axes for understanding a company whose work force for most of its history was predominantly white and male.

This is the work of a seasoned labor historian intimately familiar with the subtleties of internal labor markets, craft specialization, and the rhythms of deskilling in a corporation that combined the operating functions of a railroad with the manufacture and repair of its "palace cars." The Pullman Company's unique monopoly in most facets of the sleeping car business set it apart in the corporate world, as did the legacy of Pullman's paternalism, so devastatingly chronicled in its early years by Richard T. Ely and Jane Addams. And yet, in this original analysis Hirsch deploys a rather traditional narrative to demonstrate what we can learn about evolving patterns of labor relations through the intensive study of a single corporation and the remarkable trove of its archives. Like some of the best recent scholarship in labor history, Hirsch's work uses the unique confluence of race, gender, and region to refashion the standard narrative. In so doing she creates a work that stands alongside the very best of that scholarship.

Hirsch structures her analysis around two key concepts: the social division of labor and labor segmentation. What we see is a surprisingly nimble company that soon after the great strike abandoned the paternalistic "environmentalism" of its corporate founder. The Pullman Company's bureaucratic reorganization of the workplace diminished the place and power of skilled workers. It signed onto the open shop with a vengeance and created virtually impermeable boundaries between racialized segments of its labor force. The company pursued different paths to the open shop at its car works (manufacturing) and repair shops. Wartime labor shortages produced new accommodations applied unevenly across Pullman's divisions. Hirsch is consistently attentive to the impact of different local labor markets and racial climates on the firm's behavior, whether in Wilmington, Delaware, Richmond, California, or Pullman, Illinois. Black workers and women entered the lower-wage car works and the sleeping car service earlier and in larger numbers than in the predominantly white and more highly skilled repair shops. Government takeover of some but not all Pullman divisions during World War I created a newly

favorable climate for unionization among porters and produced a more robust, if deeply racist, system federation.

Hirsch details a subsequent dramatic shift in corporate policy after the defeat of the 1922 shopmen's strike, whereby company officials used race to create a barrier to revived unionization. Departing from the practices of the railroad companies, Pullman recruited large numbers of African-American men into its car and repair shops and created opportunities for them to move into more skilled positions. The racist legacy of American Federation of Labor (AFL) affiliated-unions attracted these new hires to the company's more racially accommodationist Employee Representation Plan (ERP). If the company strategically broke down some racial barriers, although not those dividing (white) conductors from (black) porters, it maintained a rigid gendered division of labor, which the war only temporarily undermined. These post-strike changes, then, set the stage for a new, more stable nonunion era at Pullman that would last virtually to the eve of World War II. Only the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP), drawing on new bonds of solidarity among African-American workers, broke through the company's resistance to collective bargaining in the 1930s. Eventually, the Pullman Company recognized the unions of its manufacturing and repair workers under the organizing pressure of the United Steel Workers of America-Congress of Industrial Organizations, the rejuvenated AFL shop crafts, and the wartime state. The stable labor relations of the post-World War II period shattered with declining rail transportation as deindustrialization ushered out "the last Pullman workers" and closed the door on "a century of labor struggle."

Such a summary captures only a portion of this book's impressive scope. By deploying race and gender with analytical force, Hirsch has constructed a counter-narrative that expands but also challenges at key points the master narrative of twentieth-century labor relations. This densely argued and richly documented study demands much of the reader, but it also yields substantial rewards that prod us to rethink what once seemed a familiar story.

SHELTON STROMQUIST  
University of Iowa

AN INJURY TO ONE. Directed by Travis Wilkerson. 2002; color and black and white; 53 minutes. Distributed by First Run/Icarus Films.

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common." So begins the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) preamble and this film that portrays the background and aftermath of the 1917 lynching of IWW organizer Frank Little in Butte, Montana. Unknown to many outside Butte, labor and progressive activists in the northern Rockies have long trekked to Little's Butte gravesite to photograph or rub an imprint of his tombstone inscription: "Frank Little 1879-1917: Slain by Capitalist Interests for

Organizing and Inspiring his Fellow Men." Details about Little's life and murder are sketchy, but *An Injury to One* explicitly links the Anaconda Copper Mining Company to subsequent labor repression, political control, and environmental devastation.

Filmmaker Travis Wilkerson invokes Dashiell Hammett's classic *Red Harvest* (1927), which is based on Hammett's experiences as a Pinkerton operative in Butte, to assume the dispassionate voice of a fictional detective to tell this crime story. However, the detached narrator communicates the film's clear point of view, which celebrates working-class struggles and condemns the corporate-political-media axis that crushed miners' dreams. Although monotonous by the end of the hour, this narrative style is a refreshing departure from the artificially "objective" talking heads that dominate the documentary form.

The film includes details familiar to labor historians and offers no new interpretations, following closely Arnon Gutfeld's 1979 account of the early twentieth-century labor struggles and Little's death, *Montana's Agony: Years of War and Hysteria, 1917-1921*. The Western Federation of Miners formed in Butte in 1893 and for the next decade helped make the city the "Gibraltar of Unionism." But as the Anaconda Company consolidated operations and became "king" of copper, it tightened its grip on the workforce, stepped up production, and cut wages. The radical IWW found fertile ground for its direct action philosophy and, shortly after the tragic 1917 Speculator Mine fire that killed 164 miners, sent tireless organizer Little to Butte to help striking miners. Little delivered several fiery speeches, labeled "treasonable tirade" by the press, to audiences of 6,000 and more. One night, six men abducted "the agitator" from his boarding house bedside, dragged him behind their car, beat him, and hung him from a railroad bridge with the note, "Others take notice, 3'x7'x7," the dimensions of a Montana territorial-era grave. The killers were never identified or prosecuted, and as thousands of miners quietly protested, the company and state used the opportunity to pass anti-secession laws and persecute, deport, and jail Wobblies.

Wilkerson connects capital's suppression of ideas and dissent from the World War I era to 1950s McCarthyism (including Hammett's own imprisonment in 1951) to the late twentieth-century toxic legacy of resource extraction. Butte hangs on, but it is scarred by abandoned mining shafts, tailings, and the giant "Lake Berkeley," the open-pit mine that once gobbled neighborhoods and is now quickly filling with the mining equivalent of battery acid. Here in 1995 a flock of Canada geese landed and died, pointing the way, the filmmaker suggests, to "the scene of a crime."

Influenced by political Latin American cinema, Wilkerson uses graphics and images like evidence in a detective's slide-show presentation. Creative juxtaposition of historic headlines, black and white and color images of contemporary Butte, and haunting music by William Oldham (who played the young preacher in

John Sayles's film *Matewan*) and others often make this presentation effective. For example, as the narrator describes labor conflict and the camera pans a 1917 bird's-eye view of Butte, a digital counter moves from zero to the number 10,000, indicating the number of miners who have died on the job in Butte. However, these artistic devices sometimes obscure the historical content and may make the film less accessible to students and the general public.

Time devoted to stylistic effect might have been better spent on fleshing out the historical connections that Wilkerson desires to make. How did the events of 1917 influence later labor activity in Montana? The chronology from Wobbly repression to twenty-first-century toxic wasteland is not so fixed as the film implies. Workers in the 1930s revived militant unionism, and for several decades the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers heroically struggled to improve the lives of Montana working families while fighting Anaconda Company dominance and red-scare attacks. In interviews Wilkerson hints at how the miners he knew as a teenager living in Butte expressed a solid working-class consciousness and critique of company history. Missing from the film are the perspectives and voices of these miners, and other town residents, who might illuminate the living legacy of Little. In Wilkerson's treatment, Butte is entirely male and bleak, and Little remains a shadowy, tragic figure from the distant past.

LAURIE MERCIER  
Washington State University,  
Vancouver

DAVID FARBER. *Sloan Rules: Alfred P. Sloan and the Triumph of General Motors*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 292. \$27.50.

General Motors (GM) has long been considered the exemplar of the modern corporation. For much of the twentieth century, it was the nation's and the world's largest corporation. Alfred P. Sloan, the subject of this biography, is credited with being the architect of GM's modern form after the company's founder William Durant was forced out in 1920. Long considered the quintessential organization man, Sloan ruled GM for decades, stepping down as chair of the board in 1956. Despite the significance of GM and Sloan's pivotal role in American corporate history, no biography of him exists. David Farber attempts to fill this gap, a task made almost impossible by the fact that Sloan was an exceedingly private person who left no personal papers or letters; at his request, his corporate papers were destroyed when he died in 1966.

As a result, Farber warns readers that his work is not a traditional biography; instead, he seeks to explore Sloan's vision of the United States. As Farber notes, to understand contemporary American society and consumer capitalism, one must confront Sloan. On this score Farber is absolutely right. Because of the absence of documents, Farber is often forced to suggest

what Sloan "probably" thought. This difficult task is made even more difficult by the scale of GM's activities and the magnitude of its impact on American society.

In a relatively short work (249 pages of text) Farber offers an account of Sloan's education at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (class of 1895) and his entry to the automobile industry. Farber reviews Sloan's reorganization of GM in 1921, a pivotal moment in the development of the modern corporation, and his vehement opposition to unionization. The best chapters cover Sloan's opposition to FDR and the New Deal and his disinterest in World War II; he not only choose to have little to do with helping industry mobilize for war but could not understand why auto executives would want to serve in Washington to help the war effort. Sloan became involved with racist and antisemitic organizations to further his cause and, even in May 1941, appears to have been "morally indifferent to the spread of Nazism." These parts of the book are gripping.

However, since Farber sets out to assess Sloan's vision for the nation, more is required. While Farber documents the reactionary nature of Sloan's politics, much more is needed to explore Sloan's vision of the automobile industry and the nation, which included a reorganization the nation's transportation system and cities to spur auto dependence.

A number of key issues are left untouched or too quickly breezed over. For example, Farber does not explore fully the role GM played while Sloan was at the helm in developing the car culture. Little is said about car design and styling and almost nothing about installment financing. He does not examine GM's role in advocating for an interstate highway system. In fact, Farber does not mention the 1939 World's Fair, where GM's exhibit—the most popular at the fair—presented a model of the future based on suburbs and highways. Nothing is said about GM's role dismantling many of the nation's trolley systems.

Farber offers little on the history of government antitrust cases during the Sloan years or on how annual style changes contributed to industry concentration, something documented by the Federal Trade Commission in 1939. Readers do not receive a full understanding of just how big a company GM was under Sloan, with numerous ventures in addition to automaking. In the mid 1950s, GM was the world's largest producer of cars, trucks, buses, and locomotives. It had the largest advertising budget in the nation and also produced household items such as refrigerators, ranges, washers, and freezers.

Other scholars have provided more sophisticated accounts of GM's marketing, sales organizational evolution, and callous disregard for vehicle safety. Since GM was a corporate leader in each of these areas, more substantial treatment is needed. In the end, Farber would have to have written a very different



book, and it would have amounted to a full-scale history of GM and its impact on American society.

STAN LUGER

*University of Northern Colorado*

JERROLD HIRSCH. *Portrait of America: A Cultural History of the Federal Writers' Project*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 293. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

The aim of this study is to consider the Federal Writers' Project (FWP), a part of the 1930s Works Progress Administration, as an intellectual and cultural enterprise: "National FWP officials . . . aimed to redefine American national identity and culture by embracing the country's diversity" (p. 1). In part one, Jerrold Hirsch defines the romantic nationalism and cultural pluralism of major FWP figures, especially director Henry Alsberg and editors B. A. Botkin, Sterling Brown, and Morton Royse. He then examines the American Guides Series, the project's best-known publications, in light of the staff's goals, Congress's intention to provide jobs, and the state offices, where few shared the national office's pluralism or innovative approach to history and folklore. Alsberg and his staff believed that guidebooks would balance these differences, enabling the main office to provide authentic local materials for revitalizing American arts and letters and unifying Americans in a cosmopolitan appreciation of their differences without requiring a high level of research or writing skills. State governments, publishing houses, and tourist industry trade organizations endorsed the project, but Congressional support was always uncertain, and state writers often did not deliver the material the national office wanted. Brown, for example, had the unenviable task of policing the racism of the mostly white local writers. The guidebook form also imposed literary and historical limits. The guidebook essays amounted to "a romantic nationalist social history of American life and art" (p. 64), neither critical nor simply nostalgic but an effort to construct a usable past in hard times. The automobile tours expressed a "picturesque pluralism" (p. 82) that elided the overt nativism of the 1920s, emphasized the ties between ethnic communities and the places they lived, and focused on culture to the exclusion of politics.

In part two, Hirsch turns to the FWP's other research projects: studies of the lives of ordinary Americans, especially blacks and ethnic minorities, through life histories and folklore collecting. Methodologically and historiographically innovative, the publications based on these research projects were few and more controversial than the guides. The FWP's oral histories of ordinary Americans contrasted strongly with the now largely forgotten, elite-oriented oral history then emerging at Columbia University. Botkin conceived of folklore as a dynamic cultural resource rather than dying pre-industrial cultural practices, the usual approach exemplified by John Lomax. Not surprisingly,

these FWP projects met with strong resistance. Academic historians remained indifferent and still have not much used the project's archived material, except for the oral histories of former slaves. State staff resisted approaches that included black Americans and ethnic minorities or emphasized cultural fluidity. In 1938, Martin Dies hauled Alsberg in front of his House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) to accuse the project of being unpatriotic. Dies's hostility and war preparations doomed the FWP, which became the smaller and less ambitious Writer's Program in 1939.

Hirsch's portrait of the cultural politics of the FWP national staff is a welcome complement to existing works of administrative history and literary criticism. But the author provides the elements of a much more ambitious framing of his topic in part two, where he asks what the intellectual, social, and political reasons are for the neglect of the FWP collections and how and why historians should use them. Centering the study on these questions would make it relevant to scholars interested in oral history, folklore, and historiography, as well as those who focus on the New Deal and its legacies. The focus on southern state offices portrays white southerners as the chief opponents of a cosmopolitan national project, but Hirsch offers little evidence from other regions. The author's insight that the national office wanted local content from a cosmopolitan perspective suggests a critique of New Deal liberal cosmopolitanism that need not fall into a defense of parochialism. Some attention to the left-wing romantic nationalism of the Popular Front would balance the treatment of Dies and HUAC. Hirsch's analysis of the American Guide Series rests on a few anthropological and sociological studies of tourism, overlooking pertinent historical works such as John Sears's *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century* (1989) and Marguerite S. Shaffer's *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940* (2001). Finally, one could wish to be shown more, through quotations from FWP files and publications, and told less.

CATHERINE COCKS

*School of American Research*

MARTHA SCHMOYER LOMONACO. *Summer Stock! An American Theatrical Phenomenon*. Foreword by MARIAN SELDES. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2004. Pp. xxi, 293. \$27.95.

American summer stock theater evolved in the 1920s and 1930s in the Northeast and thrived and spread until the 1960s, when it began a steady decline. In its heyday it employed more workers than legitimate theater through all the rest of the year and brought live theater to a population who seldom saw it. Yet its middle-brow reputation has not encouraged previous academic study. This book by Martha Schmoyer LoMonaco is the first history of summer stock.

The book is based upon a decade of research



including dozens of interviews with participants as well as many archives, by a scholar knowledgeable about theater and familiar with its personnel and practices. It discusses summer stock across the nation, choosing breadth over depth of treatment, a survey rather than a case-study approach. LoMonaco presents the results in explanatory introductions to chapters followed by vignettes of specific theaters that illustrate the points of the chapters.

LoMonaco locates the origins of summer stock in the growth of the middle-class tradition of vacations in the mountains or at the beaches. This afforded a ready market for evening entertainment in the woods. The demand attracted ventures into summer theater in the country and sustained their success, often as long as the resort area itself thrived. Accompanying this trend was the Little Theater movement, which spawned other theaters in similar rural resort locales. The most famous among these was the Provincetown Players.

Two things made it possible to combine arts with commerce: owners with an interest in drama who were satisfied with simply making ends meet to keep their theater open, and the very low costs of production compared to Broadway. The people who founded and led summer stock companies were, by and large, young men of wealth, often from Ivy League schools, who had trained in drama at college.

LoMonaco claims that unionization of actors triggered a series of changes in the mid to late 1930s, requiring higher salaries and more profitable venues, making it difficult to sustain less commercial, more artistic and adventuresome companies. This encouraged productions built around visiting star performers to attract larger audiences and to balance budgets. As a result, summer stock became less a place for novices to practice and more a paid holiday for Broadway stars. Some stars even began to organize their own productions, with a director and a few core actors who would tour summer theaters. LoMonaco does a good job of relating these changes in summer stock to the larger theater history of the United States.

A subsequent solution to cost problems was to stage musicals, which were very popular and profitable in the 1950s but required larger venues. The solution was theater in a circus tent instead of the traditional converted barn. The stage was surrounded by the audience on all sides, and scenery was dispensed with.

The book concludes with a glimpse at summer theater in the 1960s, by which time the star system and union wages had increased expenses, and television and the decline of weeklong vacations in regional summer resorts shrank audiences, driving theaters to seek new ways to keep their doors open. Some went nonprofit and sought subsidies; others dismantled their stock companies and rented to amateurs or touring combinations. Yet others found a special niche market. But summer stock would no longer be a significant part of American theater and drama.

This is a book of stories about the people who made summer stock. Much of it is told in personal, biograph-

ical terms, depicting the intimate connection between the personalities of leaders and the success of their companies. It draws the reader in, especially if one recognizes a place one has visited. And LoMonaco does a fine job of recounting and explaining the rise and fall of summer stock. Unfortunately the story is not placed in the larger context of recreation and leisure, of middle-class culture, and of America in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s. This would have added significantly to its value.

RICHARD BUTSCH  
Rider University

STEPHANIE A. CARPENTER. *On the Farm Front: The Women's Land Army in World War II*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 214. \$40.00.

The story of Rosie the Riveter is a familiar one with its emphasis on industrial work for women previously reserved for men only. During World War II, millions of women entered well-paying factory jobs to churn out military equipment at a record pace in order to win the war. In the process, they broke long-standing gender barriers confining women to seasonal and unskilled blue-collar work that paid far less than the jobs to which they now had access. Learning how to rivet, weld, and handle complex technology in defense training classes, women flocked to war production urban areas to fatten their paychecks and do their bit to bring American soldiers home. The image of these women in the media was an egalitarian one, but it conveyed the ultimately misleading message that most of them were middle class and eager to become full-time homemakers once peace was declared. In fact, most were working-class women who had been in the labor force before Pearl Harbor, and eighty percent of them wanted to keep their war jobs.

It has taken decades for this story to be told with any kind of historical accuracy, and most of the attention to women in World War II has concerned the urban industrial worker. Stephanie A. Carpenter has now written a book on gender changes on the rural front in her thorough description of the Women's Land Army (WLA), formed in 1943 as part of the Emergency Farm Labor Program. This program was designed to provide labor power for the nation's farms where it was needed and to make up for profound labor shortages caused by military recruitment and migration to urban centers. The WLA was created to encourage the employment of women over the age of eighteen, and three million ultimately served in it within a variety of farm operations. Carpenter makes the case that this rural story of gender change has been ignored for too long and that women broke barriers in this arena just as they did in the industrial sector. In both instances, she argues, the changes permanently altered stereotypes of women that had limited their ability to earn a living.

Carpenter provides a nice historical context for the WLA by beginning her study with thumbnail sketches

of the Women's Land Army of America in World War I, New Deal work programs of the 1930s, and state or private labor initiatives of the early 1940s. All paved the way for recruiting women into farm labor during World War II on a national level. She also reminds us of women's traditional role on the family farm as primarily that of food raiser and cook, with the heavy field equipment left to men. The WLA challenged that division of labor, although Carpenter points out that the Great Plains and the South were greatly resistant to such gender changes and largely refused to make them.

The way that race affected employment of women during the war in crop and dairy production was profound according to the study, as white women refused to accept African Americans in the WLA in the South (although black women had been used in the fields since slavery) and southern farmers largely refused to hire white women for this work. Similarly in the West and Great Plains, Mexicans were primarily used as migrant laborers, and there was greater resistance to incorporating white women into harvesting operations. Although Carpenter covers race in her discussion and includes a photo of black women, I longed for more extensive coverage of how the war affected employment of nonwhite women on farms. I suspect that this is where the dominant story is for Mexican-American and Native American women during the war, while agriculture continued to be a prime source of employment for black women even though many of them left such work for better paying industrial jobs in urban centers. No one has yet told this story in the detail it deserves. I would have felt better about how race is handled in this book had chapters been devoted to such women. Instead, they are largely invisible within a text that suggests how central race was to employment of women on farms.

Another area that could have been explored in greater depth is the ideological place of rural women in American culture and how World War II affected this picture. Carpenter has exhaustively researched the WLA and its various activities, and her book should serve as the starting point for anyone interested in gender issues on the wartime farm front. Perhaps another book is waiting in the wings for Carpenter or some other historian who will tell us how the white farm woman has evolved in American culture from being an icon of the pioneer, an emblem of Manifest Destiny, to a symbol of sexual innocence and wholesomeness. How did the WLA intersect with this iconography, and what was the postwar image that emerged? In contrast, how have nonwhite women on the frontier and on the family farm been portrayed? Gendered racialized attitudes toward farm work and rural life are deeply embedded in American mythology, and a study of the WLA lends itself to highlighting those attitudes. The legacy of Rosie the Riveter is that women can and should do all kinds of work. Although Carpenter makes a good case that the WLA left a parallel legacy for the farm, the disappearance of

the family farm and continued mechanization of farm labor has made that legacy shrink in importance. The more important story, in my mind, is the way agricultural practices in World War II changed our conception of women in general and rural women in particular, white and nonwhite.

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FRANKLIN ODO. *No Sword to Bury: Japanese Americans in Hawai'i During World War II*. (Asian American History and Culture.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2004. Pp. 328. \$19.95.

Seldom has a work drawn from military history provided such a rich assortment of provocative reflections on ethnic group identity, racism, and social forces. Franklin Odo tells the story of the Varsity Victory Volunteers (VVV), a group of Nisei (largely college students) from Hawaii joined the Hawaiian Territorial Guard in the wake of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Discharged on racial grounds by mistrustful military and government authorities, these Nisei then volunteered to support the war effort as manual laborers breaking rocks and digging ditches. Their stalwart service so impressed Army commanders that they approved the organization of a volunteer all-Nisei combat team, in which the VVV men enlisted. This team ultimately became part of the famous 442nd Regimental Combat Team.

Although the VVV has long been celebrated in Japanese-American communities, notably as a springboard for the creation of Nisei soldiers, and has been commemorated in reunions and stories, Odo diligently fleshes out its largely unknown history, creatively combining archival research with oral history to forge a new and expanded view not just of the VVV but of the formative prewar history of Hawaiian Nisei.

Traditionally, histories of the wartime Hawaiian experience have emphasized the unfailing patriotism of the Nisei soldiers and stressed their "double victory" over fascism abroad and bigotry at home. During the postwar years, Nisei veterans (notably Daniel Inouye) succeeded in attaining positions of political power, and in the process they democratized Hawaii. To his credit, Odo is not content simply to reiterate this triumphalist (and assimilationist) tale. Rather, building on work by scholars such as Eileen Tamura and Gary Okihiro, he uses the story of the VVV to critique the ways in which the wartime Japanese-American experience has been absorbed into a "model minority" myth, "informed by a persistent justification of the status quo" (p. 8). According to this myth, the wartime heroism of Japanese Americans was based primarily on Japanese cultural attributes such as hard work and respect for education, which enabled them to adjust successfully to mainstream society and to achieve postwar success—thus serving to reinforce unrealistic and conservative notions that American life

is essentially egalitarian and open. Odo rejects such "facile stereotyping" (p. 268). First, drawing on his original training as a historian of Asia, Odo convincingly refutes popular notions of Japanese culture as unalterably hierarchical and harmonious. Similarly, he uses the life histories of his interviewees to skewer the stereotype that education in itself (rather than as a means to advancement) was a cultural value of Japanese immigrants, still less a decisive factor in Nisei advancement. He concludes on the basis of his evidence that while some successful Nisei were fine students, many were most definitely not. Finally, he points out that postwar Nisei success occurred in the context of a rapidly expanding Hawaiian economy, altered by the arrival of transnational corporations, an enlarged military presence, and labor union activism. Their sterling patriotism notwithstanding, the Nisei would have had great difficulty in cracking the islands' prewar plantation economy and tight racial hierarchy had it survived the war.

Odo's work is not without flaws. Although he states that the VVV formed part of a World War II experience that was the "incubation period" (p. 5) for the "model minority" myth, he does not present evidence to tie the VVV story directly into the construction of that mythic narrative. There is thus something of a disjuncture between the history he recounts and the conclusions, however scintillating, that he draws from it. Also, Odo does not fully discuss the contributions of the various non-Japanese Americans who were associated with the VVV. (A fuller account of Noelle Smith, an African-American high school football coach, and his interactions with the Nisei would have been especially welcome.) Odo's account also suffers from the unreliability of its oral history sources. For example, although Shigeo Yoshida recalled an important meeting in Honolulu in 1942 with Eleanor Roosevelt (p. 121), in fact Mrs. Roosevelt did not visit Hawaii that year. Nevertheless, even the shortcomings of Odo's work testify to the scope of his ambition, and must be placed alongside his notable success in stimulating hard thinking about the history of Japanese Americans and of American society.

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EDUARDO OBREGÓN PAGÁN. *Murder at the Sleepy Lagoon: Zoot Suits, Race, and Riot in Wartime L.A.*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 313. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

Eduardo Obregón Pagán has written a powerful study of ethnic working-class youth culture during the 1940s. Using a celebrated murder trial in Los Angeles in 1942—the murder at Sleepy Lagoon—and the zoot suit riots of 1943, Pagán explores the interaction of Mexican-American youths with the larger Anglo-American culture. Following the trends in many areas of what might be previously called the history of the

oppressed, Pagán strives to avoid portraying the Mexican Americans as victims. Instead he wants us to view them as agents who molded their own popular culture out of elements of their own choosing, which included jazz and the zoot suit. Some of these Mexican Americans also adhered to a violent code of ethics and rejected a personal commitment to World War II. As Pagán explains, he finds the cause of the trial and riot in a "multivalent theory that looks at competing social tensions deriving from demographic pressure, city planning, racism, segregation, and an incipient street-level insurgency" against what Tomás Almaguer called "the master narrative of white supremacy" (p. 10).

Pagán is not always successful in refraining from "victimology." And who can blame him? In both the Sleepy Lagoon murder trial and the zoot suit riots Mexican-American youths confronted a wall of racism and oppression. The trial resulted from a late night fight between a group of Mexican-American youths from 38th Street and other Mexican Americans living near the Sleepy Lagoon. After the fight, one Sleepy Lagoon Mexican American was found dead. Pagán speculates that he was mugged by two of his own companions that night. The Los Angeles police charged a host of 38th Street youths with the murder. The press coverage and trial were blatantly biased against the defendants. The judge even refused to allow the young men on trial to wash, cut their hair, or change their clothes since it would alter their appearance and make them look respectable instead of like the gang members (Pagán insists that they did not belong to a gang) that the judge believed they were. Of course they were convicted. The zoot suit riot comprised a series of attacks by military personnel in Los Angeles on mainly Mexican-American youths for wearing the zoot suit—a flamboyant costume with baggy pants, huge jacket, and ostentatious hat. It is almost impossible for Pagán to write about these incidents without making the Mexican Americans appear as victims. The fact that he also places the trial and riots within the larger context of World War II racism, including discussion of the internment of Japanese Americans, makes the "victimology" all the more apparent.

The strength of the book, however, is that Pagán manages to portray his Mexican-American youths as both victims and actors. The Mexican Americans in Los Angeles have agency because they mold their own culture, adapting the zoot suit to their own tastes, listening to jazz, and even combing their hair a particular way. This agency can be most dramatically seen in the months leading up to the zoot suit riots, when Mexican Americans were harassing the sailors and soldiers who walked their streets. Pagán is aware that the reports of these civilian-military confrontations are one sided: they come only from the white service men. However, they indicate that the Mexican Americans repeatedly cursed, shoved, insulted, and belittled white young men in American uniforms. This hostility resulted from the contested nature of public space in Los



Angeles and finally erupted in the zoot suit riots, in which thousands of white service men cruised the streets to beat up and strip the zoot suits from Mexican Americans and other youths.

Although the introduction of the book suffers from a bit too much academic language, most of the book is clearly and compellingly written. Pagán does a wonderful job of making the 1940s come alive, while providing the kind of research base that we would expect from any good social history. The book deserves a wide readership, not just among students in Chicano history but among anyone interested in understanding the cultural roots of ethnic conflict in mid-twentieth-century America.

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CAMPBELL CRAIG. *Glimmer of a New Leviathan: Total War in the Realism of Niebuhr, Morgenthau, and Waltz*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2003. Pp. xx, 191. \$34.50.

Campbell Craig calls his book "an historical account of Realist theoretical analysis and the problem of nuclear war, not a new work of theory" (p. xii). He sells himself short. If not exactly a novel contribution to international relations theory, this book is more than a mere history. Craig has written previously on nuclear war as conceived by policy makers (*Destroying the Village: Eisenhower and Thermonuclear War* [1998]); now he deals with nuclear war as imagined by intellectuals. He chooses three for close study: Reinhold Niebuhr, Hans Morgenthau, and Kenneth Waltz. "My criterion was, above all, influence," Craig says (p. xiv). He will not get much argument regarding Niebuhr, the Protestant theologian who became the conscience of American Cold War liberalism, or Morgenthau, the University of Chicago political scientist who made realism respectable in the academy. Waltz is a closer call, having no such heft as Niebuhr or Morgenthau as a public intellectual. Yet if Craig has to choose three representatives of postwar realism (he candidly acknowledges as his model Richard Hofstadter's study of the three Progressive historians Frederick Jackson Turner, Charles A. Beard, and Vernon L. Parrington), he could do worse than Waltz.

The core assertion of realist theory is that conflict is inherent in relations among states. This was an unwelcome message to United Nations enthusiasts and other idealists who hoped the defeat of fascism during World War II would usher in an age of peace and harmony. But it became a problem for the realists themselves when the nuclear revolution of the Cold War made future conflicts, which realist theory promised, potentially suicidal. Craig's story centers on the struggle of his three protagonists to come to terms with this theoretical, moral, and existential dilemma.

Niebuhr had the easiest time, not because he was smarter than the other two but because, first, he was not really a theorist and so did not prize consistency

the way Morgenthau and Waltz did, and, second, when the contradictions of nuclear realism became insupportable, he dumped the problem on God. "May the Lord have mercy on our souls," he said (p. 88). Morgenthau enjoyed no such supernatural backstop. A Jewish refugee from Adolf Hitler's Germany, Morgenthau arrived at realism from personal experience, and on the foundation of that experience he erected a theoretical superstructure that elevated the "national interest" above all else. But nuclear weapons forced a reconsideration, for it was difficult to discern what national interest might survive a nuclear holocaust. He never did square the circle. Waltz was of a younger generation, one that came of age with nuclear weapons. In part because the world had survived a decade of nuclear standoff, he initially downplayed their importance. He contended that the obligation of theorists was to theory rather than policy; the theorists' task was to analyze the nuclear dilemma, if dilemma it was, not resolve it. Yet Waltz, too, eventually felt the compulsions of relevance. His solution was as unsatisfactory, in terms of realist theory, as theirs.

Craig's treatment of these thinkers is subtle, insightful, and revealing. A more accessible introduction to realist thought would be hard to imagine. Nor does he content himself with exposition. He argues with his trio, pointing out their internal inconsistencies and their elision of troublesome facts. If his contributions do not add up to a new work of theory, they certainly facilitate an understanding of the old stuff.

Yet though Craig's account is more than a history, it is also, at times, less than a history. He disavows any intent to write biographies of his subjects, preferring to focus on their ideas. This is fair enough. But as he himself admits—indeed, he makes it a hinge of his story—their ideas were strongly affected by their desire for relevance, to the point that the desire sometimes led them theoretically astray. We see the results of this in their writings, but it would be instructive to know how the journey looked to them. And since relevance was an issue to them, and is an issue to Craig, it would be worthwhile to learn more about it. Did their writings change any minds that mattered?

These are not faults of Craig so much as challenges to intellectual history in general. It is a measure of his success in this fine book that he inspires readers to demand more.

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ALICE L. GEORGE. *Awaiting Armageddon: How Americans Faced the Cuban Missile Crisis*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xxiii, 238. \$29.95.

Every historian must struggle with the basic problem of whether to organize historical materials chronologically or thematically. But surely, an event that lasts for only thirteen days—such as the Cuban missile crisis—



calls for a chronological approach, and here we see the first problem with Alice L. George's book. George has chosen a thematic organization, and by doing so squanders the drama surrounding the discovery of the missiles, the buildup in tensions and the nerve-racking climax that makes the Cuban missile crisis such a compelling story. Thus, over and over again, in chapter after chapter, the missiles are discovered, the quarantine declared, the ships boarded, the U-2 spy plane shot down, and the missiles withdrawn. George wastes no time in dissipating whatever dramatic suspense that might lay ahead by summing up the whole Cuban missile crisis in ten and a half pages in a chapter that appears before the introduction. It is not that the summation of this story is dull or the writing poor. The story is gripping and the writing excellent, but the reader now gloomily understands that the rest of the book will by necessity be elaboration and repetition.

It is a shame that George imposed this form of organization on her materials because she is a gifted writer and an tireless researcher. She has mined government archives and reports, private papers, newspapers, magazines, as well as the secondary literature to give the reader an insider's view of developments. George also finds the telling anecdote. For instance, on the day the Soviets promised to defy the U.S. quarantine, visitors to the White House included "six employees of the Central Intelligence Agency, six military officers, and nineteen nursery school classmates of four-year-old Caroline Kennedy" (pp. xiv-xv). On the worst day of the crisis, President Kennedy "watched *Roman Holiday*, a film starring Audrey Hepburn and Gregory Peck that chronicled a European princess's attempts to enjoy a break from the weight of official duties" (p. xxi).

But while the research and writing are both admirable, the analysis tends toward the facile and inept. Portrayals of the Soviet Union as a sort of social club that was unfairly vilified by rabid anticommunist rhetoric is a problem throughout. For instance, George criticizes *Senior Scholastic* for stating that "Communism is a world-wide threat—not just a threat to the Western hemisphere" (p. 143), but unless one is totally naïve about the activities of the Soviet Union during the Cold War, it is hard to see what is objectionable in this sentence. Even worse than the vicious stereotyping of communists as "threats," George tells us, is that some people "referred to Communists as 'Reds,' a dehumanizing term" (p. 140)—as dehumanizing, perhaps, as the Soviet gulag.

George also relies on historiographical clichés that are not only hackneyed but often wildly inappropriate. There are references to Richard Slotkin's deeply flawed *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (1992), but later the gunfighter analogy is abandoned in favor of John F. Kennedy approaching the crisis "as a matador armed only with a cape and a sword" (p. 165). Gender theory is also deployed as a key to the Kennedy mindset. We

are told that "JFK embraced the role of masculine risk-taker" (p. 109) and, in a nod to Robert D. Dean, "Kennedy identified the strength of male bodies with the strength of the state, despite his own weakened, sickly condition" (p. 120). Edward Said's poor, tired Other is summoned forth to labor in the service of the Cold War, and in a section that supposedly explains America's rejection of civil defense, Said is combined with John Winthrop in a wild, unintentionally comic sentence: "Seventeenth-century Puritans settled in New England hoping to live in isolation from alien forces in a purified, 'City on the Hill,' but 'the other' lurked in the woods just outside their settlements" (p. 7). Meanwhile, discussions of diplomatic history that would have gone a long way to explain American distress at missiles being placed in Cuba—Monroe Doctrine, anyone?—are in short supply.

George sneers at portrayals of Kennedy's "steely courage and righteousness in accounts by Robert Kennedy and Kennedy loyalists, such as Theodore C. Sorenson and Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr." (p. 169), but they have all produced more lucid accounts of the Cuban missile crisis than George. Robert Kennedy's *Thirteen Days* (1968), with its terse prose and skillful development of the story line, is still the standard by which all other descriptions of these events must be judged. George also makes some statements that are flat-out untrue. She claims, for instance, that "the Cuban Missile Crisis represented the first time many Americans truly faced the nation's susceptibility to devastating nuclear attack" (p. 6), when in fact the Berlin crisis of the previous year had produced an intense public debate on exactly that subject. Referring to the prospects of surviving a nuclear war, George states that "if Americans really had faced how slim their chances were, they probably would have become less supportive of the Cold War brinkmanship and arms buildup embraced by both major political parties" (p. 28). But Americans *were* well aware of their slim chances of surviving a nuclear war, and supported an arms buildup anyway as a necessary Cold War measure. George's own data also show an overwhelming majority supporting Kennedy's tough stance against the Soviets; only four percent were against it (p. 117). George blithely describes this as "a time when the middle-class home had become a sanctuary from the evil outside world" (p. 69), without any supporting evidence (here, at least a mention of Elaine Tyler May's work would seem to be in order), and includes a number of digressions that contribute little to the subject. Chapter six, for instance, a discourse on the impact of the Cold War on children, has only a tangential relevance, and George's discussion of the role of the press is important but too long.

When George sticks to assembling and presenting the facts, the results are mostly good. Unfortunately, George's genuine talents as a writer and researcher are overshadowed by poor organization and a problematic

analysis. The Cuban missile crisis deserves better, as do readers of Cold War history.

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E. MELANIE DUPUIS. *Nature's Perfect Food: How Milk Became America's Drink*. New York: New York University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 310. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$17.95.

For almost two hundred years, Americans were told that fresh milk was "the perfect food," providing humans with nutrients that are essential in every diet. Now, the tables have turned. Milk stands accused of being indigestible by much of the world's population and a prime source of dreaded cholesterol for those who can stomach it. The cows that produce it are said to be crowded together and fed dangerous antibiotics and growth hormones. Their prodigious farting is said to release enormous amounts of methane gas that depletes the earth's ozone layer. So much for the days of benign Elsie and "contented cows" grazing in the meadows.

In this book, E. Melanie DuPuis, a sociologist, shows how this flawed beverage achieved its exalted status. She points out that, for most of human history, fresh cow's milk was rarely consumed by humans, even as infant food. The growth of American cities in the nineteenth century brought a decline in breastfeeding, and fresh milk from nearby farms became an alternative to wet-nursing, particularly for the better off. To DuPuis's apparent surprise, this "did not begin with a food industry media blitz" (p. 63). It originated with the religious reformers of the 1840s (whom she wrongly calls "pietists") and particularly Robert Hartley, the first director of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. They extolled fresh milk from farms to replace the cheap "swill milk" produced by cows fed on the byproducts of urban breweries. DuPuis seems equally surprised that the late nineteenth-century drive for "certified" and pasteurized milk, which ultimately benefited large-scale milk producers, was not led by the producers but by well-intentioned reformers such as Macy's owner Nathan Straus, intent on reducing the era's appalling rates of infant mortality. The result was a series of regulations that embodied what she calls the "industrial bargain," an alliance among consumer interests, mass-production dairy companies, and industrial farmers providing clean, affordable milk for the cities.

During the 1920s, the producers' promotional efforts helped milk become regarded as essential for adults as well as children, and when the Depression hit, consumer groups fought hard to keep its price low. This conflicted with the interests of hard-pressed farmers, who resorted to strikes and occasional violence to try to maintain prices. In the ensuing web of regulations and price controls, the small farmers with cows grazing on land, such as hillsides, that was

regarded as "marginal" were left out of the loop and were forced to sell their milk cheaply for cheese. The fresh milk industry was thus increasingly dominated by large industrial farms and giant dairy companies. This was particularly true in New York, the main subject of this study, where the number of dairy farmers continued to fall steadily after World War II. There, the pressure of labor and consumer groups led to the dominance of what DuPuis calls the "productivist" model, favoring large-scale industrial farms. In the two other major dairying states, Wisconsin and California, labor and consumer groups were weaker, leading to "producerist" policies that provided some protection for smaller farmers.

DuPuis's goal seems to be to point out to critics of the present system that it was not the product of a conspiracy of big businesses but rather of a continuing series of "industrial bargains" between interest groups. There are no such things, she says, as perfect foods or perfect ways of producing them. She says that today's opponents of hormones in milk, as well as the vegans who oppose consuming all dairy foods, subscribe to a "downfall story" that, in seeing nefarious forces behind the rise of industrial milk, is every bit as distorted as the "perfect story." As an example of the difficulties involved in making judgements on the topic, she points out that ninety-five percent of the nation's organic milk, the widely touted alternative to the industrially produced stuff, is produced and marketed by three huge corporations. By contrast, much of the now-reviled industrially produced milk is sold by farmer-owned cooperatives.

DuPuis's central point—that food policies are shaped by political as well as economic factors, and that milk's high status in America is neither the product of its inherent perfection or of a big business conspiracy—is hardly surprising, at least to non-vegan historians. Indeed, with the exception of her long exposition of Hartley's writings, and the detailed explanation of the development of the complex systems regulating milk production and marketing in the twentieth century, there is little in her history that is new. However, DuPuis is not really writing with historians in mind. If anything, she is trying to bring what we have written to the attention of others. Still, one might expect such historical niceties as page numbers on all, and not just some, of the secondary works cited.

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SYLVIE MURRAY. *The Progressive Housewife: Community Activism in Suburban Queens, 1945–1965*. (Politics and Culture in Modern America.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 252. \$35.00.

The sociological picture window on the American lower middle class in the 1950s was not a pretty one, including white-collar alienation, organization men in gray flannel suits, suburban conformity, materialistic

consumerism, Ozzie and Harriet complacency, repressed housewives, and political lethargy. Moreover, in the decades after the 1960s the historical portrait of an activist lower middle class turned even uglier, including antiliberal populism institutionalized in neighborhood racism, demonization of everything foreign in Cold War politics, intolerance toward the human rights agenda of everything smacking of 1960s (self-indulgent) "radicalism." Indeed, in the smears and counter-smears of the 2004 national election campaign, few can seriously claim that these caricatures from the last half century have lost their noxious qualities.

Providing an alternative to these stereotypes, Sylvie Murray's case study of the persistence of New Deal liberalism and faith in participatory democracy in suburban Queens, New York, from 1945 to 1965 is a welcome one. Drawing on manuscript, newspaper, and public record sources, Murray reconstructs and analyzes the extent of successful civic and political community activism on the home turf of Betty Friedan's classic, *The Feminine Mystique* (1963). The progressive housewife is no welcome wagon hostess greeting, meeting, and checking out the neighbors. After 1945, Queens quickly developed as a second settlement suburb for an ethnically and racially diverse population moving from the old neighborhoods in the inner city—a story dramatized in fictional autobiography in Donald Katz, *Home Fires: An Intimate Portrait of One Middle Class Family in Postwar America* (1992). What Murray reconstructs is an idealistic and inclusive middle-class populism, a "suburban radicalism" in the best sense without naïveté and innocence, comparable to Robert D. Johnston's recent argument for *The Radical Middle Class: Populist Democracy and the Question of Capitalism in Progressive Era Portland, Oregon* (2003). Both Murray and Johnston draw significantly on Michael Kazin's *The Populist Persuasion: An American History* (1995).

Recent emigrants to Queens were eagerly seeking to improve family lives by asserting their social and economic rights as citizens from a government assumed to have obligations to the community. Murray's movers were full-time housewives and mothers who chose community activism in a struggle against political bosses and central planners to entitle a neighborhood to quality institutions and a quality environment. Within the legacy of New Deal liberalism, the goal was familiar enough, to upgrade the core institutions in the neighborhood for everyone: housing, schools, transportation, public safety. A defining feature of the middle-class radicals was that they fought not among themselves—white against black, Jew against Christian, lower middle class against upper—but pooled their energies against a common external enemy, city hall and urban bureaucrats. For a relatively well-educated and articulate group making local policy in a rational manner and presenting it objectively with facts, figures, and evidence, an intellectual text had

earlier appeared in John Dewey's *The Public and Its Problems* (1927).

Do the "suburban radicals" sound too good to be true? No, with reservations. First, Murray provides a compelling narrative detailing the formation of suburban Queens, the controversy surrounding housing and property taxes, the school crisis, and the clash with the metropolitan developers and the politicians. She does not gloss over the all too human interests and responses to stressful and quite personal local challenges. However, only additional case studies will demonstrate whether this display of democratic participation was a one-place stand against the dominant contemporary sociological observations, or more widespread. The story's center of gravity could shift, for instance, if more attention than Murray gave is put on religious affiliation, especially in an area with a sizable first and second-generation immigrant population. Twenty percent of the population in Queens was Jewish, and there were prominent religious institutions including a Jewish Center. Will Herberg called religious identity in the period a "brand name." Murray takes for granted important changes occurring within that public identity by merely generalizing in passing that "the left-wing politics with which the New York Jewry has been historically associated migrated as well" (p. 77).

Murray's study contributes to an argument for the suburban radicals that departs from conventional models for citizenship in the twentieth century. The revised model transcends the unrealistic simplification of material life and formation of frugal cooperatives celebrated in an earlier populist producer ethic. It stands apart from the middle-American individualism and "lonely crowd" estrangement assumed by social scientists. It rejects the keeping up with the Joneses's desire for mass consumption as the dominant motive in a middle-class lifestyle. It denies that cookie-cutter conformism reproduced in mass produced suburbs fashioned only passive homeowners. A developer built affordable housing in Levittown, but citizens made social life and services enrich the lives of residents in Queens.

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LAUGHLIN McDONALD. *A Voting Rights Odyssey: Black Enfranchisement in Georgia*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 254. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$20.00.

Laughlin McDonald's book makes a valuable contribution in four areas: the post-civil rights movement in America, southern history, Georgia history, and African-American studies. The author is both a civil rights attorney and the director of the American Civil Liberties Union's Atlanta office, and his perspective on black suffrage in Georgia historically reflects his occupation and affiliation. Much of his source material for the chapters on recent/contemporary history comes



from cases in which his office had some involvement. That fact notwithstanding, it is precisely his personal acquaintance with these sources that gives this work its credibility. As a lawyer rather than a historian or social scientist, McDonald cites many court records and legal documents that the latter do not often consult in their research. In so doing, he builds an impressive case for his unstated thesis that Georgia, despite its progress in race relations in the past thirty years, has not yet arrived as a reconstructed, egalitarian state.

McDonald sets the ambitious goal of telling "the story of the prodigious struggle for equal voting rights [in Georgia] from beginning to end" (p. 6). He only marginally accomplishes that goal. He devotes a mere thirty pages to the black suffrage issue from 1865 to 1945, and he adds nothing new to the common knowledge of that period. It seems he only covers it as an introduction to the eras he really wants to discuss: the civil rights movement and post-civil rights years. A more accurate thesis might thus be "how the Voting Rights Act of 1965 has affected and continues to affect Georgia," because almost half of the book is devoted to that topic. To the author's credit, his treatment of that monumentally important topic is quite informative. Even specialists in the field are likely to find something useful and interesting here, and that fact alone justifies this work's publication.

McDonald begins by correctly stating that "Georgia, of course, is not unique as far as discrimination in voting is concerned." He then contradicts himself in the next paragraph with "no state was more systematic and thorough in its efforts to deny or limit voting and office holding by African-Americans after the Civil War" (p. 2). Specialists in the history of Mississippi, South Carolina, and Alabama history might disagree. This is a minor and easily forgivable mistake, because this study shows conclusively that Georgia certainly rivals if not exceeds any other state in this dubious category. The author details several early 1960s U. S. Supreme Court cases arising from Georgia to prove the point. *Gray v. Sanders* (1963), *Wesberry v. Sanders* (1964), *Fortson v. Dorsey* (1965), and *Reynolds v. Sims* (1964) all dealt with white Georgians' devious methods of diluting black voting strength, such as gerrymandering and the county unit system. In each case, the Court ruled favorably for black Georgians, which had a national rather than merely a regional impact and helped to lay the legal foundation for the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

The Voting Rights Act did not end the black suffrage problems of Georgia, but rather increased them, as evidenced by the litany of cases that McDonald cites. As recently as 1987, cases have been brought against individual municipalities, counties, and the state of Georgia alleging various violations of the Voting Rights Act, although most have been resolved before reaching the U. S. Supreme Court. By 1991, Georgia had thirty-four black state legislators and one black congressman, which indicates the success of the litigation. As a civil rights attorney, McDonald quite

naturally proclaims that, despite the progress, there is still much work to be done to level the playing field in Georgia.

McDonald concludes by telling the story of black empowerment in the little community of Keysville, in Burke County, Georgia. A town of only 300 people (240 black, 60 white), Keysville had done without municipal government since the Great Depression. One of the poorest communities in the United States, Keysville amazingly had no running water, no sewage system, no paved roads, no street lights or signs, and no fire department within twenty-five miles until 1988, when the black residents reconstituted the municipal government there and remedied all those problems. The author's point is that, in more than a century of white control of Keysville and Burke County, there never was good government there, but as soon as blacks took matters into their own hands, good government resulted. What McDonald does not say, however, is how all the city services and improvements have been paid for since 1988 or whether the little town overextended. Full disclosure of the town's financial situation would have been a helpful bit of information to include, and readers may wonder whether the author omitted it because it would not give his story the happy ending he desires. Despite the omission, this book is recommendable as a supplement to Kenneth Coleman's and Numan V. Bartley's more comprehensive volumes on Georgia history.

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JOHN D'EMILIO. *Lost Prophet: The Life and Times of Bayard Rustin*. New York: Free Press. 2003. Pp. vi, 568. \$35.00.

In a remarkable turn of events, students of the nonviolent civil rights movement have begun to grapple with the legacy of Bayard Rustin. Recent biographies by Daniel Levine (*Bayard Rustin and the Civil Rights Movement* [2000]) and Jervis Anderson (*Bayard Rustin: Troubles I've Seen* [1997]), Nancy Kates and Bennett Singer's PBS documentary (*Brother Outsider* [2003]), and *Time on Two Crosses* (2003), a Lambda Award-winning collection of Rustin's articles and speeches edited by Devon W. Carbado and Donald Weise all but assure that this long-overlooked member of the movement's inner circle will escape historiographical obscurity. John D'Emilio's biography should convince even those textbook authors who have pigeonholed Rustin as a "black social activist," "peace activist," or "labor leader" that it would be appropriate to provide a more complete portrait in subsequent editions.

D'Emilio has done his homework. Utilizing personally collected interviews, Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) surveillance reports, and documents from some two dozen archival collections, he provides readers with a detailed chronology of his subject's personal and ideological evolution. A socially engaged Quaker who performed briefly with Josh White in Greenwich



Village during the last years of the Depression, the handsome, energetic college dropout soon exchanged folksongs for leftist politics. After joining and then breaking with the Communist Party, he found inspiration in A. Philip Randolph's World War II-era March on Washington Movement and became a dedicated member of militant pacifist A. J. Muste's Fellowship of Reconciliation. His refusal to heed the draft law resulted in a three-year federal prison sentence. During the 1950s, Rustin continued to preach pacifism while condemning colonialism and nuclear proliferation. Working behind the scenes, he counseled and wrote articles and speeches for Martin Luther King, Jr., helped create the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and, via skillful coalition-building, orchestrated the massively influential March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in August 1963. By the mid-1960s, success in fashioning "the message and methods of Gandhi" (p. 1) into "a transformative revolutionary movement" (p. 231) made Rustin the "master strategist of social change" (p. 2).

So, why have textbook writers failed to give credit where credit is due? According to D'Emilio, Rustin has been "without a home in history" (p. 1) in large part because he was a publicly gay man who was "outed" forty years before the word was coined. Although comfortable with his sexuality, his adaptation to the constraints of a deeply homophobic society involved keeping a low profile so as not to harm the causes he championed from the shadows. Misled by Rustin's dissembling, both contemporary observers and scholars have underestimated his importance. This well-contextualized focus on the pre-Stonewall gay experience is one of the book's major strengths.

To his credit, D'Emilio provides ample data to craft a variety of alternative explanations for Rustin's marginalization. He was smeared by the FBI and scapegoated by high-profile civil rights leaders. Uncompromising and sometimes haughty, he made a fair number of enemies. His radical politics and focus on economic issues were deemed controversial by other movement strategists. Most critically, Rustin ran afoul of Black Power separatists and anti-Vietnam War activists over the need to privilege politics over protest—to maintain the traditional civil rights coalition of Democratic liberals, socially conscious church people, and trade union members. He was merciless in critiquing the "new tribalism" (p. 475) and seemed more willing to ridicule antiwar protestors than to support their struggle. Stung by charges that he had lost all credibility in the black community, Rustin devoted the last fifteen years of his life to international humanitarian affairs. A "strategist without a movement" (p. 471), his contributions to domestic civil rights soon were forgotten—overshadowed by those of black leaders who either died young or under tragic circumstances.

Moving along at a pleasing pace, D'Emilio's narrative remedies this oversight. If there are a few too many glowing tributes from former Rustin associates, the text never devolves into hagiography. One learns a

great deal about the internal politics of the nonviolent movement without being burdened by page after page of minutia. This is an excellent study of an important black leader.

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WARREN GOLDSTEIN. *William Sloane Coffin Jr.: A Holy Impatience*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 379. \$30.00.

At a time when much media coverage is devoted to Christian conservatives in the religious and political spheres, Warren Goldstein's book serves as a worthy corrective. In this engaging work, Goldstein traces the life of the peripatetic Presbyterian pastor, from his early careers in the U.S. Army and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), to his ministerial work at Williams College, Yale University, and New York City's Riverside Church. While Coffin is perhaps best known as a member of the "Boston Five" for his participation in an anti-Vietnam War church service which culminated in a massive draft-card burning, he was also involved in the civil rights, gay rights, and anti-nuclear weapons proliferation movements.

The product of an upper-class marriage, Coffin grew up in relative comfort in New York City, attending private schools and traveling abroad. Although his family briefly lived in California after the death of his father and the resulting financial constraints due to the Depression, Henry Sloane Coffin, a well-to-do uncle and president of Union Theological Seminary in New York City, supported the family upon their return to the East Coast. This upbringing instilled in the younger Coffin a sense of noblesse oblige that he would carry with him for the rest of his life; an adoring, uncritical (and yet overbearing) mother contributed to a self-esteem that could be overbearing and off-putting to others. It was these qualities, along with a sharp sense of humor and the ability to turn a phrase (or rework those of others), that matured in him through his military service during World War II and his work with the CIA in the 1950s, and emerged most strongly during his liberal activism as Yale University chaplain.

Through extensive interviews with Coffin, his family, and colleagues, research in the Coffin family papers and other archival sources, and a thorough reading of the secondary literature, Goldstein does an admirably sympathetic job of presenting Coffin as both a courageous fighter for social justice and an individual who badly needed to be the center of attention, often at the expense of his own family, which resulted in two failed marriages and a period of alienation from his children. (Ironically, and, unremarked upon by the author, while Coffin partially styled himself as a throwback to the Old Testament prophets, those individuals were not known for their happy home lives, either.) Coffin's ability to speak out strongly on behalf of civil rights, to take part in the Freedom Rides and civil rights marches in the South, and to lead antiwar protests

depended to a large extent on the relative freedom of action he had as a chaplain of a major university, and the support of its patient president, Kingman Brewster, Jr. He also made use of his personal and public connections with the well-to-do, white Anglo-Saxon Protestant establishment, often shaming it for its complacency while at the same time benefiting from its largesse.

Like the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., Coffin's theology was a mixture of Reinhold Niebuhr's neo-orthodox views, which, among other things, denounced pride as the root of all evil, corrupting all human endeavors, and the Social Gospel, which called for reform of society through Christian principles of love and justice. While Goldstein often compares both King and Coffin, he does not build up the latter's contributions, important though they were, to anything resembling King's; rather, Coffin served as a bridge to the white liberal religious establishment. The author also wisely avoids delving too deeply in the theological aspects of protest and activism. Coffin himself was not a ground-breaking theologian, and the intrusion of such material would have detracted from the narrative.

As with any biography about a living subject, and as the author himself admits, there can be no definitive ending. Goldstein ends his account by summing up Coffin's career and describing his life in semi-retirement. This book nonetheless presents a balanced view of a complex individual written for specialists and general readers alike, and it is a welcome addition to the growing field of work about the involvement of white clergy in the civil rights and antiwar movements.

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HAMILTON CRAVENS, editor. *The Social Sciences Go to Washington: The Politics of Knowledge in the Postmodern Age*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 254. Cloth \$62.00, paper \$23.95.

In the preface to this volume, editor Hamilton Cravens explains that the contributors sought to explore "the influences of the social sciences upon social policies and their making, what social science ideas became institutionalized in policy, and how and why" (p. vii). This collection certainly addresses those issues, but it also places them in a wider American cultural and political context that raises unexpected, provocative questions about just what kind of "influence" social science still retains. Starting in the 1930s and ultimately peaking in the 1960s, several of these essays suggest, optimistic aspirations for fiscally managed economic growth, expanded civil rights, social equality, and sustained steps toward environmental protection created a space in which social science, targeted toward the condition and behavior of specific groups or the nation as a whole, could play a significant role in the formation of federal initiatives. After that period, however, as liberalism gave way to an inward turning, privatized, and antistatist ethos, the social sciences

were largely reduced to sources for mere legitimation or justification, "more the creature of politics than the other way around" (p. 129). As political priorities shifted to emphasize and enshrine the choices, rationality, and responsibility of the individual above all else, the value of *public* policy declined sharply, and with it the notion that social scientific expertise might solve our most entrenched human and social problems.

The nine essays in the volume cover a wide variety of cases, ranging from early childhood education to defense analysis and environmental activism, and two in particular stand out in reflecting the book's overarching theme. Michael A. Bernstein's treatment of the relationship between postwar American economics and the federal government in the 1960s illustrates the high-water mark of social scientific confidence. As he explains, economists like Walter Heller, James Tobin, and Kermit Gordon, all members of Kennedy's Council on Economic Advisers, were part of a larger intellectual cohort that lived through the Depression, served in World War II, and came of professional age in the midst of the Keynesian revolution. Committed to an activist approach and confident that fiscal policy would provide the vital tools to prevent severe recession, tame the business cycle, and achieve a growing, full-employment economy, they paved the way for the massive tax cut of 1964, an apparent success widely credited with lowering unemployment to nearly four percent and raising manufacturing capacity to over ninety percent within a single year. Convinced macroeconomic policy could tear down the walls of discrimination and provide for a more equitable distribution of the nation's affluence, social scientists like Heller also played a pivotal role in constructing the blueprint for Lyndon B. Johnson's War on Poverty.

Yet as liberalism's star faded, so, too, did that of activist social science. As William Graebner explains in an insightful essay on the decline of welfare policy, Daniel Patrick Moynihan provided a powerful call for national action, yet he did so through an ambivalent, "therapeutic" discourse that stressed individual, psychic failures in ways that diminished the grounds for political solutions. In their celebrations of the marketplace, Charles Murray and Martin Anderson also emphasized the individual and deployed critiques of the way that misguided public policies interfered with the tight logic of rational choice. By the late 1980s, Graebner concludes, a cultural consensus on the value of individual, personal responsibility, the dangers of dependency, and the redemptive effects of work led embattled liberal economists like David T. Ellwood to a dead end. Despite his doubts that welfare damaged families and his emphasis on the macroeconomic factors that contributed to poverty, he would yield to political exigency and help plan a sweeping reversal.

At times one wishes that this volume's emphases on ideas and specific thinkers were matched with a more sustained examination of the institutions, both scholarly and bureaucratic, in which social science functioned. The book's subtitle also misleads. While there

is great speculation here about the nature of social science and public policy in a "post-liberal" age, there is little real analysis or argument about the meaning of a "postmodern" one. That said, this is still a valuable and intriguing collection, and the diverse range of cases will make it appealing to scholars from a variety of fields.

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STEVEN HARMON WILSON. *The Rise of Judicial Management in the U.S. District Court, Southern District of Texas, 1955–2000*. (Studies in the Legal History of the South.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 559. \$64.95.

I did not expect to find the trial of Timothy Leary's famous marijuana bust in a book with this title. I'm not sure what I did expect, except bar graphs and charts about the increasing caseload in a single federal district court. The famous drug case is here, as well as the history of south Texas desegregation cases, the First Amendment battles of the porno movie *Deep Throat* (1972), and charts.

The history of judicial management is the history of the judges, lawyers, clerks, and litigants who come before a court. It is also a social and political history. Steven Harmon Wilson tells a complicated story well about how the federal courts in general dealt with the explosion of federal and civil litigation.

Justice is dependent upon the personalities on the bench as well as legal precedents. Wilson provides us with both. In 1970, Chief Judge Ben C. Connally made the off-the-bench comment that in Brownsville a newly appointed federal judge would have "nothing to do but try a wetback now and then." That same year, Judge Woodrow B. Seals, on the same court, ruled that while "the objective manifestations" of ethnic discrimination were "gradually disappearing from our society" the "historical pattern of discrimination has contributed to the present substantial segregation of Mexican-Americans in our schools."

As a practicing attorney who litigates police misconduct cases, I found the chapter describing the problem of race discrimination in combating police brutality of particular interest. It describes how Texas dealt with and failed to solve this problem, which is a persistent national issue. One very public case was that of José "Joe" Campos Torres, a twenty-three-year-old U.S. Army veteran arrested by the Houston Police Department after a barroom brawl. Three days later, his drowned body was found in the Buffalo Bayou. Wilson describes the Mexican-American activists who pushed for federal criminal prosecutions in the Torres case and other killings by police after state prosecutions resulted in "slap on the hand" punishments. After the former officers were convicted of federal criminal civil rights violations which could have resulted in life sentences, the federal judge sentenced them to one year of prison on the misdemeanor conviction and

probation for the felony. The federal prosecutor, under pressure from community activists who were outraged by the sentences, asked the judge to overturn his "illegal" sentences, but he refused.

Eventually, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that the sentence of probation was illegal for the convicted ex-cops, and it sent the case back to Judge Sterling for resentencing. He added a single extra day of prison time to their sentence on the felony charge. While one community activist called for the judge to be "censured, reprimanded, impeached, or otherwise removed from the bench," Judge Sterling, with life-long tenure, remained on the bench until his death in 1988. The federal prosecutor, who vigorously prosecuted a number of high-profile homicide by officer cases and had been the only U.S. attorney to set up a local civil rights division, left office.

The book ends with chapters about the "traffic jam" of litigation caused by too few judges, too much work and, what one judge called the "nationalization of crime." These problems continue to vex our federal courts.

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#### CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

STEVE STRIFFLER and MARK MOBERG, editors. *Banana Wars: Power, Production, and History in the Americas*. (American Encounters/Global Interactions.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 364. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$22.95.

With this fine volume, the banana joins sugar and coffee as starring actors in the international drama of world trade, domestic social formations, and the creation of power. Styled along the lines of earlier pioneering works of Sidney Mintz and William Roseberry, Lowell Gudmundson, and Mario Samper Kutschback, the twelve chapters here explore banana culture from a variety of angles and disciplines. Editors Steve Striffler and Mark Moberg are to be congratulated for the uniformly high quality of the chapters. There is by necessity some repetition, but the authors demonstrate a great deal of originality and adopt quite different approaches. It turns out that bananas, rather than being marginal (as they are often treated), have occupied an important role in the global economy and in the process of globalization.

Five historians, four anthropologists, one sociologist, and a geographer focus on banana production as seen through the lenses of labor, social, economic, and business history and political economy. Approaches vary from penetrating global overviews of the world banana economies by Moberg and Striffler, Laura T. Reynolds, John Soluri, and Marcelo Bucheli to detailed local case studies of British Honduras by Moberg, Honduras by Darío A. Euraque, Ecuador by Striffler, Guatemala by Cindy Forster, St. Lucia by Karla Slocum, and St. Vincent by Lawrence S. Gross-



man, with a provocative, wide-ranging overview at the end by Allen Wells that compares banana culture with other export societies.

The collection is united by the vision that, as the editors say, "one tropical fruit has transformed more of Central America, the Caribbean, and South America than any other commodity" (p. 1). Although I would argue that coffee has affected far more Latin Americans than did bananas, the banana does permit a comparison that is almost never made between the Spanish and the Anglophone Caribbean. One of this volume's greatest contributions is that it mixes bounded global generalizations with fine-grained local studies demonstrating that, in fact, the banana is a singular commodity. Export bananas, surprisingly a minority of bananas grown, were transformed over time to satisfy the aesthetics of United States and European consumers. The markets were distinctively different in the United States, where the United Fruit Company spread the taste for the "perfect food" grown in Central and South America through corporate neocolonialism, and the Caribbean, where European colonialism was much stronger.

The studies also are a welcome addition to the new social histories of the Caribbean. They reveal the intimate interactions of Caribbean and Central American peoples and the racialized politics of the Afro-Caribbeans such as the Garifuna, the indigenous Maya, and the mestizo. Not only were there market, regional, and ethnic variations, but those variations changed as banana groves migrated over time because of the insidious "Panama Disease" that demanded ever newer areas of cultivation.

Bananas' appeal has also changed, as Soluri's entertaining and suggestive essay—the only one to examine consumption—cleverly points out. From a luxury exotic fruit to a fast food and a baby food staple, bananas could appear as ridiculous (as in Woody Allen's movie) or enticing and sexualized. Soluri recalls Carmen Miranda's banana-festooned headdress but forgets the much more subversive and racialized banana skirt that Josephine Baker shook in Paris. The book's title is a play on words that stretches from imperialist incursions imposing banana republics in the early twentieth century (barely covered here) to the disputes over banana tariffs at the World Trade Organization in the 1990s, which receive a little more attention.

Banana enclaves have generally been equated with dependency and imperialism because of the great power of the United and Standard Fruit companies on the continent and Geest in the Caribbean. Yet these studies demonstrate that, as the editors point out, "the creation of banana republics was never as simple as the metaphor suggests" (p. 3). Yes, colonialism was a feature of the Anglophone banana producers in the Caribbean and Belize. But Slocum and Grossman show that it was often a sort of welfare colonialism as these regions received privileged access to the British Empire and then the European Union. In a fascinating case, Moberg argues that earlier in British Honduras

the colonial governor gave special privileges to the North American United Fruit Company because it controlled access to the North American market, by far the world's most lucrative. The British governor sided with the Americans because he was struggling with the local mahogany "forestocracy" for political control.

Many of the generalizations that dependency theory posited for exports hold only loosely for bananas. Although vast foreign-owned estates spread over Central America, in the Caribbean and Ecuador small native-owned plots were the rule. Although little discussed here, bananas also did not necessarily cause malnutrition or import dependence, because the plantains were a staple and other crops were grown on plots. These essays demonstrate that while banana exports brought economic growth and modern technology in the form of railroads, electricity, ports, and steamships, they failed to contribute to the sustained development of other sectors because command of transportation was always the basis of multinational control. Indeed, once disease forced a banana plantation to be abandoned, the railroads and electric lines were often torn down to prevent native competitors from using them.

Banana workers did become unionized and received better wages than laborers in other sectors, but they exercised little state power, nor did they receive much public assistance. The struggle was not as one-sided as many historians have assumed. Forster's poignant account of the Guatemalan experience during the Arbenz years shows agency but, ultimately, failure. Philippe Bourgois's scrapbook of United Fruit diary entries has a shocking portrait of Marcus Garvey as friend to the corporation. Bucheli insightfully employs economic and business history to demonstrate that after the U.S.-led and United Fruit-inspired overthrow of the Arbenz government and its land reform in 1954, the threat of labor agitation led to "vertical disintegration." United Fruit withdrew not only from the country but also from direct production of bananas. Although it ultimately did not win that battle, neither did Guatemala. Striffler shows that Ecuador became the major banana grower. Populist politicians intervened in the banana market, allowing local producers to dominate. A similar situation occurred in St. Vincent and St. Lucia. But there, as Reynolds points out in her thoughtful essay, the key players "were not large-scale producers but state administrators and banana shippers" (p. 27). Local growers were still very much at the mercy of world prices, even if they escaped the direct control of United Fruit.

Banana wars still simmer in various guises. At a time when globalization is greatly affecting our lives and our politics, this book is particularly compelling.

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JOSÉ MANUEL AZCONA PASTOR. *Possible Paradises: Basque Emigration to Latin America*. Foreword by WILLIAM A. DOUGLASS. Translation by ROLAND VAZQUEZ. (The Basque Series.) Reno: University of Nevada Press. 2004. Pp. xviii, 568. \$60.00.

Basques have been coming to the New World since 1492 and have settled anywhere from Idaho to Patagonia. This translation and expansion of José Manuel Azcona Pastor's *Los paraísos posibles: Historia de la emigración a Argentina y Uruguay en el siglo XIX* (1992) deals with those who settled south of the Rio Grande and complements another book published by the University of Nevada's Basque Studies Center: William Douglass and Jon Bilbao's *Amerikanuak: Basques in the New World* (1975), which despite its broad subtitle paid greater attention to the U.S. West.

The first four chapters describe the Basque country at the time of Christopher Columbus and its participation in Spain's colonial enterprise. An important European center for ironwork and shipbuilding, increasingly integrated politically into the Castilian Crown and commercially to Seville and Cadiz, the region came to play a significant role in the exploration and conquest of the Indies. Basques accounted for five percent of all Spaniards heading for the New World during the sixteenth century, the only important group outside of the Andalusian-Extremaduran-Castilian core that supplied over nine-tenths of the departures; and by the last century of colonial rule, they had tripled their relative participation. Azcona Pastor seems to list them all: the early sailors and soldiers; pirates and buccaneers from what he calls "the preeminent corsair region of Spain"; priests and monks from what others have called the bastion of Iberian militant Catholicism; governors and bureaucrats; whalers and ironworkers; and in the longest section, traders. By the Bourbon period, Basques accounted for about a third of the colonial transatlantic merchants, surpassing Andalusians as the single largest group. The author then examines the resulting increase in Basque voluntary associations in the colonies and in remittances to the homeland.

Chapters five and six focus on specific destinations in the Americas. The first of these continues to deal mainly with the colonial period. It expands the discussion on Mexico, including the Basque role in the settlement of the northern frontier, a region appropriately named Nueva Vizcaya. It examines the Basque presence in the Central American elite, in the Caribbean basin, the Andean region, and Chile, where they claim, in jest and according to the author, that the two great Basque contributions to humanity were the Society of Jesus and Chile itself. The River Plate region attracted fewer settlers during the colonial period than the Andean and Mesoamerican cores of the empire. But it became the principal destination of the Basque exodus in the national period. The next chapter traces the origins of this current to the recruitment of French Basque shepherds by Uruguayan es-

tancieros in the late 1820s. During the following decades, the source of the flow expanded across the Pyrenees and its destination extended across the Río de la Plata. By the second half of the century, French and Spanish Basques had become omnipresent in the sheep and cattle ranches of the pampas. The next two chapters move, somewhat incongruously, from destination to origin as they attempt to explain the causes of the exodus. The emphasis here is on the putative economic ills of the sending society, its inheritance system, the machinations of emigration agents and shipping companies, draft evasion, and government policy. The last two chapters briefly discuss the republican exile of the Franco period and the present-day situation of Basque institutions in the diaspora.

Overall, this book is extensively researched in archival material and secondary Spanish sources but uninformed by the scholarly literature on Latin America. The result is a lack of local context and specificity. There is little discussion of the host environments, their native populations, other immigrants, or even other Spaniards. Basques seem to inhabit a world where they have no neighbors. The book is equally oblivious to the scholarship on immigration and ethnicity. Explanations for population movements boil down to ad hoc lists of "push" and "pull" factors that could have been as easily compiled for countless places and times where no migration occurred. Basqueness is treated as a natural and permanent condition rather than as a historical category. The intriguing tendency of Latin American elites to idealize, and racialize, Basque ancestry is just taken at face value rather than interrogated. The book does provide an immense amount of information. But it does so in a rather crude manner. Most of the fifty tables present raw data. Scores of paragraphs are little more than long lists of names. And the enumeration of Basque achievements and contributions at times imparts the volume with the hagiographic tone of immigrant panegyrics—perhaps an appropriate tone for a book originally published as part of the quincentennial commemorations of 1492.

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DANIEL M. MASTERSON and SAYAKA FUNADA-CLASSEN. *The Japanese in Latin America*. (The Asian American Experience.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 335. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$24.95.

In this eagerly awaited volume Daniel M. Masterson and Sayaka Funada-Classsen provide a synthesis of the development and cultural evolution of Japanese communities throughout Latin America in the twentieth century. Building on works by earlier scholars including C. Harvey Gardiner and James L. Tigner, and more recently Jeffrey Lesser and Merry White, the authors explore the themes of the sojourner mentality, group autonomy, national identity, racism, and trans-

national migration. While the focus is on Mexico, Peru, and Brazil, the book's hemispheric scope shows the variety of colonies from Colombia's Cauca Valley to buffer colonies in the Dominican Republic and Paraguay. Masterson incorporates his field research from six countries, interviews from several oral history collections, and Japanese-language sources through his collaboration with Funada-Classen.

Immigration restrictions in the United States led to an increasing flow of Japanese to Latin America. Significant numbers of Japanese settled in Mexico in the first decade of the twentieth century, finding work in mining, railroad building, and agriculture. As the United States pressured Mexico to halt Japanese from entering after 1907, intermarriage between Nissei and Mexicans lead to greater assimilation there than in other countries. By comparison, early Japanese immigrants to Peru worked on coastal cotton plantations and in the Chancay Valley, where they became land owners. Others engaged in business and commerce in urban areas, particularly in Lima and Arequipa. Success led to a growing hostility and racism among Peruvians. Much has been written on Brazil's relatively large Japanese population, which formed agricultural colonies in the southern states of São Paulo and Paraná. Masterson clearly shows the interplay between immigrant identity and Brazilian nationalism, with an undercurrent of racism, under President Getulio Vargas. In these prewar years, Japanese throughout the continent prospered and kept their ancestral culture through schools and numerous associations, waiting for the day when they could retire and return to Japan.

Masterson is at his best as he details the impact of World War II. The dream of returning to Japan ended. In Mexico, Japanese who lived 200 kilometers off the Pacific coast and 100 kilometers off the U.S.-Mexican border were evacuated to either Mexico City or Guadalajara. Unlike other leaders, Mexican President Ávila Camacho helped the uprooted start a farm coop and establish schools. In Brazil, the size of the Japanese population (250,000) prohibited internment or relocation. Since most lived in agricultural colonies, little security risk existed. However, 4,000 Japanese living near the coast were relocated.

The worst scenario played out in Peru, and Masterson justifiably spends an entire chapter developing the xenophobia, opportunism, flawed intelligence, and economic exploitation culminating in the evacuation of nearly 1,500 Peruvians. In an effort to appease the United States, President Manuel Prado virtually bartered the lives of Japanese Peruvians for Lend Lease aid and Export Import Bank loans. Quotes from the compelling autobiography of Japanese Peruvian Seiichi Higashide show the depth of personal losses and capriciousness of deportations. An even greater travesty followed the war; over 900 Japanese Peruvian deportees were sent to Japan, Peru grudgingly let 79 return, and 364 fought a legal battle to stay in the United States. Here, Masterson tugs on the reader's

conscience over the issue of individual liberties during wartime.

The postwar years brought a maturation to the Japanese colonies and an unexpected development. As economies throughout Latin America stagnated in the 1980s, the younger Nikkei-jin looked elsewhere for opportunities. Meantime Japan's booming economy needed workers to replace its aging population. By 2001, thousands of Brazilian and Peruvian Nikkei-jin had moved to Japan as *dekasegi*, temporary workers. Masterson details this phenomenon in his final chapter raising important questions. How have the Japanese received these "false-Nikkei-jin"? Are they sojourners waiting for Brazil's economy to improve, or will they stay with their families in Japan? What does this transmigration mean for those left behind in Brazil?

This book is a model for future hemispheric studies with its comprehensive coverage and rich detail, yet avoiding an encyclopedic approach. It includes a glossary, chronology, and an eight-page photo section of carefully selected scenes from various colonies. For quick reference a comprehensive bibliography might have been added to the thirty-one pages of detailed notes. The scope of a study of this nature poses organizational problems, and the author might have considered a country rather than chronological approach in the postwar years for greater continuity. But these are minor issues. Peruvianists will find special delight in this book, as Masterson draws on his many years of research in Peru to give a careful analysis of the postwar years and the remarkable presidential election of a Peruvian Nissei, Alberto Fujimori, in a country that earlier demonstrated such virulent racism.

This highly readable and solidly researched book is a welcome addition to the Asian American Experience series published by University of Illinois Press. Its global dimension and emphasis on ethnic adaptation make it an important contribution to all disciplines concerned with comparative immigration.

JANET E. WORRALL

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MARK THURNER and ANDRÉS GUERRERO, editors. *After Spanish Rule: Postcolonial Predicaments of the Americas*. (Latin America Otherwise: Languages, Empires, Nations.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 357. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$22.95

This volume of essays by five historians and three anthropologists, coedited by anthropologist Mark Thurner and historian Andrés Guerrero, is both frustrating and stimulating, although in the end its virtues outweigh its faults and the book merits sustained attention. Since even the essays by the anthropologists work in a heavily historical register, it is probably fair to characterize the volume as a whole as exemplifying the approach of historical anthropology to the question of postcoloniality in Spanish America. This salutary promiscuity between the disciplines is coming to be seen more and more in the work of Latin Ameri-

canists, but it is often freighted with impenetrable terms of art drawn from cultural studies, and with tropes that the authors seem to want to make stand in for the historical phenomena themselves. The remarkable opacity of some of the essays, beginning with the foreword by Shahir Amin, continuing through Guerrero's short introductory piece, and recurring intermittently throughout the volume, may provoke frustration in readers. There is nothing particularly wrong with the judicious use of jargon, of course, but beyond a certain point it obscures more than it connotes. A couple of the essays approach being airlessly self-congratulatory and self-referential, one supposes as an artifact of the confessional mode dictated by the postmodernist conceptual framework. Such well-worn orthodoxies as the idea that colonialism was constitutive of capitalism tend to appear here tricked out as postcolonialist insights. Quotation marks around single words or short phrases proliferate like crabgrass, especially in Thurner's essays (but elsewhere, as well), where they imply a disdain for the nonpolitically correct archaisms of the authors being cited, a sort of indulgent chuckle in typographical form.

Having said all this, I should also point out that many of the essays are remarkably intelligent, and that the volume as a whole breaks some new ground in attempting to incorporate the former Spanish American colonies into discussions of postcolonialism, which seem usually to be limited to Africa, South and Southeast Asia, and other areas once dominated by Western European states. Because the volume grew out of a select conference of fine scholars, conversations obviously continued among the participants as they revised their essays, and the essays as a group were shepherded lovingly by the editors, there is a degree of implicit cross-talk and conceptual unity among the chapters often absent from such anthologies. Common threads linking many of the essays include Benedict Anderson's ideas about the origins of nationalism in general, and specifically in the Spanish American case whether or not these can explain the historical trajectories of postcolonial successor states; the aims and mechanisms of national mythologizing in the emergent Spanish-American republics during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; the problematics of incorporating native peoples into national projects; and even whether the Spanish possessions in the New World before independence in the early nineteenth century are to be considered colonies at all in the accepted sense of the word. As to this last point, despite some playful reservations all the authors seem to agree that these *were* colonies, and therefore that after they severed their metropolitan ties they became postcolonial. In other words, if it walks like a duck and quacks like a duck, it's a duck.

Thurner's excellent introductory essay, one of the best in the collection, is a plea for the inclusion of Spanish America in postcolonial studies. Its exclusion, he asserts, has been due in part to the earliness of Spain's overseas empire, since the equation of colo-

niaism with modernity has tended to leave Spanish America out of the picture because most of its empire had crashed by the 1820s, before some of the other European colonial regimes even got started. He also makes the salutary point that, like unhappy families, cases of postcoloniality are all different but have been homogenized by theoreticians into a one-size-fits-all garment, itself a sort of colonizing move. Mauricio Tenorio's essay on national image forging in Mexico makes the point that nations and nationalism have set the rules of the game for emergent polities to such an extent that even oppositional movements within national regimes generally embrace the concept, which often produces contention over the locus of cultural and political authenticity. Joanne Rappaport's interesting essay on indigenous intellectuals in modern Colombia appears to dispute this view, making the point that nationalism and citizenship can be used as leverage against the national state to accommodate enduring or re-emergent forms of indigenous identity. In doing so, she explores the meaning of pluralism in a multiethnic society such as Colombia. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra's essay glosses the parts of his recent, prize-winning book that deal with the impressions of eighteenth-century travelers in Spanish America. Javier Morillo-Alicea offers a reading of a reading in describing Spain's vestigial colonial empire in the later nineteenth century through the eyes of metropolitan archivists, discerning "with the grain" of the archive the forms of colonial knowledge being generated at the time. Thurner's second essay deals fascinatingly with the question of how the Inca legacy was handled by nineteenth-century Peruvian intellectuals, showing how national mythologies were built on representations of the glorious past and miserable present of native peoples and implying the ways in which this misery was necessary to the legitimization of the Peruvian state as antecedent to the modernization whose requirements propped up that same state. In a complimentary line of argument, fellow anthropologist Thomas Abercrombie seeks to explain how postcolonial Bolivian elites sought to build their nation from the primary materials of spurned, colonized native subalterns, in the process providing evocative descriptions of contemporary "Indian" festivals. Historian Marixa Lasso's eloquent essay deconstructs the pieties of Colombian independence, putting patriots of African descent back into the picture; Peter Guardino's essay looks in interesting detail at issues of electoral politics and citizenship in southern Mexico in the years 1814–1828; and Guerrero analyzes citizenship among indigenous Ecuadoreans after independence from Spain.

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JOSÉ F. BUSCAGLIA-SALGADO. *Undoing Empire: Race and Nation in the Mulatto Caribbean*. Minneapolis:



University of Minnesota Press. 2003. Pp. xxv, 340. Cloth \$63.95, paper \$22.95.

This work defines itself as tracing the movement of Caribbean aesthetics, a practice that sought to challenge the "coloniality of power" (p. xiv) that first emerged in the Caribbean and subsequently expanded to the wider Americas. José F. Buscaglia-Salgado utilizes the subject position of the mulatto, or *mulataje*, as a counter to the European ideal based on the production of difference that nurtured this coloniality power. When speaking of *mulataje*, the author insists that he is not "pointing to marked bodies or racial categories, but rather to a history of subversion of those categories" that moves toward "the ultimate realization of all potentiality in the erasure of racial difference" (pp. xvii-xviii).

The analysis begins with Washington Irving's *Tales of the Alhambra* (1832), a history of the fall of Granada in which the centrality of Catholic Spain was strategically displaced by what the author identifies as a "Usonian" (or U.S.) national ideology. In Irving's account, the 1492 Reconquista was no longer "exclusively a story of the triumph of a Christian nation over Moorish tribalism" but also "about the coming of age and the civilizational pedigree of the newly born United States of America," what the author has aptly identified as the "immaculate conception of America." Such a sensibility was most quintessentially institutionalized in the architecture of the U.S. Capitol. Furthermore, Irving's "personal and civilizational insecurities" (p. 48), the author asserts, created a "mestizophobic" narrative that "would accept no connection between both sides of 1492" (p. 33).

Buscaglia-Salgado next addresses the shift from the Old World to the New World by examining the Moors of Hispania and the *morenos* of Hispaniola. Admitting there is little historical evidence to argue for a "Moorish presence at the foundation of early New World societies" (especially given the *limpieza de sangre* [purity of blood] requirement), he proposes looking into the "memory of the body" in the architecture of the first colonial settlements of Hispaniola in order to discern "the *morisco* contribution to colonization" (pp. 56-58). By situating the origin of "the mulatto world" in the Iberian contact zone, the author contends that we can see a movement termed *mulataje* where "from the earliest stages of modernity [the mulatto] has tended to undo all the calculation of the coloniality of power" (p. 79). Indeed, he goes even further. This figure was always an "unstable locus of subjectivity" who "would undermine the ideal of the Christian nation and of the Ideal body." Although the mulatto has always remained "an unknown quantity," in the final analysis, it became a question of numbers: "In an age of terrible human devastation on both sides of the Atlantic, the mulatto simply became the best adapted and the ultimate survivor: the mulatto was the first child of the modern age" (pp. 82-83).

Nowhere, Buscaglia-Salgado argues, is this ontolog-

ical and cosmic anxiety over the mulatto more evident than in the life and work of Bartolomé de Las Casas. In a surprising turn, we are now to understand that Las Casas's "truly visionary outlook on the destruction of the Indies emanated not necessarily from the condemnation of the genocide perpetrated against the natives of the land" but rather "from his sense as to the very dangerous direction the societies of the Indies could take if they moved away from Christianity and created a new kind of Granada, which this time around would be ruled not by *moros* but by *morenos*" (p. 92). Las Casas's "fable of chaos" is revisited in the seventeenth century in the work of the Mexican creole Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, an astronomer and professor of mathematics at the Academia Mexicana, who also served as royal cosmographer to King Charles II. Analyzing his work *Infortunios de Alonso Ramírez* (The Misfortunes of Alonso Ramírez) as well as a series of paintings on the system of racial hierarchy in Mexico (known as *cuadros de castas*), the author discerns a similar dynamic with respect to the role of the mulatto subject "as the most prominent site where the tensions and contradictions . . . destabilize the foundations of the coloniality of power in Mexican creole [Europeans born in the Americas] society" (p. 183).

The nineteenth-century slave and anticolonial revolutions in the French and Spanish Caribbean constitute another moment of the undoing of the European ideal. Through an examination in particular of Toussaint L'Ouverture (as depicted in C. L. R. James's *The Black Jacobins*) and the Cuban poet Plácido (Gabriel de la Concepción), Buscaglia-Salgado deduces that the mulatto subject, while providing a critique of the "creole project of national independence," remained unable to supersede it. This inability to do so was more evident in the late nineteenth-century "mulatto alternative" of a call for a Caribbean confederation to stem the tide of "creole nationalisms" based on racial hierarchy as well as the encroaching threat of U.S. imperialism.

Although there are some methodological innovations, such as the author's reading of art and architecture as evidence for the production of history, this book fails in more ways that can be delineated in a short review. One example concerns the collapsing of facts to build up straw men. This narrative strategy is most clearly evident in the representation of Las Casas, whose ostensible fear of *mulataje* contained the essence of the discursive practice of creole discourse. Such an interpretation removes Las Casas from the historical and cultural context in which he thought and behaved: that of a religious imagination defending the evangelizing mission over against the increasingly imperializing (because secularizing) one of Spanish state. The author distorts Las Casas's contention that "we found the island very much full of people whom we killed and plucked from the face of the Earth and we have filled it with dogs and beasts, and forcibly by force, these shall be harmful and troublesome to us" (p. 92). This assertion is taken as evidence of some kind of deeply felt racial imperialism, but it could



easily be interpreted to mean if the New World is not Christianized within just terms, then the Europeans "by divine judgment" would reap what they have sown.

The gravest error occurs in the conceptual framework itself. It becomes quite clear that after the project of instituting a European universal, which led to normative whitening (*blanqueamiento*) discourses and practices throughout the Americas, the author now proposes that the mulatto be put forward as the new universal. Thus, anyone doing anything of value must be assimilated to this social category. Take, for instance, when the author describes the political actions of Toussaint L'Ouverture: "Could anyone but the mulatto, in all his subjective disposition to metaphoricality, wear so many disguises?" (p. 207). The strategic decisions of the Black Haitian revolutionary have been reduced here to a postmodern piety that celebrates in-betweenity. Indeed, such a position remains ahistorical and acultural as mulatto (a problematic term based on the non-scientific and biocentric premise that humans of different hereditary variations are a sterile caste like the organic species of mules) can only have meaning within the paradigm of racial hierarchy in which white represents being fully human (conceptual self) and black the embodiment of its ontological lack (conceptual other). In other words, the putative mulatto subject does not destabilize, disrupt, subvert, or undo the European ideal; it institutes this ideal even more forcefully in the very terms by which the argument implies that reconciliation and social transformation can occur through "mixing." The history of race throughout the Americas, especially in Latin America and the Caribbean, may suggest otherwise. The terrifying implication of this line of analysis remains that racial "harmony" and coexistence can only be attained by wiping out the black and white "races" to the absolutist advantage of their ostensibly universal, because mixed, progeny—a far cry from the alternative conceptualization put forward by Aimé Césaire, that the universal is comprised of innumerable particularities, including that of being "mulatto."

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RICHARD C. TREXLER. *Reliving Golgotha: The Passion Play of Iztapalapa*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2003. pp. viii, 280. \$35.00.

"Iztapalapa," Richard C. Trexler tells us, "is certainly the biggest and most ambitious annual passion play in the world today" (p. viii). This book aims to reconstruct the historical development of the play in order to understand its remarkable endurance and popularity in contemporary urban Mexico.

Trexler begins with the obvious question of the early modern European origins of the play. It soon emerges that, despite their growing popularity in late medieval Europe, there is very little evidence of passion plays in Spain at that time, so that the common idea that the origins of the Iztapalapa play can be traced back to the

sixteenth-century missionaries has no documentary basis. What the friars introduced was the practice of flagellation. Although there is some evidence of quasi-theatrical representations of Christ's passion among native flagellants from about 1580, it is not until the middle of the eighteenth century that any clear evidence for passion plays begins to emerge in rural areas. There is, moreover, no solid evidence for any passion play in Iztapalapa before 1883, when a performance clearly based on the Valencian playwright Enrique Pérez Escrich's seminal work, *El Mártir de Gólgota* (1864), was transferred to Iztapalapa from Chimalhuacán.

Thereafter Trexler is on surer documentary ground, from which he builds up an admirably detailed and compelling reconstruction of the development of the play in the twentieth century. Up until about 1930 he detects certain clues for understanding the event as it is performed today while still identifying a number of characteristics of what Mikhail Bakhtin calls "popular festive culture." After 1930, by contrast, evidence mounts for a slow but decisive change in the moral thrust of the play: it moves away from clearly dualistic representations of good and evil and makes way "for a slow, halting victory of solemnity over irreverence" (p. 101). In the 1950s and 1960s, probably as a result of Ernesto Uruchurtu's two terms as mayor of Mexico City (1952–1958, 1964–1966), both state and church were keen to play down what they perceived as the grotesque irreverence of the play. Journalists and observers likewise wanted to sanitize the event and often contrasted the indecency of Iztapalapa with the cultured religiosity of its German counterpart, Oberammergau. But it was not until the 1970s and 1980s that the main characteristics of the modern play—marked by a rise in violence, the increasing involvement of both the official state and the hierarchical church, and a clearer engagement with contemporary social issues—began to emerge.

The author makes a point of highlighting the irony in the recent recognition of the festival by the Mexican hierarchy. "In 2001," he writes, "devotees of the Iztapalapan passion looked on almost in disbelief as a bishop representing the cardinal-archbishop of Mexico took his place alongside the head of Iztapalapa's government . . . to witness the laical reenactment of the passion of Jesus—a play that more than a century earlier Mexican history had thrown up as a living protest against the power and influence of the same church!" (p. 8).

It is unfortunate that Trexler tries to fit this and similar examples into a theoretical framework that at times seems too neat to carry conviction. The sharp dividing line between the clergy and the laity, for instance, parallels the neat distinction he makes between the Protestant emphasis on Easter and the Catholic dedication to Lent as general attitudes of the modern polarization between rich and poor that has, in turn, served as an instrument of power. These nagging theoretical assumptions occasionally blind Trexler to

potentially fruitful lines of analysis. The fact that the Iztapalapa play was originally transferred from Chimalhuacán in the late nineteenth century, for instance, is fascinating in itself; for Chimalhuacán had been a hotbed of lay anticlericalism in the middle of the eighteenth century, a time when Jansenist Bourbon ministers had attempted to sanitize what, to them, seemed "vulgar" and "tasteless" religious festivals. Trexler's comment on this is disappointing: "the ideological claptrap the Spaniards had arrived with in 1520 had not changed," he tells us, and therefore the natives had to develop their own "cultural product in the face of an unfriendly clerical . . . universe" (pp. 54, 56). There is, however, convincing evidence that the natives of Chimalhuacán might well have developed their own cultural product out of, and often encouraged by, the "ideological claptrap" of the Franciscans and Dominicans who had been responsible for the early evangelization of the region. There was a much greater variety of "clerical universes" and many more lines of communication between the different strands of Christian culture than Trexler is prepared to recognize, and this somewhat weakens his analysis of an otherwise admirable reconstruction of this fascinating cultural phenomenon.

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STEPHEN HABER, ARMANDO RAZO, and NOEL MAURER. *The Politics of Property Rights: Political Instability, Credible Commitments, and Economic Growth in Mexico, 1876–1929*. (Political Economy of Institutions and Decisions.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xx, 382. \$75.00.

In 1908, Francisco Madero wrote in *La sucesión presidencial en 1910: El Partido Nacional Democrático* of the "terrible consequences of [Mexico's] civil wars," which not only inflamed passions and pitted brother against brother "but had dragged down the country as well." Madero undoubtedly meant many things by "dragging down" Mexico, but certainly he was mindful of the material consequences of the country's long-standing political instability. Madero took it for granted that in pacifying Mexico, the long reign of Porfirio Díaz (1876–1910) had brought economic prosperity. Perhaps, Madero wrote, things would have been even better had Díaz been a democrat, but there was no denying the decisive economic advance that had taken place.

Surely, some think, this progress was ended, at least in the short run, by the Mexican Revolution. Well, not quite, say Stephen Haber, Armando Razo, and Noel Maurer in their provocative book. True enough, there were disruptions of production from 1914 through 1917, years of civil war and intense violence. Yet, on the whole, in Mexico the revolution had surprisingly little impact on manufacturing, extractive industries, or, as far as one can tell, agriculture. Finance was deeply affected, but financial markets always over-

shoot in the face of unfavorable events, and by the 1920s, the revolutionary disturbances that had beset them were mostly a memory.

The basis for this conclusion is amply documented. For many readers, these findings, which are detailed in chapters four through eight, will be the principal interest of the book. The numbers are pioneering, and whatever their defects, are unlikely to be bettered any time soon. Yet the authors have somewhat larger intellectual ambitions. The principal one is to show how an economy can grow despite political instability and why the rule of law and limited government are, strictly speaking, not its necessary preconditions. This analysis, identified as the theory of vertical political integration (VPI), maintains that a cartel of private interests can absorb and exercise the powers of the state if adequately constrained by an authoritarian regime and some third-party agent of enforcement. Part of the argument's appeal is that it facilitates logical thinking about under which conditions such arrangements can arise and prosper, the variations of the system that may occur, and under what circumstances VPI will break down. While historians may well regard the emphasis the authors place on specification, hypothesis testing, and falsification as excess baggage, there is no doubt that the "theoretical" portion of this book, its "analytical narrative," is superbly executed. I found myself often reminded of Joseph Strayer's definition of feudalism in reading this section, perhaps no surprise in that Haber, Razo, and Maurer claim to have written their book in response to Douglass C. North, whose contribution to the economic analysis of European feudalism is well known. So, too, one makes sense of Hernando de Soto's insistent characterization of Latin America as "feudal" in *The Other Path* (1989), an ideological taboo for my generation of economic historians if ever there was one.

Ironically, perhaps, the authors find an unlikely soulmate in John Womack, whose classic essay on the Mexican economy during the revolution (*Marxist Perspectives* 1:4 [1978]: 80–123) they cite with approval as anticipating their findings. I say ironic because their methodology is part and parcel of mainstream economics, but their conclusions, which pretty well bear out the unpleasant distributional consequences of accumulation by and for the few, are exactly the reason so many intellectuals resorted to armed struggle in Latin America in the 1970s. Here, then, is a book that eloquently analyzes inequality of power and wealth in Mexico and intimates, in its technical language, that the welfare costs of these "distortions" may be far from trivial. Agreed, but can you really evade the political consequences of your argument so easily? Like the man said, philosophers have only interpreted the world. The purpose is to change it.

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DAVID G. LAFRANCE. *Revolution in Mexico's Heartland: Politics, War, and State Building in Puebla, 1913–1920*. (Latin American Silhouettes.) Wilmington, Del.: S R Books. 2003. Pp. xxv, 305. \$65.00.

The history of nineteenth-century Puebla, a major state in central Mexico, has been the subject of excellent studies by Leticia Gamboa, Carlos Contreras, Guy Thompson, Florencia Mallon, and David G. LaFrance. The last has taken up the task of continuing that work into the twentieth century, first in his *The Mexican Revolution in Puebla; 1908–1913: The Maderista Movement and the Failure of Liberal Reform* (1989) and now in the book under review. The research behind this work is vast and exhaustive. LaFrance has scoured newspapers and archives, leaving no page unturned. The result is a well-written, well-organized (with good subheadings), and incredibly detailed vision of political factions and squabbles in Puebla between 1913 and 1920.

LaFrance argues that “the deep and persistent desire for local autonomy” was so powerful in Puebla that it “took precedence over other major issues such as agrarian reform and nationalism, as it was, perhaps, the only overarching phenomenon to involve a cross section of society” (p. xv). He envisions the struggle for autonomy in Puebla not only at the local but also at the state level. His in-depth research makes an excellent case for the significance of this factor, developed with numerous and detailed examples. It is particularly salient because he is analyzing the moment when the new revolutionary state was taking shape. Nonetheless, historians have long since given up proposing single-factor causes for processes as complex as the Mexican Revolution.

What was it like for the common person to live through the thick of the Mexican Revolution? One of the major strengths of this book is the feel we get for the many everyday problems faced by Mexicans in the period between 1913 and 1920. For example, the problem of currency involved juggling not only the numerous chits, checks, and coins circulating but also paper money that physically disintegrated in a few days, even before rampant inflation decimated it. The food crisis, which brought great misery to most of Mexico in 1915–1916, devastated the state. It was compounded by a brutal freeze in 1917 that destroyed fifty percent of the grain and vegetable production. During the decade of 1910–1920, the price of corn rose 500 percent, and that of sugar rose 600 percent. In northern Puebla, “the poor broke into railroad cars loaded with corn bound for Mexico City” (pp. 178–79).

Three of the most fascinating characters who populate this study are the Narváez sisters: Guadalupe, María, and Rosa. All three were teachers who had joined the Maderista revolution. After 1915, Guadalupe applied her considerable energies to running the Carrancista propaganda machine in Puebla, creating youth groups, organizing civic meetings and concerts, editing a newspaper, and opposing prostitution. But

the sisters were also entrepreneurs, having taken over the contract to feed the prisoners in the jails of the city of Puebla.

Most Carrancista rulers in Puebla come off as arrogant and corrupt. Military officers emerge as plunderers, fishing in troubled waters and establishing alliances with local Porfirista caciques. Governor Alfonso Cabrera, although a civilian and Puebla native (brother of Carrancista intellectual and treasury minister Luis Cabrera), ruled as a dictator, especially when dealing with the fervent desire for local autonomy by Puebla's villages. In fact, the capital city accompanied by various municipalities took their case for autonomy (as guaranteed by the state constitution) against Cabrera's arbitrary acts to the Mexican Supreme Court. The latter ruled in favor of the governor, dealing “a severe blow” to the “champions of autonomy” (p. 155). LaFrance paints an extremely dark picture of this revolution with very few redeeming characters.

Since the city of Puebla was the second largest city in Mexico at the time, the author analyzes the different outlooks and needs of both urban and rural *poblanos* (residents of Puebla). Despite recent studies that have demonstrated that not all rural peoples opposed all aspects of modernization, LaFrance relies on the worn-out dichotomy of traditional rural people resisting modernity as opposed to “pragmatic” (a word he much favors) modernizing urban dwellers: modernizing Carrancistas face off against traditionalist Zapatistas. But Emiliano Zapata himself was incensed when peasants from Morelos tore up capital-producing sugar cane fields to plant maize for local consumption. And Juan Francisco Lucas, the cacique/patriarch of the Puebla highlands (d. 1917) who is seen here as negotiating with various factions, was a favorite modernizing cacique of Porfirio Díaz. Thus to use the modern/traditional dichotomy in no way does justice to the numerous factions, with distinct constituencies and goals, that populate this book.

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ROBINSON A. HERRERA. *Natives, Europeans, and Africans in Sixteenth-Century Santiago de Guatemala*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 2003. Pp. x, 261. \$50.00.

Robinson A. Herrera's book makes an admirable contribution to the historiography of colonial Guatemala. Herrera follows in the footsteps of his eminent mentor, James Lockhart, whose pioneering *Spanish Peru, 1532–1560: A Colonial Society* (1968) provides a model for Herrera's line of inquiry and his book's organization. Like Lockhart, Herrera meticulously probes copious but neglected notarial records to document the activities of the inhabitants of an early Spanish-American society, in this case the city of Santiago de Guatemala in the years 1538 to 1594.

Individual chapters set the economic context and chronicle in unprecedented detail the economic exploits and contributions of merchants, petty dealers,



muleteers, small landholders, artisans, professionals, African and mulatto slaves, free blacks, and (after a chapter on the persistence of indigenous corporate structures) natives themselves. The author's approach is empirical and the book is written in a straightforward, unornamented style. The book is clearly organized, with brief summaries at the end of each chapter and a concluding chapter that recapitulates the main themes. Herrera's extraordinary documentary base (principally notarial records from Guatemala City's Archivo General de Centroamérica, supplemented by research in Seville's Archivo General de Indias) is thoroughly referenced, although sometimes the examples threaten to overwhelm the reader rather than clarifying patterns.

As Herrera shows, the diverse inhabitants of Santiago participated early on in a broad range of economic activities, notwithstanding legal restrictions or cultural conventions. They replicated European material society with surprising speed. Credit transactions played a critical role in the early economy, making up for the lack of specie and linking diverse individuals across class, ethnic, and gender lines.

Herrera deliberately excludes *encomenderos* and ecclesiastics (p. 13) from his discussion, with perhaps unfortunate results. Although one empathizes with his determination not to let elites "condition the narrative" (p. 13), in eschewing a more extended discussion of colonial elites, Herrera misses an opportunity to provide a fuller portrait of colonial society and the values and mores shaping the lives of Santiago's diverse inhabitants, even as he argues convincingly that "life in the city revolved around commerce" (p. 8). On the numerous occasions that he does refer to the highest social circles, the reader is left to his own devices or to rely on other studies.

Commendably, Herrera makes special efforts to ferret out the economic contributions of women of diverse social categories. He provides remarkable details of the struggle for economic survival and advancement at the lower levels of colonial society. Nevertheless, with its focus on petty commerce and the pursuit of profits, the picture Herrera draws is far different from that which one gets from reading, say, William Sherman's *Forced Native Labor in Sixteenth-Century Central America* (1979). Perhaps a corrective is in order, but privileging mundane efforts to struggle and survive and the replication of European material life runs the risk of downplaying the exploitative aspects of colonial life. More emphasis on religious and cultural life would have broadened the picture, and the rapidly changing demographic context, as discussed in Christopher Lutz's *Santiago de Guatemala, 1541-1773: City, Caste, and the Colonial Experience* (1994), could use more emphasis as well. Herrera does provide an excellent discussion of indigenous *milpas*, barrios, and towns, and a plausible explanation for their changing relationships to the growing Spanish-American city.

One wonders if the author's approach does not lead to a sort of self-fulfilling proposition: painstakingly

unearthing examples of colonial commerce at all levels, Herrera not surprisingly concludes that "Santiago was built on commerce" (p. 15) and that "Commerce pervaded all levels of society and all social groups" (p. 46). It does seem that he downplays Santiago's institutional role as a center of state and church power that accounts for much of the city's true importance. And although he insists that this "is not a comparative history of Santiago and other areas" (p. 13), the book begs for a more explicit comparative framework. This would help us understand what was unique about Santiago and what was common to other similar cities. Curiously, most of the comparisons we do get are to Mexico City rather than comparable regional centers like Puebla, Antequera, Guadalajara, and so forth. At the very least, however, Herrera's richly documented and judiciously argued book furnishes an ample base for others to make their own comparisons. And he has, indeed, done much to rescue from obscurity legions of forgotten people.

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SERGIO SERULNIKOV. *Subverting Colonial Authority: Challenges to Spanish Rule in Eighteenth-Century Southern Andes*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 287. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.

In 1780, much of southern Peru and Bolivia exploded in a series of rebellions that challenged Spanish colonial rule and put the colonial project into question. These movements have often been subsumed under the name of the Túpac Amaru rebellion, but the movement led by Túpac Amaru in the Cuzco-Lake Titicaca region was not the first upheaval to confront the colonial system. That distinction belonged to the insurrection in the region between Sucre and Potosí, Bolivia, known as Chayanta or the north of Potosí led by Tomás Katari and his brothers Dámaso and Nicolás. Likewise, within Bolivia, at least until recently, the insurrection led by Julián Apasa, also known as Túpac Katari, which laid siege to La Paz somewhat overshadowed the Chayanta movement in terms of scholarly attention. Thus, the turbulent and determined struggles of the native peoples in the north of Potosí have to a certain degree been the scholarly "orphan" of the revolutionary movements that swept the southern Andes. Sergio Serulnikov ends this situation with his insightful, well-researched book. With his close-to-the-ground analysis of the political motivations and the cultural understandings of various indigenous peoples, including Machas, Pocoatas, and Jukumanis, at the core of this conflict, Serulnikov has gone a long way toward restoring their human agency while providing a complex and subtle analysis of their actions.

Ever aware of the larger context in which he is working, Serulnikov has not only done his primary research but has read with care much of the recent, as well as the older, literature on the 1780 rebellions in order to place the insurrections in a comprehensive



perspective. Considerable attention is paid to the times, regions, and similarities and differences between Cuzco, La Paz, and the north region of Potosí. The book's concluding chapter addresses these differences lucidly, but at the same time the author also uses the conclusion to point to the failure of the Spanish to understand their colonial subjects after centuries of colonial rule, arguing that these Andean insurrections did not fit colonial views of native peoples as passive and subordinate or as savages or barbarians. Nor did the Europeans begin to fully comprehend the way "colonial rule, Catholic religious beliefs, [and] market economies . . . ultimately became part of the cultural repertoire and identity of the native communities . . . Andean insurgents everywhere rejected Spanish government not by rejecting colonial institutions altogether, but by claiming them as their own" (pp. 225–26). Serulnikov argues that, ultimately, this forced Spanish elites to confront the failure of their "civilizing project" and also to become aware that their colonial Andean subjects had their own understandings of their rightful positions and appropriate behaviors.

The core of the book centers on the growing efforts of indigenous people to exercise what they considered to be their rights under the colonial compact to assure just and equitable treatment through the official legal system. If these efforts were not successful, then, acting in accordance with what they perceived as justice, they took (extra)legal action to achieve their goals. Sometimes this was done through intimidation or beatings. Other times it involved ritual killings and communal violence, but such actions were logical extensions of legal understandings and judicial efforts to obtain justice. Serulnikov argues that it was exactly "the articulation, not the disengagement, of mass violence and juridical strategies that made Indian mobilization a radically subversive movement" (p. 138).

The strategy of using the courts and then resorting to violence to achieve justice if the legal system failed was hardly novel to the rebels of Chayanta. However, due to a series of factors, including the unintentional creation of a unified but ethnically distinct people with common interests under the rule of the same abusive cacique, a volatile situation was created. Indigenous people challenged the legitimacy of caciques, corregidores, and the *audiencia* (high court) alike. "They transformed themselves into autonomous political actors, capable not only of asserting their rights, but also of defining the means by which the delegates of the crown should exercise their authority" (p. 148). In this situation, native peoples saw themselves as the legal arm of true justice, which gave them the right to use violence against state representatives who did not provide justice.

While the outward forms of the final stages of the various 1780 upheavals may have been very different, the "continuum of social violence" (p. 3) that Serulnikov claims for Chayanta is also largely true of Cuzco. In that way, there may not be as much difference

between these regions as suggested by Serulnikov. This is, however, a very interesting and fine book. Serulnikov has made an important contribution to our understanding of peasant politics and consciousness, colonial authority and legitimacy, and the evolving understandings peasants and rulers had of each other.

WARD STAVIG

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JOÃO JOSÉ REIS. *Death is a Festival: Funeral Rites and Rebellion in Nineteenth-Century Brazil*. (Latin America in Translation/en traducción/em tradução.) Translated by H. SABRINA GLEDHILL. Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. 386. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$27.50.

Dying, funerals, and burial were central rather than marginal to the Brazilian way of life. Thus, João José Reis's social history of religious brotherhoods, household mortuary customs, and funeral processions in early nineteenth-century Salvador-Bahia leads directly to key themes of everyday life. Bahian funerals marked status differences with crass display—hired waiters, dozens of attending priests, hundreds of candles, elaborate biers, a burial place "above the altar rail"—everything that contrasted with the other end of the continuum, the sling that carried the corpses of slaves and anonymous sailors to a common field. We would expect funeral practices to mirror the status hierarchies of a slave society and the ethnic differences of a city full of Portuguese and African migrants. But Bahian funeral arrangements also made less predictable statements about the logic of life and social relations. This book presents us with African-born freedmen whose wills bought masses for the soul of their former masters, parents who shrouded their children in bright red or festive stripes, merchants who ordered a mass for the soul of anyone whom they might have cheated and then forgotten. The most outstanding quality of this splendidly crafted book is its low-key, unhurried unfolding of details that demonstrate how close the dead were to the living and that ultimately allow a persuasive interpretation of grievances in the 1836 Cemiterada riot. By dwelling on the price of candle wax or the preference of Africans for white shrouds when their Brazilian-born children and grandchildren chose shrouds of many colors, Reis gradually builds a sense of familiarity with the aims and means of Bahians. We come to see how "Baroque" funeral customs could express their guilt, their arrogance, their frustrations, and their sense of propriety and injustice.

Funeral relations between the living and the dead changed in at least two ways around the turn of the nineteenth century. Preferences shifted spontaneously away from burial under the church floor (with its implication of communal leveling in death) and toward burial in exclusive niches of the brotherhoods adjacent to the church, often in family groups (pp. 162, 196). And in a deliberate challenge to the Baroque style of

burial, a handful of medical reformers argued that miasmas from stinking corpses spread disease. In 1828, they persuaded the imperial government to rule that all burials must take place in cemeteries outside cities. The Bahian provincial government then unwisely granted a monopoly on funerals to a private company, in return for building Salvador's cemetery. Brotherhoods, the most effective private associations in Salvador, challenged the contract, arguing that loss of funeral income would bankrupt them and that burial in a remote suburb would spoil the style of funeral processions. In 1836, a cross-class demonstration led by a conservative political boss turned into a riot that razed the new cemetery. Reis argues that the Cemiterada riot cannot be interpreted simply as an obscurantist outburst or as the São Francisco brotherhood's sabotage of its new monopoly competitor. It was a bit of each, but above all it was a protest against the arbitrary "reform" of a way of dying that meant so much to rich and poor alike.

This exemplary, open-ended study raises intriguing questions as it solves many puzzles. It is a light revision of the Brazilian edition, *A morte é uma festa* (1991), and it "clarifies" the argument by being explicit in places where the original entrusted enigmas to the reader's judgment. Thus the decision of a tough slave master to be buried with a primarily black slave brotherhood is now explained as one of the "paternalistic traps" that perpetuated Brazilian slavery (p. 181). But many interesting problems are left open. For example, is there a functional explanation of the apparently nonutilitarian consumerism of funerals that squandered small fortunes on ephemeral candlelight and Latin masses? Could there be a better label than the catchall "liberal" to characterize the ideology of the high-handed cemetery reformers? Did the Baroque solidarities between living and dead, solidarities given organizational form in religious brotherhoods, simply evaporate in the second half of the nineteenth century, or were they rechanneled into other practices and institutions (p. 214)? Reis abstains from the opportunity to engage Gilberto Freyre's pioneering historical sociology, *The Mansions and the Shanties: The Making of Modern Brazil* (1936), which also places the relation between the living and the dead at the center of Brazil's early nineteenth-century transition to modernity, and which—for reasons antithetical to Reis's purposes—also emphasizes the destruction of cultural meaning and coherence in that transition.

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NOEMÍ M. GIRBAL-BLACHA. *Mitos, paradojas y realidades en la Argentina peronista (1946–1955): Una interpretación histórica de sus decisiones político-económicas*. (Serie Convergencia. Entre memoria y sociedad.) Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes. 2003. Pp. 275.

There are times when an author's pretensions undermine the strength of a work, and this is unfortunately one of them. It is particularly regrettable, since Noemí M. Girbal-Blacha has, through solid labor in the archives, given readers important information on the economic-political strategies of the regime of Juan Perón. However, the first theoretical chapter has little to do with the rest of the book. The important conclusions that the author buries at the end of the book would have made an excellent introduction.

Girbal-Blacha has attempted to tie together a series of somewhat discrete studies and present them as a unified whole. Her key device is an introductory chapter based on postmodernist theories and a discussion of memory, myth, and paradoxes. She illustrates them with a discussion of the elimination of the foreign debt in 1952 and the nationalization of public utilities and how what happened was different than the image that exists of these actions. There is unfortunately not much detail, and not much that is said is new.

The remainder of the book has almost nothing to do with the introductory chapter, except for occasional references to the idea that reality is different from peoples' understanding. The reader is left searching for the points raised in the introduction. Yet the subsequent chapters do have a certain unity. They are all based on dedicated labor in the archives of three crucial government banks: Banco de Crédito Industrial Argentino, Banco de la Nación Argentina, and Banco de la Provincia de Buenos Aires. Girbal-Blacha also makes use of other important sources. It is in these very concrete chapters that the author displays her strengths as a researcher and historian. In a series of what are individual essays, she looks at the lending policies of the above-mentioned banks and how these reflected, or did not, the stated policies of the Perón regime. Girbal-Blacha begins with an examination of the loans given to nontraditional industries, with a particular emphasis on textiles and the metal industries. From the bank records, she is able to tell us the size of the companies, their degree of profitability, and what the loans were used for.

This is followed by an examination of the banks' loan policies toward agriculture and traditional industries, such as tobacco and meatpacking. A noticeable shift in policies began in 1950 and intensified afterward, as the regime realized the continued importance of more traditional sectors of the economy. The author also presents an examination of government and bank policies toward agricultural cooperatives and a relatively short chapter on financial policies toward companies in the cultural world, such as printing and moviemaking. This chapter should probably have been greatly expanded in order to discuss the impact of financial policies on content.

It is only in the conclusion that we see the basic theme of the book laid out. Girbal-Blacha argues that the loans given to industry or agriculture were primarily intended not to pay for investments to enlarge enterprises' productive capacities but rather to buy raw

material, pay salaries, and pay for the new welfare requirements of the government (in other words, to finance day-to-day operations). So despite the large amounts lent, the regime did little to help create a continual process of economic expansion. The author correctly faults both the government and the investor class, pointing out that it is impossible in this case to blame high foreign debt, lack of resources, or great levels of poverty. (Argentina had done well economically during World War II.) The material presented in the book amply backs up the conclusion and is an important contribution to discussions of the Perón regime.

The book would have been more convincing and approachable if the conclusion had been presented as the theme of the book. In other words, the logic of the fine research really only becomes apparent at the end. Girbal-Blacha has given us a work that is important because of her solid archival labor. Her book is much less about myths and paradoxes than it is about the ways that money was lent by the state banking institutions. This research does allow the reader to draw important conclusions about how economic policies were implemented under Perón. That is no small accomplishment.

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#### EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

BENJAMIN ISAAC. *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 563. \$45.00.

In the past, scholars tended to emphasize only the positive side of our legacy from the Greeks and Romans. In recent years, they have concentrated increasingly, and sometimes excessively, on the negative aspects of the classical inheritance. One such double-edged gift is the art of classification, which is the foundation of philosophical and scientific thought but at the same time the inspiration for the construction of pseudoscientific theories. Analogy and polarity, the basic techniques of reasoning in antiquity, can be used to support many bad ideas, among them the notion that women are by definition inferior to men or that slavery is a natural state. As Benjamin Isaac shows in this comprehensive book, there are clear precedents in ancient Greek and Roman thought for the kind of proto-racist thinking that has already done and still continues to do such irreparable harm to humanity.

Xenophobia or fear of strangers is perhaps instinctive to all humans. The Greeks, like the Sumerians and Babylonians, called people who did not speak their language *barbaroi*, speakers of nonsense. But racism, as Isaac explains in his lucid and expansive survey of classical thought, adds to xenophobia a sense of superiority, and characterizes others both as different and inferior. In the fifth century, Herodotus spoke with respect of the Persians who threatened the indepen-

dence of the mainland Greeks—not surprisingly, since he was a native of Halicarnassus, a city that was under Persian control. But in the fourth century, Hippocrates, the author of the medical treatise *Airs, Waters, Places* argued that Greeks were morally and physically superior to the inhabitants of Asia because the Asians were ruled by despots and lived in lands that were too fertile and comfortable. Roman writers developed such ideas into universalizing theories. In particular, they favored the notions that moral traits were determined by environment, or origin, or even physiognomy. These generalizations were useful to them as arguments in favor of imperialism, and they could be employed to support claims that Roman domination was advantageous to their many subject peoples. Proto-racist theories also helped to justify acts of mass execution, although nothing the Romans attempted approaches the scale of modern genocide or ethnic cleansing.

A characteristic of proto-racist thinking is the tendency to view groups and whole nations as one single individual, and to overlook the fact that inevitably there are many real distinctions among peoples in any collectivity. But it would also be a mistake to think that such views were held by all Greeks and Romans at all times, since, as Isaac shows, at almost any period there were individuals who refused to think in racist terms, and who did not believe in the natural inferiority of inhabitants of any region, or even of age or gender.

Isaac helpfully describes just how the Romans came to define the national identity of peoples other than themselves, such as Phoenicians, Germans, and, indeed, Greeks. He discusses what they thought of Egyptians, but not of other peoples on the continent of Africa, because they did not “form much of an actual presence in the ancient world” (p. 49), and no African nation was ever subject to Roman rule. The people the Greeks and Romans called “Ethiopians” were largely mythical. In any case, skin color was not an important factor in proto-racist thinking. Africans were depicted with white skin and Europeans with black skin in Attic vase paintings.

In a final chapter Isaac provides a detailed discussion of Roman prejudices against the Jews and rightly concludes that only some of their ideas had any influence on the later European Judeophobia that culminated in the Holocaust. In fact, the Romans tended to be more tolerant of Jews than they were of Christians, because they were afraid of the Christians’ tendency to proselytize.

Other peoples in the ancient world were capable of racist thinking; for example, the ancient Egyptians considered themselves different in appearance from their neighbors, such as Asiatics and Nubians. They thought that foreigners spoke gibberish and tended to regard them as morally inferior to themselves. As Isaac might have brought out even more forcefully, it is not the fact that Greco-Roman proto-racism was unique in the history of the ancient world that made it more influential and destructive than that of other peoples.



Rather, it was their ability to deploy "evidence" and "reasoning" in defense of their questionable theories.

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BERYL RAWSON. *Children and Childhood in Roman Italy*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 419.

Since the 1980s, Beryl Rawson has transformed the study of the Roman family. Her previous publications have moved this subject from the sidelines to the mainstream of Roman history. Now Rawson has produced a comprehensive study of Roman children and childhood. In future all researchers in childhood studies, not just those interested in the Romans, will use this book as their starting point. In the past decades ancient historians have refined their methodological approach to "muted groups": that is, those members of society who do not write their own history and whose lives are always seen through the prism of another's point of view. This methodology, originating with disciplines such as social science, anthropology, and literary criticism, has allowed historians deeper insights into the function of social groups, like children, within a society. Rawson's book acknowledges the result. After a comprehensive "state of the subject" introduction, the book is divided into two main sections: representations of children in Italy, and the life course. The first section is titled so as to highlight the fact that we cannot access the reality of Roman children's lives. They left no record of their own experiences. However the hopes and expectations of their parents and of society, recorded in a wide range of literary and epigraphic sources, and visual and material culture, allow Rawson to create a credible history of a child's life course in the second section of her book. The tension between representation and "common sense reality" overtly underlies the whole volume.

In part one, the role of children in visual and literary sources is discussed. The image of the child presented is the product of the type of primary material and the understanding of the viewer/reader. Rawson is careful to stress the multiple meanings a Roman audience would attribute to a particular view of a child in a particular medium (for instance, in public and private art, in literature, in law) and the many intersecting ways this view can be interpreted by modern scholars. This section stresses the role of children as symbols. It recognizes that as symbols children can serve a number of useful narrative and metaphorical ends that may have little to do with the children themselves.

Part two covers birth, early rearing, age classification, education, relationships, public life and death, burial and commemoration. For infancy, medical texts provide a lot of "academic" information but say little about the practicalities of raising a child. The "indifference debate," which focused on the practices of child abandonment and wet-nursing, is familiar to

those in this field, and Rawson deals with it succinctly. She stresses the social and religious rituals that surround the birth of a child. The Romans expected certain types of behavior to be associated with certain chronological stages of life. Childhood, however, was not an undifferentiated period. The Romans inherited a number of systems of age classification, and while these are based on numerical symbolism rather than social psychology, they offer an insight into popular assumptions about the stages of childhood. The nature of the source material for Roman history is such that we will always know most about the upper classes in Italy. However, for children, another group is well represented: that of the ex-slave or freedman class of society. This is illustrated by the attention they receive in the subsequent sections on education, interpreted in its broadest sense, and relationships. The chapter on the role of children in public life is again dominated by examples from elite and imperial families, but it also examines the role of children in religious ritual. The final chapter deals with the rituals of death and the practices of commemoration. It is also a fine example of the extent of this book, which, while its prime subject is the Roman child, offers valuable insights into a range of Roman social behavior. It will open up the Roman world to those for whom this is a new subject.

The range of source material analyzed and referenced here will make this the essential book for the study of Roman childhood for a good few years to come. It is already my first port of call when seeking a particular reference. Although the style is occasionally dense and some areas are treated in intense detail that may put off the general reader, everything you may want to find out is in here. All Latin is helpfully translated, and the references are clear.

The history of childhood is an emotive subject. We have all been children, and some of us are parents; it is not a subject anyone can approach without preconceptions. Rawson's success is that she persuades the reader to put aside these preconceptions and approach the history of childhood in Roman Italy on its own terms.

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OLIVIA REMIE CONSTABLE. *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 427. \$65.00.

This is a study of the *pandocheion*, the late antique guesthouse "open to all," and its successor institutions accommodating travelers, facilitating managed trade, and serving as focal points for the communication across cultures around the Mediterranean Sea. Olivia Remie Constable traces the meanings of the word *pandocheion* and its rendering into Syrian, Arabic, Latin, and the Romance languages over 1,500 years. Her book offers insight into the changing legal framework of the institutions to which the word made



reference and discusses the available archaeological evidence seemingly filling the gaps that written sources have left. It approaches the Mediterranean world as an area integrated by the doings of traders, even at times when many Christian warriors, some rulers, and a mass of excited lay pilgrims sought confrontation with Muslims in the Levant, North Africa, and the Iberian Peninsula. The author, who specializes in medieval Spain, records the traces of the *pandocheia* not only in the area of her specialization but also in the eastern Mediterranean, and she provides often detailed accounts of trade and communication in cities under Byzantine, Arab, Seljuk, Mamluk, and Turkish rule. Constable succeeds in documenting the paths on which the word *pandocheion* moved from its origin in the Levant through the Arab world, where it took root in the seventh and eighth centuries, to the Latin occident, where it appeared by the tenth century. She catalogs the best recorded cities with their *pandocheia* until the institution became outmoded in the sixteenth century in the context of increasingly strong tendencies toward segregating Muslim from Christian traders.

The book challenges the view, vocally argued by Fernand Braudel, that there was no significant epochal divide in the Mediterranean world around A.D. 1500, adducing new evidence that the Christian-Muslim confrontation gained strength toward the end of the fifteenth and during the sixteenth centuries, thereby ending the previous period of intense communication across political and religious divides. In the view of the author, the Braudelian perspective appears to have been a consequence of the simple lack of familiarity among Western historians with medieval Arab and Hebrew sources. While Constable's point is well taken for studies on the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it is less obvious for the eleventh and twelfth centuries; she seems not to know Michael A. Köhler's *Allianzen und Verträge zwischen fränkischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorderen Orient* (1991).

It is here that the study displays some deficits. Constable does not succeed in contextualizing her discussions of trading issues with the background of politics and religion (to the extent that the two spheres of activity can be separated at all). Thus she classes as a specifically Muslim feature the late medieval tendency toward the segregation in Muslim cities of Christian traders from their Muslim neighborhoods, although the same tendency of segregating people according to their territory of origin is well recorded throughout the occident at this time. Without taking into account the emerging idea of the personality of law, she attributes the segregationist tendencies unilaterally to policies of Muslim rulers rather than placing them in the wider context of territorialization. Within this wider context, the Muslim and Christian worlds around the Mediterranean appear less different than the author expects.

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GUY HALSALL, editor. *Humour, History and Politics in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 208. \$50.00.

"Your Majesty, there is only one thing in the world worse than being witty—and that is *not* being witty." So declares the Oscar Wilde character, to exaggeratedly uproarious laughter, in Monty Python's brilliant anatomy of the legend of Wildean wit at the court of the future King Edward VII. The insights of the sketch—that humor is in the eye of its beholders, and that it makes a difference if royalty is among them—are those that animate this collection of eight essays. Their shared purpose is to encourage a reassessment of the legendary humorlessness of the early medieval period. The Carolingian court, in particular, emerges as a proto-Edwardian zone of riddling, competitive wordplay, and serious meditation on the comic.

The stereotype of the grim-faced Middle Ages draws its credence from the drying up of the Roman comedy tradition, and the sour prohibitions on laughter in some monastic literature, a tight-lippedness immortalized in Umberto Eco's *Jorge*. It is, however, an extreme form of classicism to allow the Roman stage to define the canon of humor, and it is simply not the case that the monastic tradition spoke with one voice on laughter. Ancient urbanities may have faded with the ancient city, but the small worlds of early medieval courts and monasteries, were, as face-to-face societies, by definition replete with ironies, status gaps, and incongruities—providing ample illustration of the "banana skin" theory of comedy. Editor Guy Halsall's own contribution offers an acute and playful rereading of key high political scenes from fifth and sixth-century texts, whose ironies we may entirely have missed. Danuta Shanzer directly challenges the image of the period 500–800 as an era without wit, making the tantalizing suggestion that the Church Fathers should be read as metaphysicians of the comedy of everyday life (but taking issue with Walter Goffart's interpretation of Gregory of Tours as a satirist). Mark Humphries and John Haldon examine the survival of classical modes and genres, the former with a lively tour of late Roman invective on drunken emperors, the latter with a survey of humor in the Byzantine tradition.

In what is effectively the second half of the collection, the remaining four essays focus on the Carolingian and post-Carolingian world. Ross Balzaretti contributes to the revival of interest in the scurrilous humor and the rhetoric of gender in Liudprand of Cremona's *Antapodosis* (one looks forward to his announced translation of this work); Matthew Innes seeks to tease out the cultural meanings of the description of Louis the Pious as a ruler who "never even allowed his white teeth to be bared in laughter"; Martha Bayless adds to her careful work on the riddling tradition with a study of Alcuin's *Disputatio Pippini*; and Paul Kershaw concludes the volume with a powerfully ambitious study, mapping the comic

theologies of Agnellus of Ravenna and Notker the Stammerer in terms of the contrasting semiologies of Gregory the Great and Augustine. Given such a concentration on the Carolingian period, it is surprising that no mention is made in the volume of John of Salerno's mid-tenth-century portrait of Odo of Cluny, with its explicit defense of gentle laughter as fully compatible with the unsmiling taboos of the *Rule of St. Benedict*.

Halsall's editorial comment is interestingly ambivalent. At times triumphalist at the expense of the supposedly humorless scholars of earlier generations (such as the fathers of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, whose deadpan wit is surely no more or less recuperable than that of the Church Fathers), Halsall is also troubled by a series of anxieties: that this is a collection of in-jokes from the Leeds International Medieval Congress of 1998, whence all but one (Haldon's) of the papers derive; that none of the jokes, medieval or modern, is witty enough; and, worst, that the whole business of critical analysis of the joke is in dismal bad taste. Ironically, it may be that the book's U.S. audience will find that there is not enough analysis. The collection exhibits a cheerful Anglo-Saxon preference for empirical work with primary texts over theoretical lucubration. Little distinction is drawn among humor, laughter, comedy, jokes, and wit, with the result that the book's methodological contribution to the current debate on the history of emotions has to be read between the lines. The point is made, however, that the study of humor represents a serious and worthwhile limit case of what historians do. To get the jokes, as Halsall observes, "You had to be there" (p. 7).

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CÉLINE MARTIN. *La géographie du pouvoir dans l'Espagne visigothique*. (Histoire et Civilisations.) Ville-neuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires de Septentrion. 2003. Pp. 407. €23.50.

Late medieval and early modern historians have long argued about the emergence of the nation, the construction of the state, and the formulations of sovereignty. These are the same concerns that animate Céline Martin's book. Writing against a historical rendering of the Visigothic realm as politically fragmented, Martin, through an exhaustive tapping of the extant sources and a vast secondary literature, seeks to show the success of Visigothic rulers in "centralizing" political power and in their construction of the "state" in sixth and seventh-century Iberia. Her "geography of power" does not, in this case, address a strict geographical analysis or fully the role of place in the making of Visigothic history, although some attention is given to the topic. Rather, her main interest and underlying strategy is to examine the relationship between "local and general power": that is, the connections between a Roman model of governing

through local elites and what she sees as Visigothic centralizing policies. Throughout she accepts without too much questioning the continuity between the late antique world and the early Middle Ages, positing the kingdom of Toledo as an heir to Rome's imperial authority and as a model for later political entities.

Martin's well-researched book is divided into three sections, each comprising two lengthy chapters. She begins with a broad view of Visigothic territorial organization, patterns of settlement, the central role played by cities and minting centers, and the relationship between town and countryside. Here, as she does throughout the book, Martin engages the existing historiographical debates, raises pertinent methodological questions, and explores the semantic field in which contemporaries dealt with the reality of their world. Martin also ventures into interesting asides, as, for example, on the nature and importance of city walls and the hierarchical position of celestial protection in the Visigothic realm. Chapter two turns from a study of place to that of the men in power, exploring the role of the holy man, bishops, and nobles in Visigothic political culture; while chapter three focuses on the evolution of a royal territorial administration, detailing the different types of crown agents and their role in what the author sees as the emergence of centralization in sixth and seventh-century Visigothic Spain. For Martin, the reign of Chindaswinth (642–653) marks a clear point of change, as it does the evolution of the role of the *dux* or duke and his assumption of civil and military functions. There is also a long and interesting aside in the office of *thiufadas*, a royal agent with religious, fiscal, judicial, and military functions.

Chapter four, a very interesting and rich chapter, traces the development of Toledo as the kingdom's capital and its prominence as the realm's geographical center, royal residence, site for spectacle, and ecclesiastical administration. This is followed in the next chapter by a discussion of the emergence of frontiers. Martin argues that frontiers provided an identity for the Visigothic kingdom, while her mining of legal sources calling for military service reveals the unity and reality of the Visigothic "state." Chapter six shifts the discussion to the cultural and symbolic meaning of the Visigothic "state." Arguing that the kingdom of Toledo was swept by apocalyptic agitation, the Visigoths sought a return to political and religious unity, or what Martin describes as "collective purity." Their emphasis on being a community at the end of time is deployed as an explanation for the Visigoths' bitter persecution of the Jews and for their attempts at forced conversion. One could easily argue that chiliastic expectations do not necessarily lead to political unity, as the many examples of European medieval apocalyptic movements may show. In addition, terms such as *gens*, *patria*, and *regnum* are invoked to buttress Martin's final conclusion and the main theme of the book: that the Visigothic kingdom of Toledo, the heir of Rome, was neither barbarian nor feudal and that it was "undeniably a state, that is to say . . . a sovereign

power . . . where its public character is seen in its juridical enactments" (p. 372).

Although this is a rich and well-researched book that makes important contributions and is deserving of a careful reading, I must raise some questions as to Martin's emphasis on, and frequent use of, such terms as centralization, state, sovereignty, and collective identity. At a time when historians are rightly questioning the use of such ideologically laden language even for the early modern period, her insistence on the Visigothic construction of the state and its description as a "future nation in an emerging Europe" are puzzling. One cannot help but be reminded, in a somewhat different key, of Patrick Geary's brilliant deflating of such interpretations in *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (2002) and wonder whether what is otherwise an excellent book is not marred by this monochrome historical analysis. At the end, Martin makes a passing reference to the events of 711, when the Muslims conquered the Visigothic realm with great ease, but this outcome does not confirm or support the idea of Visigothic centralization and "national" unity. On the contrary, the swift collapse of the kingdom of Toledo in the face of a minor invasion and the numerous conversions to Islam and adoption of Arabic culture by most of the former Visigothic subjects exposes the Visigothic realm as a putative political entity easily vulnerable to attacks from within and without.

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MARY C. ERLER and MARYANNE KOWALESKI, editors.  
*Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003.  
Pp. viii, 269. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$18.95.

By entitling this collection *Gendering the Master Narrative*, editors Mary C. Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski intend to prepare readers for the fact that the essays supplement the story of men's access to and wielding of power in the European Middle Ages with the story of women's. There is no artificial or misguided equalizing going on here, however. Women had power, but overall they were disadvantaged. Moreover, to recover them as agents in the exercise of power is also to describe the ways in which they sometimes had to obscure their roles or accept limitations on the extent of their actions or even disadvantage other women in the process. In 1988 a collection with the same title appeared from the same editors, but this is less a second edition than an exciting new report on the present state of the field. Explicitly this is so in Jo Ann McNamara's essay, which looks back at her earlier contribution (co-authored with Suzanne Wemple) and situates it in the historiography and sensibilities characteristic nearly two decades ago. This essay is a delightful *ruminatio*, as a good medieval Benedictine might say, thoughtful, moving, occasionally self-depre-

cating, and witty. My favorite sentence: "I came myself to believe that we said considerably more on this subject [patrilineage] than in fact we did say" (p. 20). Its most important point, as I read it, is McNamara's recognition that she and Wemple had not liberated themselves from the master narrative even as they wrote against it (or to supplement/complement it). They largely, if not wholly, accepted aspects of its periodization that McNamara would now emphatically reject. For her, the great turning point is not the eclipse of the Western Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries, but a *grande mutation*—gradual but decisive—around the end of the first millennium from close collaboration between the sexes to far less collaboration.

The other essays are more traditional in form, but all have a strong bibliographical emphasis. The reader who wants to know where to go to flesh out the issues treated here will be delighted, possibly even overwhelmed, with the information provided on auricular confession, nuns, domestic space, and topoi in the lives of female saints, to mention just a few issues. Among the essays that seemed most to disturb complacent, prevalent scholarly understandings of power are the following. Dyan Elliott's study of confession is a subtle evocation of the interpersonal dynamics of the sacrament. I know of nothing else quite like this effort to get at the meaning of confession in what might be called "real life." Pamela Sheingorn's study of Saint Anne as the Blessed Virgin's reading teacher and, therefore, as a celebration of female literacy, potentially though not necessarily or even commonly a celebration threatening to prevailing ideologies, is superb and rendered all the more interesting by the integration of the artistic material in the discussion. Katherine French's study of women in the medieval English parish refocuses scholars' attention on the ordinary life of ordinary people. Women were as active in their parishes then, particularly as fundraisers, as church women are active in church activities now, but not every effort elicited a positive response from male authorities. French specifically mentions Hocktide celebrations, which included gaming. I was reminded of criticisms of church bingo nowadays.

And there is the extremely interesting study offered by Holly Hurlburt on the dogaressa of Venice, the doge's consort. She had her own enthronement, her own processions, her own range of ceremonial activities, her own intimates. Everything was coordinated—choreographed—with a delicacy that is quite astonishing. No doubt experts on Venice already knew something about these things. But many non-experts know a lot about the doge and the ceremonies surrounding him and his office. How many non-experts (alas, I include myself) have even spared a thought about the dogaressa or remember ever encountering the word?

There are other essays, not one of which is weak: Nicholas Watson on the *Ancrene Wisse*; Jocelyn Wogan-Browne on what she regards as a kind of



counterpart to the *Ancrene Wisse*, the British Library collection of Anglo-Norman saints' lives, MS Additional 70513 (the Campsey collection); Wendy Larson on mothers' relationship to the cult of Saint Margaret; Barbara Newman's epitome of a section of her controversial book on female personifications/goddesses; and two pieces on the domestic sphere, one (Sarah Rees Jones's) stressing domestic space and the other (Felicity Riddy's) stressing interpersonal relations.

This is a wonderful collection, but it would have been even better if there were something on Jewish women and their relations within their communities and households and with the wider world. It would also have been good to have something on Spain, that part of Christendom where women and men of the three major religions constantly interacted and where the exercise of power was always a fraught experience. Finally, a systematic essay on heresy, which returned to the old chestnut of what it meant for and to women, would have been welcome. I look forward to a future progress report that incorporates these areas. Until then there is much to be savored and much I will contentedly ruminate on in the collection as it is.

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PER INGESMAN. *Provisioner og Processer: Den romerske Rota og dens behandling af danske sager i middelalderen* [Provisions and Suits: The Roman Rota and How It Dealt with Danish Cases in the Middle Ages]. Aarhus, Denmark: Aarhus Universitetsforlag. 2003. Pp. 829.

This impressive book analyzes the Roman Rota and how it dealt with Danish cases during the Middle Ages. Per Ingesman has studied the papal supreme court, the Rota Romana, and especially the role of the Rota within the papal system of provisions. Years of extensive studies in the Vatican archives built a solid foundation for this volume. In the first part, the author summarizes the existing literature on the Rota and points out the most studied themes and problems. The second part investigates the Danish provisions and suits in Rome, based on many unpublished sources and documents. Several appendixes present an overview of selected Danish cases brought before the Rota.

The first two chapters are of special interest to scholars dealing with papal jurisdiction and administration during the Middle Ages. The introduction presents papal jurisdiction and the severe criticism it provoked, especially at the reform councils in the fifteenth century. A Danish case brought before the Rota at the end of that century serves as the starting point for the investigation of many subsequent cases. Danish dissatisfaction with the papal jurisdiction during the later Middle Ages is well documented.

The heart of the study consists of two parts. The first part gives an important account of the Rota, showing how the court worked, its personnel and procedures, and the extensive material it produced. During the second half of the thirteenth and the beginning of the

fourteenth century, the Rota developed into a permanent college of papal judges or auditors. It seems that the Rota was fully established at the beginning of the Avignon period, around 1320. The papacy as supreme source of justice became of great importance to the medieval church because it was possible to appeal to the pope at any stage and level of an ecclesiastical lawsuit. This made the papal courts an ever-ready alternative to the local ecclesiastical courts, a situation that local church authorities viewed as destructive.

Papal jurisdiction provoked increasing criticism during the later Middle Ages. As part of the tendency toward the formation of national churches, demands were put forward at the reform councils during the first half of the fifteenth century that all ecclesiastical cases should be decided in their countries of origin, not in Rome. The stronger European monarchies succeeded in carrying through this demand, but the weaker princes had to accept a compromise with the Curia in Rome.

The second part of the volume analyzes selected Danish cases brought before the Rota. The author focuses on the oldest Danish suits at the Rota (i.e. those before the beginning of 1464) in the series of court books (*Manualia*), followed by a qualitative analysis of suits from archives and collections in Denmark (especially four comprehensive cases). The last part is mainly a qualitative analysis of all Danish suits known to have been dealt with by the Rota during the period from the start of the *Manualia* up to the Danish Reformation of 1536.

Conclusions are presented in two chapters. The first one discusses convincingly how to interpret the results of the Danish case study in the context of Denmark's relations with the papacy during the later Middle Ages. It documents that there was a boom in Danish cases during the period from 1490 to 1525, showing that during the last phase of the Middle Ages a fierce struggle for the ecclesiastical benefices still took place. Further provisions and suits did not come to an end because Danish and German curialists disappeared; these curialists disappeared because the curial market of prebends—the system they lived on—broke down. The second chapter of the conclusion gives a description of the connections between papal provisions and suits before the Rota. The curialists used the Rota to eliminate their rivals among other papal providees at the Curia and as a means of exerting pressure on local candidates, either forcing them to give up their claims or to accept the payment of an annual pension.

Specialists on the Vatican archives are rare; this volume contributes important knowledge not only on Danish provisions and suits before the Rota but also on papal jurisdiction during the Middle Ages. I do hope that the author will continue his studies, including a publication of the Danish Rota material.

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CORINNE LEVELEUX. *La parole interdite: Le blasphème dans la France médiévale (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles); Du péché au crime.* (Romanité et Modernité de Droit.) Paris: De Boccard. 2001. Pp. vi, 559.

This is an exhaustive, and at times exhausting, history of blasphemy in Latin Christendom. Given the nature of the sources, almost all produced in one fashion or another by members of the elites, the book is more about the concept, both theological and legal, of blasphemy than it is about the actual "practice" of blasphemy. Nevertheless, Corinne Leveux has an instructive story to tell. Although most of her work deals with material from the twelfth through sixteenth centuries and a substantial part of her research is based on French materials, she provides the reader with a substantial overview of the fate of the concept in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages.

The two issues that Leveux stresses are: first, the difficulty that Christian thinkers and legal practitioners experienced in formulating a coherent concept of blasphemy; and second, the use of blasphemy, however understood, as a marker to delimit certain individuals as outside the boundaries of society. Leveux argues that before the conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity, church leaders used blasphemy as a tool with which to define their new church. Blasphemy became a term with which to mark certain behavior as un-Christian, and thus to draw a firm distinction between church members and Jews, pagans, and heretics. Within the church, the charge of blasphemy was used by hardliners against those who were perceived as having been too meek in the face of persecution by the imperial authorities. Nevertheless, blasphemy was not a major concern of the Church Fathers. They had little to say about it, and their ideas about its nature were vague and/or unsystematic. This relative indifference continued through the early Middle Ages. Christian moralists and theologians gave blasphemy little attention. The concept remained fluid, covering various types of behaviors, although most were content to see it as swearing inappropriately.

Only in the thirteenth century, argues Leveux, did blasphemy become an autonomous phenomenon in the minds of medieval thinkers, a specific sin subject both to spiritual and secular penalties. In the thirteenth century, theologians and moralists devoted much more effort than their predecessors to examining the phenomenon. However, despite the wide acceptance of the scheme of Alexander of Hales, which saw blasphemy as a three-fold phenomenon involving attributing to God a characteristic he does not have, denying that he has a quality that he does possess, and attributing to a creature an attribute that is unique to God, both theologians and legal theorists failed to come up with a universally acceptable definition of blasphemy.

Through the earlier Middle Ages, the ruling elites of Europe seem not to have been very interested in repressing blasphemy, and penalties for committing it

were relatively light. But from the late fifteenth century on, with Muslims at the gates of Europe, the appearance of Protestantism—which sixteenth-century church leaders began to see as a form of blasphemy—and the developing fears of Satanism, attitudes hardened. Since blasphemy was regarded as an action that could call down the wrath of God in the form of such things as plagues or floods, it came to be seen less as a sin requiring pastoral intervention than as a crime requiring punishment. Accordingly, the church toughened its penalties for blasphemy. In France, the focus of Leveux's study, with the rise of royal authority and changing relations between the monarchy and the church, the king's courts became more active in blasphemy's repression. Nevertheless, blasphemy cases remained rare, although the severity of the punishments imposed on blasphemers seems to have increased.

The above is a rather inadequate summary of a very long and complex work. Leveux's research has been exhaustive. She has mined a huge vein of theological and legal works that discuss blasphemy, even if in only a glancing way; she has also made a reasonable effort to sample the archives of various medieval and early modern French courts. The book, however, is not an easy read. At times the author is rather long-winded and repetitive. Her presentation of the quantitative data derived from court records could also have been better. Leveux's tables and figures are murky and unattractive in appearance, and also often hard to interpret. (Leveux would be well advised to consult the well-known works of Edward R. Tufte on the visual display of quantitative data.) Her data sets are quite small and at times she hangs some big interpretations on rather insubstantial numbers. (This, however, is a common fault with those, the reviewer included, who attempt quantitative investigations of premodern phenomena.) This book is clearly aimed at legal historians, and others may find its detail excessive. However, for anyone interested in blasphemy in medieval and early modern Europe, this is a very good place to begin.

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GIOVANNI CECCARELLI. *Il gioco e il peccato: Economia e rischio nel Tardo Medioevo.* (Collana di Storia dell'economia e del credito, number 12). Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 2003. Pp. 487. €30.00.

Giovanni Ceccarelli credits as one of the sources of inspiration for his book the practice among medieval Florentines of betting on the sex of their babies at birth. Such wagers were common in the Middle Ages, as were gambling and games of chance. Ceccarelli examines the game of dice—a particular favorite—and uses it to explore broader medieval attitudes toward the concept of "risk." The author's purpose is to show how the medieval discourse helped shape modern terms of discussion, how the Middle Ages served as a

"point of observation" (p. 9) and "mental training ground" (p. 11) for the current understanding of risk.

The book is both ambitious and innovative. Ceccarelli undertakes close textual analyses of the work of numerous theologians, jurists, and canonists, stretching from late antiquity to the late Middle Ages. He carefully traces how medieval thinkers, at first intensely hostile to games of chance, came to treat the phenomena in progressively more sophisticated and systematic ways. The discourse on the game of dice evolved into a complex discussion that set the stage for the acceptance of the element of risk, particularly with respect to insurance contracts. The drama of the book is the process by which "risk" ultimately became perceived as an "object" that could be commercialized and quantified in economic terms.

Ceccarelli deserves much praise for avoiding the temptation to undertake a falsely linear approach and to present his complex and subtle texts as possessing more harmony than they do. Instead, he lays out the positions of the various authors with all attendant inconsistencies and nuances, and skillfully navigates among them. Ceccarelli presents his conclusion first, in the guise of the work of the sixteenth-century Dominican theologian Domingo de Soto (d. 1560). De Soto linked games of chance with the larger phenomenon of "endeavors involving risk which produced profits" and judged those profits legitimate insofar as the risk was entered into by the free will of the participants. Ceccarelli passes the rest of the book tracing the lineages of this opinion. He leaves hardly a source unexplored, examining works ranging from Augustine to Peter Olivi to Gabriel Biel.

Ceccarelli does well in chapter one to define his terms. He looks at three "key" words of similar meaning—*sors*, *fortuna*, *periculum*—that recur in the sources and are difficult to distinguish from each other. The second chapter examines the opinions of jurists, canonists, and theologians from late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. These writers denied the validity of risk and condemned games of chance as inherently sinful: "*ludus est contra Deum*" (p. 55). The author cites many authorities, including Augustine, Ambrose, John Chrysostom and, eventually, Raymond of Peñafort.

An important turning point was reached with the work of the scholastic writer, Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), who is treated at length in the third chapter. Like his predecessors, Aquinas condemned games of chance and the money earned from them as tantamount to profits gained from theft and usury (p. 112). But Aquinas allowed for certain circumstances in which chance could be legitimate and earnings permissible if obtained according to rules established by public authority and given in charity. Ceccarelli hypothesizes that Aquinas's opinions were conditioned in part by the highly commercialized nature of the society in which he lived, where both gambling and commercial contracts were commonplace. The author

cites the specific example of Bologna (pp. 136–38), where gambling was, with restrictions, permitted.

The fourth and fifth chapters give a close reading of the work of Franciscan theologians, most prominently the Englishman Alexander Hales. They continued the tradition of condemning risk but furthered the growing tendency to remove profits obtained thereby from moral precepts (p. 181). A cautious but critical distinction was made between sin and acquisition, "*cupiditas*" and the desire for money.

The sixth and final chapter ostensibly serves as a conclusion to the book. It is, however, a bit confusing. It begins with a detailed discussion of a new "phase" in the condemnation of games of chance and risk, centering on the sermons of Observant friars such as Bernardino of Siena. Ceccarelli then dismisses this as a moment of "discontinuity" (p. 395), and returns to the work of Domingo de Soto, for which we now have context. The author adds further perspective with a detailed analysis of the work of John Mair (d. 1550), which is important if, seemingly, out of place.

The often technical nature of the arguments elucidated by the author requires patience and diligence on the part of the reader. But this is an exceedingly rich book, well worth the effort. It offers an original and thought-provoking interpretation of medieval economic thought.

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VALENTIN GROEBNER. *Defaced: The Visual Culture of Violence in the Late Middle Ages*. Translated by PAMELA SELWYN. New York: Zone Books. 2004. Pp. 199. \$26.00.

Valentin Groebner's book deals with the topic of medieval violence through the representation of the human body. Groebner chose an original angle for his discussion: he focuses on the representation of the human face, and claims that signs inscribed upon the body and the face (including the quality of being defaced, as the book's title suggests) were essential to interpreting violence as legitimate or illegitimate. The book is an excursion into the ways in which these complex signs were used in different manifestations of late medieval violence: internal violence within the city, violence related to sexual purity and impurity, representations of the tortured Christ, and the battlefield.

Chapter one deals with the image of the Middle Ages as an excessively violent period, both in modern popular culture and in historiography, and analyzes the formation of this image. Groebner claims that as the study of violence was shaped by modern historians' own political and cultural agendas, so were the representations themselves during the medieval period: violence was represented for a purpose. In the second chapter Groebner explores the invisibility, or facelessness, of violence in the late medieval city, and the complex use of signs made for distinguishing between

legitimate and illegitimate violence (i.e. violence exercised by the civic authorities versus subversive violence).

Disfigurement and its uses is the topic of the third chapter. Groebner focuses on a particular type of disfigurement: cutting off the nose. This type of mutilation was used as a punishment for sexual offenses, in particular for marking adulterous women. The severed nose served as a sign of sinfulness, Groebner contends, and this is the reason that no martyr is represented as having his nose cut off. Yet authorities found that the infliction of the mutilation as well as the meanings read into it were difficult to control. Noblemen and powerful citizens manipulated this sign by inflicting it in order to defend their honor, and this made the sign itself ambiguous.

Chapter four discusses the ambiguous image of Christ's tortured body. Groebner points to the increasing violence of these representations from the thirteenth century onward, and to the growing theological importance of violence and its visible signs. Yet Groebner points out that the interpretation of these representations was by no means straightforward. To the theological problem of edifying violence were added two others. The image of Christ itself was ambiguous, since it was difficult to distinguish between him and the Antichrist, who was outwardly similar. The ambiguity was further compounded by the similarity between the crucifixion and contemporary penal practices used against criminals.

The book's last chapter deals with violence, and in particular cannibalistic violence, in the late medieval and early modern battlefield. Groebner examines the types of signs used for recognition of one's own comrades and the obliteration of those signs in the bodies of the dead. The accusation of cannibalistic practices served in itself as a sign pointing to the other side's transgression of legitimate violence.

The book offers some very original and interesting perspectives on the much belabored topic of medieval violence, especially in chapters three and five. Yet, it is not free of flaws. The secondary literature is oriented toward European, mainly German authors. This is natural and to a certain extent unavoidable. Yet, commenting on the American edition, one has to note the gaps resulting from insufficient reference to relevant American literature. Chapter four, "The Crucified and His Doubles," runs parallel in many respects to Mitchell B. Merback's book *The Thief, the Cross, and the Wheel: Pain and the Spectacle of Punishment in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (1999). Merback is referenced in three footnotes, but appearing five years later this chapter is too long in relation to the new insights it offers. Similarly, the discussion of violence in dramatic representations could have benefited from Jody Enders's *The Medieval Theater of Cruelty: Rhetoric, Memory, Violence* (1999). The discussion in chapter three ("Saving Face") of the type of mutilation that consisted in the victim's nose being cut off could have benefited considerably from Benjamin Z. Kedar's ar-

ticle "On the Origins of the Earliest Laws of Frankish Jerusalem: The Canons of the Council of Nablus, 1120" (*Speculum* 74 [1999]: 310–335), which discusses this type of mutilation in the early and central Middle Ages and its origins. Finally, my own *Medieval Cruelty: Changing Perceptions, Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period* (2003) would have helped to put this book's argument within a wider chronological and cross-cultural context.

Nevertheless, many of the faults listed here in deference to the rules of the review genre are inherent to historiography in general. To extend this book's imagery of pictorial representation, one can take a low-resolution panoramic digital picture, or a high-resolution one focusing on a detail. This book belongs to the second type, and it provides a very interesting study of the representation of violence in late medieval Germany and its cultural sphere of influence.

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LISANE LAVANCHY. *Écrire sa mort, décrire sa vie: Testaments de laïcs lausannois (1400–1450)*. (Cahiers lausannois d'histoire médiévale, number 32.) Lausanne: Université de Lausanne. 2003. Pp. 381. €28.00.

This book is an analysis of a corpus of 180 wills preserved for the first half of the fifteenth century in Lausanne, at the time a town of roughly 8,000 inhabitants. The analysis of medieval wills as a tool of social and mental history is not new. First Michel Vovelle, and then Jacques Chiffolleau did so decades ago, and other historians have followed suit. During the past few years, there has been a spate of articles based upon wills ranging from Hungary to England, most of them centering on the spiritual aspects of wills. Lisane Lavanchy follows the same methodology, with a narrower focus. While aware of the literature, the author seems deliberately to have concentrated upon specific themes, avoiding any wider perspectives and implications.

The wills and codicils, as might be expected, reflect a small social group within the town. Petty nobles, merchants, and well-to-do artisans were the ones who had their wills recorded: "a certain elite, often more social than economic" (p. 135). Although most of the wills come from men, their percentage is hardly as high as might have been expected (roughly sixty percent). Having recorded gender, profession, and status, the author moves on to examine the formalized expressions of approaching death. Most Lausannois testators, it seems, made their wills at a time of sickness. The care for their own selves (rather than the beneficiaries) came out in the choice of spiritual patrons to take care of their souls (usually Christ and the Virgin Mary), burial place (a mendicant monastery for the wealthier, the parish churchyard for the more modest), the funeral arrangements, and the specific religious charities and institutions to benefit from the will. Lavanchy's conclusions, based on comparison with a



parallel study done on fourteenth-century wills, are that the economic crises of the fifteenth century indeed affected the disposal of people's souls, as well as their wealth.

The best part of the book consists of the portraits of testators. Lavanchy has appended to the dry, factual survey the analysis of five wills (two women and three men), followed by twelve transcriptions, and those reveal far more than the quantitative data. Here we find a woman of wide culture who prefaces her dispositions with a long, learned disquisition on the fate of those who do not properly prepare for their deaths; or an Italian immigrant apothecary who, alone of all testators, recommends his soul, among others, to Christ's passion; and women testators who carefully bequeath each item of clothing to specific beneficiaries. Among the testators, one finds even a leper, living in a leper hospital near Geneva, disposing of his property. The transcriptions and translations are excellent and will provide future researchers with some fascinating and reliable material. As source material for local social and mental history of the kind practiced in Francophone countries in the 1970s and 1980s, this book is an excellent addition.

The wills of Lausanne leave a great deal of speculation behind them. A thorough correlation with other archival sources might have shed more light upon the testators and their world. Even so, one wonders what sort of books Perroneta, daughter of Simon de Sarrata and wife of Jacques Arthodi, could have read to make her include in her will the long disquisition on the fate of souls at death, or what local cults might have played a role in the formation of charitable intentions. Most of all, there is very little about testamentary policies, of legacies to heirs, descendants, and spouses. A great deal of work can still be done on the basis of wills in any late medieval city, mainly if we pose new questions to the sources.

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#### EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

NICHOLAS ATKIN and FRANK TALLETT. *Priests, Prelates and People: A History of European Catholicism since 1750*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 390.

Writing a history of the Catholic Church in Europe over the last 250 years requires a particular kind of courage, not so much because of the passions the subject arouses, although these are always there, but because the topic presents itself as neatly defined while in reality intersecting with and sprawling across a myriad of other issues, each with its historiography and controversies. To give their study shape and justify the necessary selectivity, Nicholas Atkin and Frank Tallett adopt a political framework, and doing so has some advantages. The periodization they establish is essentially a conventional and familiar one, allowing readers

to apply their own general knowledge of European history while enabling the authors to make efficient use of a scholarly literature that is for the most part constrained by national boundaries. Paradoxically, however, in the past fifty years much of the most important scholarship on Catholicism has investigated popular belief, the attitudes and ideologies Catholics embraced when confronting social change, and the nature of parish life. Although obviously familiar with this literature, the authors struggle to incorporate its findings into a structure that instead invites an account of church-state relations, period by period and country by country. Accounts of public political conflict overshadow equally important conflicts within the life of the church.

The admirable determination to pay attention to all of Europe and not just its most prominent nations similarly exacts a price as, for each of the six periods into which the authors divide their volume, they provide a separate rundown on developments within a dozen or more countries. This long essay (more than 200,000 words) thus feels like a textbook, with some of the classic problems of the genre. Historical background, mainly political, consumes a lot of space. General assertions intended to give meaning to events tend by themselves to seem abstract and a bit vaporous; the effort to give them substance tends to create a digressive thicket of names and dates. The traditional devices employed to relate facts to trends—anecdotes (amusing excesses, odd features of papal physiognomy), anthropomorphizing phrases ("Europe breathed a collective sigh of relief" [p. 85] or "witnessed a revival of religious fervor" [p. 110]), and circular agents of change ("forces of secularization" [p. 111], "passions engendered by anti-clericalism and state-building had spent themselves" [p. 327])—are transparently just devices.

If this sober narrative is not highly analytical, it nevertheless directly poses important questions all along the way. Without pretending to theory, the discussion is often openly judgmental and particularly critical of individual popes, most notably of Pius IX, Pius XII, and John Paul II. Written from a distinctly liberal, Anglo-American, and (as the authors would say) secular point of view, the text is consistently concerned to be fair, often reminding the reader of unjustified assumptions and complications easily overlooked. Without exploring the sources of the church's vitality and diversity, the authors acknowledge and admire its capacity to survive. Although their own style is straightforward and rather unproblematic, they have immersed themselves in a sophisticated and complex historical literature. They generously cite the historians whose work they use and provide a valuable bibliography at the end.

By starting in mid-eighteenth century, this study implicitly raises questions about the relationship of the Roman Catholic Church to modern society. By extending a conceptually conventional framework to incorporate geographical regions often slighted in general



accounts, it provides perspective on the relationship critical to church history between the universal and the locally particular. In the course of conveying a truly enormous amount of detailed information, it touches upon many of the important issues of modern European history.

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SAHO MATSUMOTO-BEST. *Britain and the Papacy in the Age of Revolution 1846–1851*. (Studies in History New Series.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell, with the Royal Historical Society. 2003. Pp. xi, 196. \$75.00.

Saho Matsumoto-Best sets out to write a different kind of diplomatic history in this book about the relationship between Britain and the papacy during the early years of Italian unification in the age of revolution. Her study aims to analyze this relationship by connecting religious issues and concerns to diplomatic ones in the context of the political and diplomatic struggles among the British, Austrians, French, and rival Italian factions from 1846 to 1851. Instead of assuming that anti-Catholicism dominated diplomatic arguments and political sentiments among the British elites involved in diplomatic negotiations with Pope Pius IX in 1847 and 1848, Matsumoto-Best explores the role played by Ireland, the politics of the famine, and the tensions that arose in England over the rise in prominence of the Irish Catholic Church in Rome and the conversion of some high-ranking Anglicans in England. She argues that the ensuing relationships between Britain and the papacy from 1846 to 1851 were more complicated than the historiography contends and resulted from religious, diplomatic, and political elements “all exerting their influence at one and the same time.” While she acknowledges that the relationship between English and Italian radical politics has been investigated by social historians who have explored the connections between, for example, Chartism and the republicanism of Giuseppe Mazzini, she concludes that these studies do not explore the “full range of issues and controversies that existed between Rome and London” (p. 4).

I think that Matsumoto-Best underestimates the extent to which this earlier work by social historians such as Gregory Claeys, Margot Finn, and Miles Taylor had indeed widened the lens on the myriad relationships between Rome and London during the 1840s. While she herself attempts to open up diplomatic history to social history concerns (for example she is keen to explore the role of public opinion in England regarding diplomatic relationships with the papacy, and she has surveyed many newspapers and periodicals), her study does not really allow for this kind of methodological intervention. The narrative style that she adopts is very much scripted by the preponderance of diplomatic records. Her telling of the diplomatic story adds nuance to what we already know, in part because it takes into account important

religious factors. But sometimes the significance of the diplomacy as well as religious concerns gets lost in description; what all of this means seems to interest her less than telling us the details of the story. While her attempt to write a new kind of diplomatic history that is attentive to religious issues and public opinion is not always successful, it is, nevertheless, an admirable and instructive attempt and goal.

Her most important contribution, and her most convincing argument in the book, stem from her situating the Anglo-papal relationship in the context of the religious politics of Ireland during and after the famine. She gives ample proof of the fact that British diplomats and politicians did not necessarily share an unfavorable view of Pope Pius IX. In fact, her evidence suggests just the opposite. More importantly, the British government, often behind the scenes, hoped that it could use its influence with Pope Pius IX to alleviate the unrest and agitation associated with the potato famine in Ireland. John Russell in the Foreign Office suggested in 1847 that the pope’s influence on the Catholic hierarchy in Ireland might underscore the need for order and respect for the British government’s authority there. The papacy in turn hoped that the British foreign ministers could put some pressure on Austria to allow Pius IX to exercise more influence in the political struggles on the Italian peninsula. Although the politics there were much more volatile and complicated than British representatives understood in the months leading up to the revolutions in the winter of 1848, British willingness to entertain the “liberal” ideas and moderate views of the papacy ensured, so they thought, the possibility for gradual rather than revolutionary changes there.

In her analysis of what happened, Matsumoto-Best makes use of a variety of private papers as well as Foreign Office sources both in England and in Italy. Her research is extensive and compelling and she manages to include along the way some commentary from periodical literature and major newspapers. So while she does not examine in any detailed way the importance and significance of public opinion and what relying on it might teach us, she does at least make us aware of how well-informed elite and middle-class British readers were about foreign policy events on the European continent. Moreover, she underscores the importance of public opinion in turn to British diplomacy, not an original idea, but one worth emphasizing. Her inclusion of the religious sources and her analysis of the complexities of the religious and political issues are significant contributions to our understanding of mid-century foreign policy on the continent. She also makes sense of how British anti-Catholic sentiments vis-à-vis the Roman Republic exacerbated the growing tensions between English and Irish Catholics and Protestants both in England and Ireland, tensions that would remain throughout the 1850s and 1860s. While most middle-class English men and women and significant numbers of working-class men and women would embrace the politics of Italian

nationalism and unification during the mid-Victorian period, English and Irish Catholics would not. Matsumoto-Best's book helps us to locate these tensions and strained relations in the context of the politics of the Irish potato famine, British negotiations with the papacy, and the revolutions of 1848. Her book encourages the reader to draw these conclusions, and, in the process, to think more critically about the intersections and connections between religion, diplomacy, and public opinion.

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ALAN S. KAHAN. *Liberalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe: The Political Culture of Limited Suffrage*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2003. Pp. viii, 239. \$69.95.

Between 1830 and 1914, the phenomenon of European liberalism underwent significant transformation, and one of the elements of that transformation lay in the expansion of suffrage within cultures acutely aware of the dangers of expanding popular participation and tumbling toward democracy. Alan S. Kahan wants to make the tension implicit in this transformation central to the definition of nineteenth-century liberalism in France, Britain, and what became Germany and to produce an argument that asserts and explains the decline of European liberalism in the same terms. He does so by relying on two organizing assumptions: that liberalism is best understood as a discourse of "capacity" and that this discourse is demonstrated most tellingly in records of parliamentary debates. Neither assumption helps the penetration of this brief, miscued, and unsatisfactory study.

"All liberals," Kahan writes, "shared a fundamental commitment to political freedom, but this was not enough either to differentiate them from others or to preserve freedom from the threats it faced. The solution that liberals discovered, the language that defined them as liberals, was the *discourse of capacity*" (p. 5; emphasis in original). He then seeks to show that perceptions of capacity in the population of the three states under review varied between two poles: one a language that identified desirable attributes of capacity in individuals, and another that located them in social groups or classes. In the three chapters of the book given over to demonstrating this proposition, the reader is taken around the chambers of each country to listen to parliamentarians talking about the capacities (present or future) of potential citizens. The problem is that in any hierarchical political formation undergoing major challenge from forces external to its organization as a state, the language of capacity suffers from vacuous contrast as an organizing idea. Most nineteenth-century people saw a future in which something would have to be done with people outside the system; and most discussed that future by thinking about the kinds of attributes that future citizens would need to have. Conservatives wanted to proceed more slowly than liberals, but they still intended to proceed,

and it is not at all clear that talk about "capacity" defines liberals. When someone like Robert Lowe or the New Liberals after 1892 get Kahan's language wrong, the author simply declares them no longer liberals and thus renders the argument circular. Nor does he protect himself from such an objection by offering insights into other sectors of the political system, far less other European countries that do not even make the index.

The second motif rests on the reading of parliamentary records such as *Hansard* and its equivalents. This method deprives Kahan of one of our most powerful instruments in analyzing nineteenth-century politics: an ability, denied to contemporary commentators, to distinguish between what he calls a credo and positions adopted for noncredal reasons. He forgets John Vincent's warning that liberalism is better seen as a coalition of convenience than the instrument of a creed, and by reading nothing but public rhetoric he loses—or more properly never finds—the crucial private readings of liberals that often stood in marked contrast to what they said in Parliament. A sad fact, amply demonstrated by this book, is that trying to evoke the political culture of a complex social formation through its parliamentary record is as promising as describing the culture of an academic community through the minutes of its senate.

But for Kahan the parliamentary discourse of capacity explains everything from the nature of the Great Exhibition to the decline of liberalism itself, and all nuance disappears under the dead weight of this formula. Even his parliamentarians never appear as flesh-and-blood individuals with classical educations who were applying lessons from Athenian discourse. By making so few sorties outside the chamber, moreover, he renders otiose any serious discussion of the character of the state or of the economy or of religion—features pretty central to an understanding of liberal political culture and its diverse dialects.

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JOHANNA GEHMACHER, ELIZABETH HARVEY, and SOPHIA KEMLEIN, editors. *Zwischen Kriegen: Nationen, Nationalismen und Geschlechter-verhältnisse in Mittel- und Osteuropa 1918–1939*. (Einzerveröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts Warschau, number 7.) Osnabrück: Fibre. 2004. Pp. 327.

This bilingual collection—six of seventeen contributions are in English—brings together two groups of studies on gender history in the interwar period. The essays compiled in the first section focus on gendered national(ist) politics. Kerstin Jobst, in her added comment argues that the history of gender and nation in Central Eastern Europe, while adding to the complexity of our understanding of the phenomenon, should not be conceived as a historical *Sonderfall* but rather as part and parcel of much more general, transnational developments. The editors' introduction implicitly con-

firms this contention as it relates the argument and findings of each individual essay to major lines of inquiry in the field in recent years. The essays in the second, larger, section are introduced as exploring meanings and modifications of gendered imaginary in nationalization processes (p. 10). In her comment, editor Elizabeth Harvey discusses the relation of gendered nationalist thought and modernity, women's very diverse self-positioning in or toward nationalism, and the effects of World War I in reshaping gendered nationalisms.

There is a strong focus in the collection on issues involving the Polish lands, including two studies by Angela Koch and Marike Werner on German anti-Polish nationalisms and another by Gertrud Pickhan on the Allgemeinen Jüdischen Arbeiterbund in Poland. At times, in these studies "the other" appears mostly through the lens of those who produced a particular nationalist discourse (for example in Alicja Kusiak's analysis of nationalist historiography on gender and women, or in Werner's essay on anti-Polonism and antifeminism in German *Grenzlandliteratur*). By contrast, Dobrochna Kalwa's essay on Upper-Silesia, indicating the importance of cross-national and cross-ethnic inquiry in her field (pp. 46, 52–3, 61), takes an important step toward making visible the entanglement of competing nationalisms and competing nationhood.

In their introduction, the editors argue that Poland "because of its history and geographical location . . . lends itself particularly as a point of departure for comparisons" (p. 14). Yet if, as stated on the same page, geography and space is imagined and constructed, one might also consider how the present political geography of Central Eastern Europe, with the new German domination in the region and the particularities of German-Polish relations as one of its important elements, may have influenced the composition of this collection. Fortunately, the focus on Poland is far from being exclusive. There are essays on the ideology of Yugoslavism (Andrea Feldman), on gender politics and gender relations in Soviet Byelorussia, with some added information about and comparison with Belarus minorities further West (Elena Gapova), on the "New Woman" in Soviet film (Tatiana Osipovich), on schism within the Catholic Church and the abrogation of celibacy as challenge for the gender order in the Czechoslovak Republic (Martin Schulze Wessel), on Swedish peasantry in Finland (Ann-Catrin Östman), and on the Finnish-Estonian feminist Hella Wuolijoki (Margaret McFadden).

A number of the essays, such as the analysis of the myth of "Mother Poland" by Elżbieta Ostrawska and Joanna Szewajcowska, build on strong reference to the prehistory of gender and nation(alism) in the nineteenth century and earlier. In some of the cases, this is justified by "the relation between the assertion of continuity, and the promise of new designs" as a "central characteristic of nationalist discourse" (p. 13). Two essays combine rather limited original findings

with either extensive general information (Feldman), or ebullient theoretical reference (Dietlind Hüchtger). Others creatively develop on the tradition of the overarching approach (Gapova, McFadden). Pickhan's and Östman's essays, as well as Claudia Kraft's study of marital law in Poland, combine substantial historical exploration with careful interpretation.

Taken together, the essays represent a treasury of diverse historical information on gender in Central Eastern Europe in a hitherto less intensively researched period. While a few are only partly connected to nationhood and nationalism, others raise the question of whether a deconstructivist focus on (one) nation does not run the risk of remaining, from a critical point of view, caught in inherited national frameworks of historical writing.

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TALBOT C. IMLAY. *Facing the Second World War: Strategy, Politics, and Economics in Britain and France 1938–1940*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 393.

In May 1940, Adolf Hitler launched his long-awaited offensive in the West. Within six weeks, France was defeated, but Britain lived to fight another day. Talbot C. Imlay, while denying the intention to explain this outcome, seeks in the present monograph to compare the French and British record in the strategic, political, and economic spheres in order to assess their preparedness for war. The result is a thoroughly researched, well-constructed, and generally well-written account, which concludes that in every respect Britain prepared itself well, while France "failed the test of war" (pp. 185, 298).

Although hardly a surprising conclusion, Imlay highlights the interrelatedness of politics, economics, and strategy in order to advance a novel argument. As he represents it, France's political leaders, although competent enough, found themselves because of the shortcomings of French political institutions obliged to rely on right-wing deputies for their majority in parliament. This made them susceptible to the views of conservative business interests, and forced them to eschew cooperation with organized labor and central planning in favor of a liberal, laissez-faire approach to rearmament. The resulting social tensions and economic inefficiency made them increasingly unsure of victory in a protracted war. They therefore turned away from a long-war strategy and resorted instead to a short-war strategy based upon various reckless initiatives. Britain's political leaders, in contrast, worked within a superior political system and enjoyed a much stronger grip on power. This enabled them to develop a constructive relationship with business and labor, which eventually led to a rationally planned and effective rearmament program. Briefly, Imlay accepts, British leaders succumbed to French fears that time worked



against them and agreed to support French strategic panaceas. But hardly had they launched the ill-fated Norwegian campaign when Hitler's offensive brought these adventures to an abrupt end. "This being the case," Imlay writes, "France's defeat and ejection from the war in May-June 1940 was not an unmitigated disaster for the British since it forced them to revert to a long-war strategy—the strategy that eventually brought victory in 1945" (pp. 127, 357).

Imlay is no doubt correct to emphasize the relationships among the solidarity of the home front, the strength of the domestic economy, and the confidence of national elites in face of external threat. Nowhere will students of British or French history find a better analysis of government-business and industry-labor relations in the approach to World War II. His argument is nevertheless flawed in two respects. The first is the tendency to play down the shortcomings of Britain's leadership, strategic planning, and politico-economic affairs, while exposing every flaw in the French record. It is noteworthy, for instance, that Britain's miscalculations at Munich are treated uncritically, and the extraordinary crisis that followed Neville Chamberlain's resignation in May 1940 is passed over without comment, whereas the stormy political waters through which Édouard Daladier and Paul Reynaud navigated are chronicled in minute detail. By the same token, Britain's persistence with business-as-usual policies and refusal to create a ministry of supply until May 1939 are treated as unexceptionable, whereas France's adherence to the same policies appear as evidence of grave political shortcomings.

The second flaw is Imlay's treatment of strategic issues. As he correctly observes, French and British leaders betrayed doubts that time was on their side in the winter of 1939. But this was only natural after the failure to construct an effective Eastern Front with either Czechoslovakia and Poland or Soviet Russia. Their decision to plan knock-out blows against German sources of iron ore in Sweden and of oil in Baku and Romania may well have been ill-judged. But they were only means of restoring the logic of their Western strategy, where they retained the bulk of their forces, not an abandonment of it. The point is important, since Imlay's unfavorable assessment of France rests on the claim that inadequate war preparations forced a radical change in strategy. France was inadequately prepared for war in 1940 and acutely aware of the fact. But it is far from evident that this explains the failure of strategy. By the same token, his favorable assessment of Britain rests on the assumption that its salvation demanded a long-war strategy and a cautious build-up of arms, even at the expense of abandoning France. This, however, is more than doubtful. Not only did Britain's so-called long-war strategy contribute substantially to the destruction of French hopes for an Eastern Front and to the collapse of France itself; thereafter it led to a desperate situation where for four years Britain's fate rested in the hands of Hitler, Joseph Stalin, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. Imlay has

written a good book, which offers a number of corrections to existing accounts of British and French war preparedness. But it is hardly the "comprehensive examination" he immodestly promises "of how two nations, democracies, and societies met the most challenging test of the twentieth century—that of modern industrial war" (p. 16).

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ROGER B. MANNING. *Swordsmen: The Martial Ethos in the Three Kingdoms*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 272. \$72.00.

Roger B. Manning has explored how early modern English society accommodated (and repressed) the violence of marginalized groups. He now delves into the slow synthesis of aristocratic military values with the brutal reality of the practitioners of socially sanctioned violence, professional soldiers. The author seeks to illuminate a "martial ethos" that ultimately reconciled these world views.

Manning begins by skewering Lawrence Stone's statistical analysis of the military decline of England's aristocracy. In its place the author proffers a model built on Cockayne's *Peerage* (a work published between 1910 and 1940) and "numerous," but undisclosed, "contemporaneous sources" (pp. 118–19). He argues that Queen Elizabeth's nobility became "demilitarized for lack of opportunity" (pp. 2, 245), a puzzling conclusion given that England waged war against Scotland in 1560 and 1573, the crown suppressed a major rebellion in 1569–1570, and in 1572 (not 1585, as Manning states) intervened in the Dutch Revolt, an embroilment lasting to 1648 (sometimes officially, sometimes unofficially). Expeditions to various parts of France, Iberia, the Azores, and the Caribbean, along with officially sanctioned privateering ventures, encouraged Elizabethan "gallants" to prove their mettle. Implicitly, Manning rejects the literature on the "militarization of the Elizabethan state," although none of that scholarship is cited.

The author describes the "remilitarization" and subsequent politicization of the aristocracy in the seventeenth century, conclusions that seem valid if unremarkable. The episode that fits the author's thesis most closely is Charles I's summoning of his nobility to war in 1639 (when the crown appointed a courtier as lord general and the bellicose third earl of Essex, described by contemporaries as the "darling of the sword-men," as the immediate subordinate). This well-documented summons helped to ignite the Wars of the Three Kingdoms and provided Manning's "gallants" with an opportunity to shine after having had to endure a lengthy period of peace. If there was a "rechivalrization" of the peerage and gentry driving a remilitarization of the Stuart aristocracy, this event serves as a litmus test. Yet it is disregarded.

The author connects martial culture with illicit dueling, but "duelling and authority" are approached



anecdotaly, not systematically or institutionally. The most celebrated cases (*Priest v. Wright*, *Darcy of the North v. Markham*, and Bruce's Case, the latter involving James I) are unmentioned, nor are any of the 204 documented dueling-related prosecutions in James I's Star Chamber scrutinized. Re-chivalrization should have manifested itself in civil actions in the High Court of Chivalry. A pair of massive wooden chests in the College of Arms preserves twenty-two "parcels" of documents relating to the period and topic under study in this book. Overlapping contemporary information regarding heraldic cases exists in the Public Record Office under the classification Chancery 47/6/1-3. None of this evidence piqued Manning's curiosity.

The author makes much of gentlemen volunteers, yet he reveals no knowledge of the contents of Exchequer 157 in the Public Record Office, licenses to go beyond the sea, dating from the late 1500s into the early 1600s. The latter records often reveal officers' patronage networks, social status, literacy, intended migration to theaters of operation and additional demographic data.

Manning consults little personal correspondence in public or private manuscript collections save for a couple of references to the Blathwayt Papers and Fairfax correspondence in the British Library (the latter collection already edited and printed), and to a treatise in the Harleian manuscripts. A solitary citation of the State Papers Foreign is all that the author pulls from the enormous English national archives. Regional record offices, Scottish national archives, the Bodleian Library, and other repositories of superb manuscript sources bearing directly on this topic are not even mentioned, let alone cited.

Similar evidential gaps occur in the secondary literature cited. The very topic of this book has been expounded upon in publications and conference papers by David Trim, scholarship apparently unknown to Manning. The second earl of Essex is a prominent figure in this book, but the author has not read Paul Hammer's definitive studies of Essex's career (including a massive tome published by Cambridge).

Evidence must be drawn from a wide range of historical evidence to document an early modern ethos. Sadly, this book is seriously under researched. Therefore, its conclusions can be accepted as tentative only.

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KEVIN SHARPE and STEVEN N. ZWICKER, editors. *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 363. \$70.00.

This volume offers a collection of highly competent, sometimes fascinating essays, all bearing in some fashion on practices and habits of reading in England from the early sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century.

The historical arc of the book is a long one, casting its shadow over complex terrain in the sociology of texts given the coexistence of scribal and print media, the evolution in pedagogic practices, and the varied modes of literacy in the historical time frame. Editors Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker subtitle their introduction "discovering the Renaissance reader," begging the question at the outset of the relation between reading and writing in the courtly and humanist circles of the Henrician regime and the circumstances of publication that faced, say, Alexander Pope and his readers. The introduction itself is a call for "a true collaboration between case study and theory, between materiality and aesthetics, between social history and exegesis" (p. 3) that is interdisciplinary and takes as its focus not the singular authorial act, but the multiplicity of acts of reading. This eminently worthy call for action is embedded in an narrative that surveys methodological differences among literary critics, textual bibliographers, historians of the book and social historians, sets out topical and thematic lenses for the consideration of reading, and intermittently invokes a reader positioned at the end of the historical arc, certainly not "the Renaissance reader," but also neither the Romantic reader nor the contemporary reader in a nationally branded superstore, both of whom are invoked as the introduction rushes to its close.

In contrast to the introduction and the thematic organization of the volume, the individual essays are sharply focused and intellectually provocative. Seth Lerer's discussion of errata as a mode of authorial confession and self-correction offers a telling developmental counterpoint to the textual practices Stephanie Jed described in *Chaste Thinking* (1989). Richard Wendorf's treatment of typographical shifts in the use of capitals and italics over the first half of the eighteenth century exemplifies the ways in which the materiality of the text implicates attitudes toward readers. Heidi Brayman Hackel carefully reconstructs the proscriptions and prescriptions on female readers and the evidence of actual female reading practice. Joad Raymond investigates the reading of news pamphlets and other texts as a nonscholarly, passionate, sometimes compulsive practice. Adrian Johns details the reading and publication protocols that attempted to constitute the authority of scientific experiment in the Royal Society. David Kastan's essay on the closing of the theaters foregrounds the continuing availability of printed plays, demonstrating that the government's interest was in public assembly rather than plays themselves and posing the question of how the shift away from the public performance of plays to their private reading affected the public sphere. Other essays take a broader view: for example, Sharpe's essay on the shifting interpretations of the book of Revelation published between the early sixteenth century and the late seventeenth; Zwicker's essay on habits of reading and the formation of "opinion" in the Restoration; and Michael Schoenfeldt's discussion of metaphors of reading as digestion and how the analogical

troping of the body and the body politic implicated conceptions of the reader and the reader's body. Joseph Lowenstein's essay on how Ben Jonson's ongoing engagement with Martial's "bibliographic imagination" (p. 283) shaped his own sense of the contingency of publication in the marketplace is perhaps the most traditionally disciplinary of the volume's essays; Kristie McClure's discussion of the early anonymous editions of John Locke's treatise on government is the most deliberate in reaching across disciplinary boundaries to reconsider its status as a foundational text of constitutionalism in light of the rhetorical kinship between the early editions and poetic discussions of *fabula* and *historia*.

This volume, the editors note, has its origin in a conference at the Huntington Library and grew to its published form by the solicitation of additional essays. There is nothing unusual about the process, or the willingness of Cambridge University Press to support it. But in light of the expressed desire for "true collaboration" and interdisciplinary work, it is worth asking whether there might be more intense and challenging forms of collaboration than the publication of a collection of essays, each of which is strong enough on its own merits to find a place in scholarly journals and most of which were written by scholars already well known to each other. What shape would research into the practices of reading take if a librarian, a literary critic, and, say, a historian of medicine defined and conducted their work in common rather than deferring their conversation to the exchange and refinement of work largely completed?

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REID BARBOUR. *John Selden: Measures of the Holy Commonwealth in Seventeenth-Century England*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2003. Pp. x, 417. \$70.00.

In *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622), Henry Peachman called John Selden "the rising Starre of good letters and Antiquitie." Peacham based his assessment, as a marginal note made clear, on *Iani Anglorum facies altera* (1610), the *Titles of Honor* (1614), and a manuscript version of *Mare clausum* (written around 1619, but published in 1635). In addition to these, however, Selden had already published a study of single combats, *The duello* (1610); of English government before the Norman Conquest, *Analecton Anglobritannicon* (1615); and of Semitic mythology, *De dis Syris syntagmata* (1617); had edited John Fortescue's *De laudibus legum Angli* (1616); and had written notes on Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (1613). Between the early 1620s and his death in 1654, he produced a number of further studies and treatises on British and Judaic history and laws, antiquities and myths, and also played an important political role especially in the 1620s and 1640s.

In the face of such polymathic learning, it is no

wonder that scholars have usually examined only parts of Selden's writings. Thus we have excellent studies of his early career by David Sandler Berkowitz and Paul Christianson, of his views of natural law by Richard Tuck and J. P. Sommerville, and of his historical writing more generally by Daniel Woolf. Reid Barbour's new volume is an exception to this trend. It offers a vigorously argued and beautifully written comprehensive account of Selden's writings. The book is not meant to be an introduction to Selden's works. In order to benefit fully from it, the reader is expected to be familiar with Selden's life and writings.

The central argument of the book emphasizes the religious character of Selden's scholarship. Traditionally he has been taken as rather skeptical and secular, if not wholly cynical, someone akin to Thomas Hobbes. Barbour demonstrates that this is a misleading picture and that Selden was strongly committed to upholding what Barbour calls the holy commonwealth. It is this commitment, the book argues, that unifies many of Selden's different writings. At the same time, there is also a more subtle argument underlying many of the chapters. In Barbour's reading, many of Selden's works contain a certain internal conflict or paradox. On the most general level, this conflict emerged between the purely scholarly aims of Selden's endeavors and their more practical contexts.

Whereas the first chapter is a fairly general account of Selden's life and writings, the rest of the chapters are organized in a loosely chronological order. Chapter two focuses on Selden's early historical scholarship and especially on the complicated relationship between critical scholarship as the way to the truth, on the one hand, and poetry as the way to normative values, on the other. In chapter three, Barbour discusses Selden's practice of legal profession in the 1620s and stresses the paradoxical nature of Selden's legal scholarship: at the same time that he was a loyal sage for whom the law was sacred, he was also an analytical skeptic. A central theme of Selden's career emerges in this chapter: the nature of the relationship between secular law and the sacred.

Chapter four treats Selden's views of druids and natural law and begins to discuss Selden's abiding interest in Judaism. This interest takes center stage in chapters five and six. An important aim of his Judaic studies was, according to Barbour, to provide help in the intricate problem of the precise relationship between civil power and spiritual labor. Although Selden held that civil magistrates must have some control over the social institutions of religion, always criticizing "the clergy's tendency to spoil civil affairs" (p. 244), he also insisted that the church must be free in its area of spirituality. Barbour argues that although Selden "laboured to understand how best to liberate the church from the state," he also wanted to "maximize the welfare of the entire holy commonwealth" (p. 245).

Even in its later stages, Selden's career contained contradictions. He enjoyed John Williams's patronage and was close to William Laud but was also a cham-

pion of parliamentary opposition in the 1620s and an important figure in the Long Parliament. The final chapter, although entitled "Conclusion," offers interesting accounts of Selden's reputation and of the uses of his scholarship in the latter part of the seventeenth century.

All in all, this is an important study that complements more detailed recent works on Selden.

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DAVID R. COMO. *Blown by the Spirit: Puritanism and the Emergence of an Antinomian Underground in Pre-Civil-War England*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 513. \$65.00.

This is a marvelous and much-needed book: impressively researched, engaging and demanding, finely nuanced and robustly argued. At its heart is the recovery of what David R. Como sees as the antinomian "movement" of early seventeenth-century England. In the process he offers a reassessment of early Stuart Puritanism as more heterogeneous and engaged with some of its radical implications that has recently been allowed. Here Como takes issue with what he depicts, not altogether fairly, as Patrick Collinson's insistence on the innate conservatism of that Puritanism and Christopher Hill's segregation, along class lines, of Puritanism and the "radical underground." With the orthodoxies displaced, we can, Como argues, freshly appreciate the precursors and the context of New England's antinomian controversies of the later 1630s and begin to explain the explosive emergence of radical groups and ideas in England in the 1640s.

In this account, the survival of the antinomians is partly to be explained by their geographical triangulation among London, Suffolk, and the Pennine borders of Yorkshire and Lancashire. When their goal was to challenge orthodox "legalism" in the early 1620s, antinomians could move to London, retreating to the provincial centers when repression was stepped up later in the decade. Between 1625 and 1629, a small core of antinomian dissenters was challenging the hegemony of mainstream godly preachers. After 1629, they faced systematic repression and by 1633 were lying low.

Inevitably, there are problems of evidence. Much of contemporary commentary is hostile. Discussions among antinomians took place in a "hidden underworld of debate." The "public sphere" of print was the tip of an iceberg and perhaps a deceptive one at that. Here Como is at his best and often most persuasive. He tackles the evidential problem by "layering," revisiting the same issues from different perspectives and, even if at the cost of some repetition, with considerable success. He begins with an extended overview of antinomian thought, culture, and activity, exploring the complex relationship between mainstream Puritans and their antinomian critics. More detailed chapters on John Traske, John Eaton, John Everarde,

Roger Brearley, and the Grindletonians follow. By this stage, we have been shown the "imputative," where Christ's perfection is imputed by God to the elect (Eaton), and the "perfectionist," which held that the saved really did share in the perfection of Christ (Everarde), strains of antinomianism. Como goes on to demonstrate how the two strains could be hybridized by the followers of these men. Throughout, he emphasizes that, for the antinomians, divine grace liberated believers from, not for, sin. It is therefore not surprising that his chapter on ultra-antinomianism is one of his least satisfactory and most speculative.

What this rich, probing assemblage and analysis exposes in the end are three critical issues. First is the nature of and the weight to be placed on the evidence itself. Sensitive to the hostile nature of much commentary and to the second-hand and fragmentary sources available, Como is consistently honest about their limitations. For example, "there is," he says, "no uncensored Roger Brearley" (p. 281). But, given this, have we to become reliant on the writings of his followers, and are we obliged to assume them to be "uncensored" and authoritative? Peter Lake and Como have done interesting work on how best to use awkward sources (this is reflected in the discussion in Appendix C of the present work). It is not a discussion that this reviewer found entirely convincing. The case used involves setting an unknown listener's record of Everarde's words alongside hostile accounts and seeing them as mutually corroborative. The issue of "requisite care" in the exploitation of such material needs fuller and more rigorous discussion.

The second problem is how to categorize these ideas and the social networking of those who held them. Is it a "movement," a subversive "underground," and is it reasonable to describe individuals like Traske as "sect-masters"? The tension between law and grace, as Como himself shows, was perennial to post-Pauline Christianity. As an expression of Calvinist Protestantism, Puritanism could stress the law as an instrument of penitential awareness and sanctification to the point of Pelagianism; but it could equally emphasize free grace to the point of antinomianism. The "hidden underworld of debate" (p. 22), which was shared by these people and their opponents, was a world of conventicles, extraparochial meetings, pastoral letters and circulated manuscripts, sermons and discussion of their contents, of contestation within which there was scope for appropriately expressed diversity to be embraced. The issues here are when, under what circumstances, and over what issues did diversity become intolerable. Recognizing that much of what is discussed here was "a dialogue . . . that took place within Puritanism itself" (p. 31), that it reflected "a deep structural instability within Puritanism itself" (p. 131), and that "antinomianism could not have existed without Puritanism" (p. 137), it is perhaps not surprising that "initially some godly people did not consider antinomianism to be a serious threat" (p. 74), that "not only Laudians, but also the godly themselves . . .



sometimes failed to draw a sharp distinction" between antinomianism and the contested mainstream (p. 434). Is the problem then in the changing nature of orthodoxy or the self-conscious crystallization of a dissenting movement? Como recognizes the first as a factor but more consistently veers toward the second. To put it another way, is it more appropriate to discuss all of this in the language of movements, sects, dissent, and "sect-masters" or in that of the breakdown of a shifting consensus within a coalition of the godly sitting uncomfortably inside a half-reformed church? These perspectives are neither incompatible nor that far apart, but the shift from one to the other can be revealing, as Michael Winship's work on the making of heretics in Massachusetts has recently demonstrated.

Finally, in terms of the conundrum of the tension of law and grace within mainstream Puritanism and its potential for radicalism, there was another possible formulation. Grace and moral obligation could be reconciled by emphasizing divine will rather than divine law and by emphasizing the saint's obligation to become an instrument in the hands of the living God. The apocalyptic and providential expression of this are barely considered here, and that is a serious omission. For all its penetration, Como's book offers only one strand in the tensions foreshadowing the collapse of Puritanism and the emergence of revolutionary radicalism.

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JULIE SPRAGGON. *Puritan Iconoclasm during the English Civil War*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2003. Pp. xvii, 317. \$75.00.

This book by Julie Spraggon takes an important subject and treats it with consistent thoroughness and an admirable clarity. It is the detailed, careful, and observant study of what happened where, how, and when to remove (in the words of the Long Parliament's Orders of May 17, 1642, or its Ordinance of August 28, 1643) "all monuments of idolatry and superstition" from places of worship throughout England in the course of the period of the English Civil Wars (1641–1651). It is the story of the piecemeal removal and destruction of stone altars and altar steps, wooden communion rails, stained glass images of the host of heaven or of biblical stories, what was left of the paraphernalia of medieval piety (holy water stoups, carved angels on roof bosses), and all encouragements in words or images to the living to intercede on behalf of the dead, invocations that appeared to impugn the sovereignty of God.

Spraggon deals with the subject systematically. The early chapters of her book examine attitudes to images from the Reformation to the meeting of the Long Parliament (c.1536–1640), the published case for iconoclasm in the pamphlet literature of the Civil War years, and the legislative framework as that framework unfolded over the 1640s. A central hinge chapter offers an impressionistic survey of iconoclastic activity across

England in the period down to 1646, and the final three chapters offer three detailed case studies over a longer period of the cleansing of London parish churches, of cathedrals, and of Oxford and Cambridge college chapels.

The book is necessary because, although plenty has been written about iconoclasm, we have lacked a coherent overview of the 1640s. Margaret Aston's *England's Iconoclasts* (1988) is far stronger on the iconoclasm of the early Reformation than on the iconoclasm of the English Revolution; Trevor Cooper's magnificent edition of *The Journal of William Dowsing* (2001) is a near-definitive account of an important but unrepresentative figure; and most other previous writing relates to particular places (Canterbury Cathedral, Charing Cross, etc.). There has remained a crucial uncertainty about how much of the 1640s iconoclasm was undertaken by rampaging soldiers, by local communities responding to central direction, by itinerant commissioners, and so on. The great strength of this book is that it is so precise in telling what sort of iconoclastic action was taken by each of these groups over what period and with what effect. For the first time, we can calibrate the effectiveness of the House of Commons Committee for the demolition of monuments of superstition and idolatry, very actively chaired by Sir Robert Harley (the answer being that they were crucial to getting action from parish officers in London and from civic officials in cathedral towns, but otherwise were much more patchily effective), and Spraggon is able to find more examples of local enthusiasts acting under license than I at least had thought possible. Her account of Richard Culmer's work at Canterbury is the best we now have. There are some excellent vignettes—such as that drawing upon the memoir of William Springett, a godly Sussex gentleman (killed, aged twenty-three, at the siege of Arundel), written by his widow, who was later to marry the Quaker Isaac Pennington. She records how he took his sword to superstitious pictures in the parlor of a fellow commissioner who was helping him search popish houses.

The book is sometimes worryingly imprecise in matters of detail. For example, there is no warrant for calling Dowsing a "Presbyterian" (p. 255), and it is incorrect to describe the Commons Order for cleansing churches in September 1641 as "legislation" (p. 65). More generally, the book could have been clearer in examining what was *not* destroyed, and indeed whether the top priority was (as is sometimes implied) the destruction of what had been recently introduced rather than what had survived the sixteenth-century iconoclasm. A conclusion looking back from the late seventeenth century to see what the Restoration restored in the fabric of the churches (either because it had been hidden in the years of revolution or because it was remade) would have rounded out what, these



strictures notwithstanding, is a good and worthwhile study.

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SHARON ACHINSTEIN. *Literature and Dissent in Milton's England*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 302. \$60.00.

Over the past two decades, literary scholars have worked at the cutting edge of research on radical Puritanism and Dissent in seventeenth-century England. At a time when revisionism was turning historians away from the study of "radicalism," historically minded students of literature did much to ensure the continuing vitality of the field. In recent years, important contributions have been made by both British and American scholars, including Tom Corns, Neil Keeble, Laura Lunger Knoppers, David Loewenstein, David Norbrook, Nicholas McDowell, Joad Raymond, Nigel Smith, and Sharon Achinstein.

Achinstein's previous work, on *Milton and the Revolutionary Reader* (1994), was focused on the Puritan Revolution, but her new book moves forward in time to the Restoration. It is a clever, eloquent, and well-crafted volume that paints a vivid picture of Dissenting culture using a remarkably diverse body of texts: poems, hymns, sermons, diaries, biographies, prison writings, theological treatises, and political pamphlets. It illuminates canonical figures like John Milton, Andrew Marvell, and John Bunyan but goes beyond them to consider the writings of major Puritan theologians (including Richard Baxter, John Owen, and John Goodwin) and a host of more obscure Dissenters (such as John Reeve the Baptist hymn writer, and Mary Mollineux the Quaker poet). The result is a marvelously rich and evocative account of "how dissent was created through cultural forms arising from an experience of social exclusion" (p. 3). After an introduction on "Reading Dissent," the book has a series of thematic chapters entitled "Memory," "Prison," "Violence," "Milton," "Enthusiasm," "Poetics," and "Hymn." These cover such varied topics as burial grounds and funeral monuments; the use of the book of Lamentations; Baxter's little-known poem retelling the outbreak of the Civil War; Milton on toleration; Samuel Parker and John Dryden's critique of enthusiasm; Dissenter fascination with the Song of Songs; and the role of hymns in the culture war against Restoration decadence.

Besides exploring various facets of the culture of Dissent, Achinstein has a second aim: to chart "the changing nature of religious radicalism on the eve of the Enlightenment, specifically with respect to religiously motivated violence" (p. 4). Like many previous scholars, Achinstein is attracted to the egalitarianism, passion, and political radicalism of Dissenters. But she is also disturbed by the rise of "intolerance and religious fundamentalism" in the modern world, a

phenomenon evident in contemporary American politics and highlighted by "the dramatic events of September 2001" (pp. 5–6). For this reason, her book is noticeably ambivalent about its subjects; it celebrates their courage and sincerity while worrying about their fanaticism and desire for apocalyptic vengeance. Bunyan's *Holy War* (1682) and Milton's *Samson Agonistes* (1671) have suddenly become problematic texts for readers in an age of religious violence. Thus in the second half of the book and in a concluding coda, Achinstein is concerned to trace the ways in which Protestant Dissent was tamed and transmuted. She identifies transitional figures: the Whig poet and pamphleteer Marvell, whose poem "On Paradise Lost" makes Milton "palatable to Restoration literary culture" by turning dangerously politicized religious enthusiasm into private literary inspiration (p. 179); the eighteenth-century hymn writer Isaac Watts, who retains the affective elements of the Dissenting hymn while eschewing Hebraic violence in favor of Enlightenment politeness and sociability; and the Dissenting poet, Elizabeth Singer Rowe, whose fusion of godly piety and Whig politics "bridges Enthusiasm with Enlightenment" (p. 250).

This is a highly suggestive analysis, though it tends to exaggerate the violent and oppositional character of Restoration Dissent. Achinstein acknowledges that the majority of Nonconformists were "peaceful souls," unwilling to participate in seditious plotting (pp. 8–9). Yet the book pushes the militant politics of Dissent to the fore and allows other aspects to recede into the background. The chapter on hymns, for example, explicitly underplays their "stated content" in order to highlight their radical form and use (pp. 210–12). But historians can hardly afford to downplay "stated content" if they want to understand their subjects. If Dissenting hymns comprise a great deal of thoroughly conventional (and less than incendiary) Protestant theology and spirituality, this needs to be taken on board. By neglecting it, we miss the considerable common ground between Restoration Anglicans and moderate Nonconformists on everything from Trinitarian theology and family religion to the reformation of manners. Moreover, by placing Baxter together with radical sectarians, we may overlook the ways in which Presbyterians were closer to Anglicans than to Quakers.

Achinstein is not unaware of these dangers, and some of the most striking sections of the book—on Dissenter appropriation of George Herbert and Milton's burial in St. Giles Cripplegate—reveal the blurring of boundaries between the Church of England and Dissent. The bold brush strokes are thus qualified by subtler shades. This is a fine work that deserves to take its place alongside Keeble's *The Literary Culture of Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth-Century England* (1987).

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A. LLOYD MOOTE and DOROTHY MOOTE. *The Great Plague: The Story of London's Most Deadly Year*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. xxi, 357. \$29.95.

The epidemic that devastated London in 1665 and many other parts of England in 1665–1668 has been known as “the Great Plague” not just because of its magnitude but because it happened to be the last such epidemic. Its significance was not overshadowed by a successive plague, though demographers and others attentive to patterns of mortality certainly feared a recurrence on an even worse scale some two to three decades later. It was secured in the popular imagination by Daniel Defoe’s *Journal of the Plague Year*, published in 1720 when plague again threatened Western Europe, and has attracted considerable literary, historical, and scientific attention ever since. There is no shortage of modern studies of this epidemic, or of the medieval to early modern cycle of European epidemics that began with the Black Death of 1348–1350 and ended in 1720, but this book by A. Lloyd Moote and Dorothy C. Moote tells the story in a fresh way and offers an enjoyable synthesis of contemporary writings and evidence. This is not the only work one should read on London’s 1665 plague: Justin Champion’s *London’s Dreaded Visitation* (1995) has more demographic detail and analysis, and Paul Slack’s *The Impact of Plague on Tudor and Stuart England* (1985) is an unsurpassed discussion of the historical importance of the disease. But this treatment has much to offer. The authors approach the story with both epidemiological and historical questions; commendably they avoid too much reliance on the former while allowing contemporaries to speak for themselves.

Many popular stories of the 1665 plague originated with, or were disseminated by, Defoe, and much of the huge volume of medical advice and advertisement published at the time was both self-serving and plagiarized, but Moote and Moote focus on those who experienced the epidemic at first hand and whose accounts are reasonably candid and independent. Samuel Pepys is the best-known, but his private, self-conscious musings are intercut with the letters and commentaries of John Evelyn; Symon Patrick, rector of St. Paul’s Covent Garden; John Allin, a Dissenting clergyman living in Southwark; and Sir William Turner, merchant and alderman. Two medical practitioners, Dr. Nathaniel Hodges and the apothecary William Boghurst, confronted the disease and lived to write their own accounts of it, Hodges’ *Loimologia* (1720) and Boghurst’s *Loimographia* (first published in 1894), and even though these are polemic as well as narrative, they offer interesting insights. The records of city government and of several of the capital’s hard-hit suburban parishes are used to trace the mounting death toll and to chart the responses of local officers to infection, poverty, and the problem of order. The broad framework is chronological, with the tallies from the printed weekly Bills of Mortality

forming a continuous thread, as indeed they do in Defoe’s *Journal*.

After a brief scene-setting, the Mootes’ book follows the progress of the disease from the first cases in the western suburb in April to the terrible week of September 12–19, when 8,297 deaths (7,165 plague deaths) were recorded, and on to the epidemic’s decline in the winter of 1665–1666. It seems certain that the Bills failed to record all deaths, so these figures are underestimates, but the Mootes are perhaps too positive that deaths attributed to fevers and other diseases, which mounted along with plague deaths, are misreportings rather than accompanying outbreaks. Nonetheless a very human story emerges, attached to real characters, whose own accounts are full enough to preclude most of the speculative interpolation that can tempt the historian. Patrick’s letters in particular are a source rich in human interest; he wrote frequently and unreservedly to a close woman friend, detained in Essex while the plague raged in London, and their correspondence reflects the anxieties and feelings both of those who stayed and those who watched from a distance. Allin was desperately concerned for his children, left with friends in Rye, and for their future should he die, which seemed a very real possibility: his unsavory quarters in Southwark overlooked a burial ground. The contrast between their religious responses to the epidemic, and Pepys’s insouciance and self-congratulation, helps the reader to appreciate the wide range of reactions to an unimaginably awful reality.

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WILLIAM J. ASHWORTH. *Customs and Excise: Trade, Production, and Consumption in England, 1640–1845*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 396. \$85.00.

The years between 1640 and 1800 witnessed a profound transformation in Great Britain’s public finances. Demands for wartime spending led to the development of a system for long-term borrowing, new taxes to service these debts, and a bureaucracy responsible for collecting these taxes. As a result, Britain quickly became one of the most heavily taxed economies in Europe. The fact that the British state was able to mobilize an unprecedented level of revenue had profound implications for Britain’s economic development and for its emerging international dominance. For this reason, the transformation has long been of interest both to specialists of British public finance, as well as to scholars interested in understanding British state development more generally. In his thought-provoking study, William J. Ashworth traces the development of British customs and excise collection from the establishment of the excise during the 1640s to the reform debates of the 1840s.

Ashworth begins by reviewing the emergence of a

modern system of public credit and revenue collection during the second half of the seventeenth century and the high politics associated with this institutional development. He then identifies the political expediency behind increased reliance on tariffs on imported goods and excise taxes on domestic production. The excise tax in particular provided predictable streams of revenue, and when compared with alternatives like the land tax (a levy on agricultural income) it provoked less opposition from landowners in Parliament. The policy of drawing an increasing share of revenue from customs and excise was most notable during the long ministerial tenure of Robert Walpole, although it did provoke popular protest.

The book makes its most important original contributions in its subsequent sections. These provide a detailed account of the organization and evolution of the customs and excise administrations, greatly supplementing earlier studies. In the case of the excise, Ashworth argues that popular opposition to this form of taxation helped lead to reforms designed to make taxation more transparent, as well as to practices like the rotation of excise officers, reducing possibilities for corruption. While changes in excise administration may have made tax impositions appear more legitimate, throughout the eighteenth century there remained numerous opportunities for citizens to engage in fraud. Ashworth shows how efforts to limit excise fraud focused on establishing standardized measures and classifications for important commodities like beer, paper, glass, and soap. Provocatively, he argues that these efforts at standardization had a significant influence on Great Britain's subsequent industrial development. Standardization of goods helped promote market integration and encouraged development of larger industrial sites.

If the link between excise taxation and initiatives with regard to weights and measures seems clear, and in this regard the book is particularly interesting, it inevitably remains more difficult to demonstrate to what extent efforts to improve revenue collection had a broad influence on the structure of industrial production in Great Britain. Ashworth's attempt to make this link is weakened by not considering alternative arguments, and in particular the possibility that increasing standardization of production was driven by economic efficiency gains. One might argue that the potential for achieving efficiency gains would have led to increased standardization of production and larger industrial sites even in the absence of excise officers seeking to stamp out fraud.

Another potential omission involves the discussion of representation. Ashworth shows convincingly how popular opposition to tariffs and taxes influenced reforms of the customs and excise administrations. He does not fully examine the extent to which the presence of strong representative institutions in Great Britain after 1688 also played an important role in providing the popular consent necessary for a dramatic increase in taxation. While it would be unfair to expect

a single-country study, and in particular one covering this chronological span, to draw detailed international comparisons, a number of authors have noted an empirical regularity whereby European countries with strong representative institutions during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had significantly higher per capita tax levels than did monarchies with weak representative institutions. Ashworth considers this argument briefly, but it might have received greater treatment in the study, given its prominence in the literature. It should be noted, however, that the book does provide a fascinating discussion of the emergence in the late eighteenth century of criticisms of the unrepresentative nature of the House of Commons as a tax-levying body.

This book is impressive both in its chronological span and its attention to detail. Ashworth has undoubtedly made an important contribution to our understanding of the development of Britain's state institutions and economy.

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JEREMY BLACK. *Parliament and Foreign Policy in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 261. \$70.00.

Jeremy Black is a publishing phenomenon. He has already written more books than he has had birthdays; his output of articles, essays, and edited collections is hardly less impressive. Black's interests and enthusiasms are broad, but most of his publications deal with different aspects of eighteenth-century history, from newspapers to the Grand Tour and from military developments to the lives of leading politicians. Relations between states, however, have been a recurring subject of his attention and can be seen as his scholarly first love. In this new book, he considers how the Westminster Parliament influenced the conduct of British foreign policy, even though this was in theory an area over which the crown had unchecked authority.

In more than twenty years of research, Black has accumulated a vast treasure trove of information on British and European politics. His work on international relations in the eighteenth century has been based on a wide and deep knowledge of archival material produced by most of the European governments of the time: not just the big players such as France, Austria, and Britain but also smaller powers like Bavaria, Venice, and Denmark. Indeed, it would be no exaggeration to claim that the documentary foundation of his work on foreign policy is unrivalled. Here the archival base is no less in evidence, but there is much else besides. Decisions on war and peace and the conduct of foreign policy have an undeniable topicality, to which Black himself alludes in his preface and his conclusion. But the book's appeal does not lie in its connection with present concerns. The analysis is persuasive and full; the insights are shrewd. Of all his



many works on foreign policy, this is surely one of the best.

Much of the book is organized in a chronological way. There are chapters that look at Parliament's role in foreign policy between the Glorious Revolution and the Hanoverian succession, a period dominated by war in Europe and beyond; Robert Walpole's years of dominance, when there was a prolonged spell of peace; "the mid-century crisis," particularly the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War, when Britain's Hanoverian connection was a subject of much controversy; and, finally, the reign of George III up to 1800. But none of these chapters is simply a narrative of events: each contains substantial analysis of the specific issues of the moment and their relationship to the central theme of parliamentary involvement in foreign policy. These chronologically organized studies are supplemented by three particularly interesting chapters of a thematic kind. The first considers the nature and limitations of the sources available for a study of Parliament's role; the second attempts an analysis of the nature and quality of parliamentary debates on foreign policy issues; and the last is an assessment of the extent to which it is possible to think in terms of a parliamentary foreign policy. Black's conclusion—that parliamentary debates mattered, and had a positive influence on the way in which foreign policy was conducted—will hearten many readers.

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PAUL KLÉBER MONOD. *The Murder of Mr. Grebell: Madness and Civility in an English Town*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 294. \$35.00.

Dressed in a red cloak borrowed from his brother-in-law, the mayor of Rye, Allen Grebell was mistaken for the garment's owner and fatally stabbed in a churchyard near midnight on the evening of March 16, 1743. His assailant elected to enter an insanity plea, but the jury remained unconvinced of his "distraction" and returned a guilty verdict. The felon was hanged forthwith, his rotting body suspended in a publicly displayed gibbet-cage. What self-respecting English town could fail to highlight such a foul deed and gruesome execution in its guidebooks, the better to tempt willing tourists to retrace the murderer's steps and to visit the site of his ignominious end? And what self-respecting historian of early modern England could resist trying to embed such an ostensibly local crime in a wider national context of social and political change?

Paul Kléber Monod successfully employs this colorful episode of civic marketing to illuminate the shifting historical, religious, and most of all political currents of seventeenth and eighteenth-century England. Exploiting a wealth of sources, he traces the family lineage and shifting economic fortunes of the principal courtroom actors against the backdrop of an emerging Whig oligarchy. According to Monod, it was the corresponding decline in the assailant's family fortunes

that "may have contributed to the resentment that drove him to murder" (p. 136). Although the author often appends a caveat to speculation about the possible motivation of the "assassin"—itself, a curiously freighted word to employ for murderer—his objective is clearly one of asserting a more socially driven motive than simple personal enmity as the engine that drove the killing.

On one level, Monod's exercise in microhistory is persuasive. The changing political and economic fortunes of the offender and his *intended* victim, as well as those of their respective families, vividly reveal the ascendancy of a particular class of social elites in an English town, replete with factional religious conflict and the ripple effects of national politics. Further, Grebell's untimely death indeed "marked the beginning of the end of Whig oligarchy" (p. 234), given the grip that the mayor and his star-crossed brother-in-law enjoyed over administrative and corporate power. That this was a killing with enduring political ramifications seems clear, but do particular consequences necessarily imply particular motivation? Although he abjures the notion that desire for specific political change lay behind the murderer's intention, Monod leaves the unmistakable impression that social tension animated the crime, asking "Was [the assailant] driven to a desperate act of murder by increasing poverty and marginalization?" (p. 185). Even if the murderer had not intended to undermine the political hierarchy of Rye, he nonetheless "struck a brutal blow against that system in 1743 . . . certainly [knowing] that he was hurting more than just another human being when he thrust his knife into Allen Grebell in Rye churchyard" (p. 143). Inferring a defendant's intention is a daunting task even today, when judiciary and jury are supplied with a host of social, psychological, and now biological insights into the world of the accused. The notion that one could speculate with profit about the purpose(s) that animated a historical crime is daunting indeed, especially given the author's foregrounding of cultural tensions, shifting family fortunes, and brooding personal resentment born of political oppression. Monod's effort to suggest what *might* have driven the murderer is further circumscribed by the fragmentary evidence at his disposal: compressed and limited newspaper accounts, and an extended note discovered in a family Bible. No testimony of the trial survives, no depositions—even the names of the witnesses can only be a matter of conjecture. What is known is that the assailant had been fined by the mayor for using "light weights" in his butcher shop, and that some years before the attack, he had been confined, again by the mayor, for faking madness. This was a man who had every reason to resent, indeed despise, the mayor, with or without the shifting social hierarchies and economic downward drift.

There is also the matter of the offender's failed defense of "distraction," and whether the proffering of a "parcel of Devils" affecting one's reason was a doomed, dated effort. The fact that the defense was



ultimately rejected does not, pace Monod, reveal Rye to have been moving from religiosity to worldliness. The devil appeared in insanity trial testimony well into the nineteenth century, suggesting that whatever the educated and self-styled sophisticates of early modern England believed about the Evil One, popular conceptions about satanic influence unproblematically endured. That demonic possession did not save the defendant in the Rye trial is not surprising; by the author's own admission, the assailant's defense amounted to a form of temporary insanity. English jurisprudence accorded exculpatory significance only to "total" or complete insanity in the eighteenth century. Temporary insanity, then as now, appears a little too convenient as a defense, and consequently often results in criminal conviction. One would be hard pressed to infer larger social significance from an unsuccessful plea, especially one that retains the aura of "user-friendliness."

Perhaps the reasons that the murder of Grebell has endured as a memorable moment in the history of Rye make it all the more challenging for the microhistorian "to penetrate to an individual level of experience, so as to show how historical circumstances were felt or perceived" (p. 4). Murder, madness, and Machiavelian politics make for a potent brew: at once promoting, at once qualifying a particular interpretation. It is a mark of the author's achievement to have placed this seeming grudge killing at the center of a prominent town's political evolution. Given the rich narrative Monod supplies, the crime and its accompanying trial provide a strategic window into the socially seismic changes occurring in the economic and political hierarchy not only of Rye, but of neighboring English towns as well. Whether these changes were reflected in this murderer cum assassin's criminal motivation will depend upon the willingness of the reader to see the assailant's action as more the product than the agent of social change.

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TIMOTHY SHAKESHEFF. *Rural Conflict, Crime, and Protest: Herefordshire, 1800 to 1860*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2003. Pp. viii, 230. \$99.00.

Studies on rural protest in England have largely concentrated on just a handful of counties located in East Anglia and along the southern coast. Timothy Shakesheff's new book, however, breaks the mold insofar as it examines rural crime and protest in the small western border county of Herefordshire. His study presents historians with a fairly comprehensive overview of crime in a previously unresearched county. Another virtue of the book is that it examines not only such familiar protest crimes as incendiarism, animal maiming, and poaching but has separate chapters on the more ubiquitous crimes of wood and crop stealing and sheep stealing.

For Shakesheff, the study of crime and in particular

social and protest crime provides the key to unlocking the past. Unlike industrial discontent, rural unrest is, the author maintains, harder to gauge because it was covert in nature and disguised in many instances as prosaic acts of theft. "Despite the petty nature of many of the crimes" he claims that "these acts were often as assertive a message as a burnt rick" (p. 4). While one may disagree with this exaggerated statement, one cannot but welcome a book that concerns itself with what has been called "the background noise" of constant rural unrest. In order to make his case the author examines the concepts of political protest and social crime. He concludes that previous studies have overlooked small-scale criminal acts in preference for the more "attractive" social protest crimes. For Shakesheff, the petty crimes that came before the magistrates' courts, such as wood and crop thieving, alert the historian to the fact that all was not well in Herefordshire. Between 1822 and 1860, the trend for petty convictions tended to rise until the mid 1850s, with 1844 registering a peak. All this seems to tie in with research completed on other English counties and suggests that the socioeconomic pressures endured by agricultural workers, including under and unemployment and low wages, were felt across all southern and middle counties.

Of the four chapters covering the various crimes I found the two examining sheep stealing and crop thefts more original and successful than those covering poaching and arson. In the case of illegal hunting, I would have welcomed more detail on the amount and intensity of game preserving in the county and the location of game estates where game preservation was carried out with, to borrow a phrase, extreme prejudice.

On the themes of arson and animal maiming, Shakesheff has discovered 101 fires and twenty-six reported attacks on animals over the entire period. Such low figures make it difficult to arrive at any meaningful conclusions, although it is worth noting that the county, along with most other English counties, experienced a peak of activity between 1843 and 1850. Shakesheff does, however, misunderstand my work in his reference to it (p. 181). More interesting and original is his research on wood and crop thieving, for which a high number of women were prosecuted (for crop thefts forty-nine percent and for wood thefts forty-four percent).

On a more critical note, the bibliography indicates that research has been limited to Herefordshire's county record office. One wonders if a brief visit to the National Archives should have been undertaken. There may be documents lying unread among the Assize and Home Office papers. Shakesheff has referred to a large body of secondary sources, a feature that comes through strongly in the text. But even here there are one or two surprising omissions. The figures and graphs are generally clearly presented, but I was puzzled by figures 4.1 and 4.2, which display different

committal numbers for sheep stealing in 1817 and 1819.

Setting aside these points, Shakesheff does make a contribution to the historiography of nineteenth-century rural crime, especially in his work relating to wood and crop stealing. In addition, it is no bad thing to have a study on a quiet corner of England, which, as this book demonstrates, experienced socioeconomic pressures similar to those in East Anglia and southern England.

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ALYSON BROWN. *English Society and the Prison: Time, Culture and Politics in the Development of the Modern Prison, 1850–1920*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2003. Pp. vii, 205. \$85.00.

Thirty years ago there were very few studies of the history of punishment apart from some suspiciously detailed accounts of the infliction of pain, complete with illustrations. Former prisoners and administrators wrote from their respective positions, the latter usually detailing the twists and turns of evolving policy and tending to suggest that it was all an upward path leading to an enlightened present. Prisoners' memoirs were and are very instructive, but it is understandably rare for even-handedness to be achieved by their authors. Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1979) threw a very large stone into this placid backwater, offering as it did an insight into the qualitative change in power and authority as Western states moved from the traditional to the industrial and then to the modern. At the heart of this was a critique of capitalist society, suggesting that far from being the cup-bearer of freedom, it brought a new, insidious and more pervasive mode of control. Other scholars followed this path. These were not necessarily Foucault's acolytes, and were rather better historians, but they shared his heuristic ambitions. Two in particular are prominent: Michael Ignatieff (*A Just Measure of Pain: The Penitentiary in the Industrial Revolution* [1978]) and David Garland (*Punishment and Modern Society: A Study in Social Theory* [1990]). Both have sought social and political insights from the history and organization of the prison. Another set of scholars has continued to work the lowland pastures of the history of public policy, changing patterns in moral, social, and legal thinking, and the evolving (though not necessarily improving) penal system. Leon Radzinowicz and Roger Hood's *The Emergence of Penal Policy in Victorian and Edwardian England* (1990) and my own *English Local Prisons 1860–1900: Next Only to Death* (1995) are examples of this second approach.

Alyson Brown shows a deal of dexterity and ingenuity in a book that is part overview and part original scholarship and that bridges the divide, such as it is, between the camps of traditional scholarship and social analysis and theory building. She crams a lot into a compact book. There is a thoughtful discussion of

prisoners' temporal perceptions: eighteen pages that ought to be read and closely pondered by judges and lawmakers. Brown is particularly interested in the problem of order in prison, correctly believing that the mechanisms for its maintenance tell us a lot about the nature and state of the society that the prison serves. There is much intelligent consideration of this topic across two chapters and more. English convict prisons in the nineteenth century were designed as a replacement for transportation (which first the Americans and then the Australians inconsiderately closed off to the mother country). To reassure and placate a fearful public, these institutions were intended utterly to crush the spirit and exhaust, subdue, and debilitate the body of the convict. Brutal and unremitting labor was exacted, ultimately by the lash. It is an astonishing fact that there were very few attempts at resistance. One such—the Chatham convict mutiny of 1861—has received very little attention in the literature, and Brown ably provides narrative and context for this important episode. Other chapters deal with deterrence, penal reform, political prisoners, and local prisons (jails).

Brown's ambition means that she has had to sit on the lid of her 200-page suitcase to get everything in. This is a weakness, and the consequent compression will lead to some irritation on the part of the specialist reader. But tight packing is also a strength, since Brown is able to explore her chosen topics yet still attain a degree of coherence: one finishes the book feeling that the various chapters, eclectic though they seem, come together in a satisfactory whole. She only occasionally slips into the opaque language of the social theorists and for by far the greater part writes clearly and engagingly. There is a good bibliography, but the three-page index is sadly inadequate for a work of this kind.

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LESLIE A. WILLIAMS. *Daniel O'Connell, the British Press, and the Irish Famine: Killing Remarks*. Edited by WILLIAM H. A. WILLIAMS. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate. 2003. Pp. xvii, 380. \$79.95.

The commemorations to mark the 150th anniversary of the Irish Famine (1845–1852) captured the public imagination in a way that few historical events have done, with condolences being expressed by the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, and the then American President, Bill Clinton. The anniversary also resulted in a wave of academic publications, leaving one *Irish Times* journalist to comment in December 1995 that “famine fatigue” was evident and further research was unnecessary. A number of publications, however, proved him wrong, and Leslie A. Williams's fine study confirms that there is still much of value to say on this topic. Williams examines the Famine through British press reports both before and during the crisis, explaining that by 1845, when the potato blight first

appeared, a "metropolitan mentality" was in place that viewed Irish people as inferior outsiders. This mindset had disastrous consequences on government relief policies during the Famine.

This book is also concerned with political debates prior to 1845. The relationship between the British press and Ireland is at the heart of Williams's research. Within this discussion, Daniel O'Connell and repeal politics are pivotal. His success in winning Catholic Emancipation in 1829 raised O'Connell's political profile both in Ireland and Europe, making him one of the most influential (and feared) men in British politics. His support for the Whigs changed the face of British parliamentary politics by enabling them to gain power. Nonetheless, O'Connell was generally reviled within the British press. Williams concludes that O'Connell's activities actually harmed Ireland during the Famine years, as anti-O'Connell sentiment meant that Irish suffering met with little sympathy among the governing classes. Rather, Irish news was reported within "well established contexts, attitudes, images" (p. 13), which were to the detriment of both the Irish poor and Irish landlords during the Famine.

For the majority of British people, rich and poor alike, information on the Famine came solely through the press. Moreover, newspapers and journals provided the government and the people with a forum for debate about relief policies. While the role of the metropolitan press is the central theme of this book, as Williams points out, it is not a history of the Famine as reported in Britain, but "an enquiry into the nature of the discourse on the Irish famine as it appeared in the press" (p. 20). Williams believes that all news is socially constructed, and she suggests that the press influenced British public opinion through the choice of stories and the emphasis given them. This was most evident after 1847 when, by giving extensive column space to the murder of landlords, Irish radicalism and the 1848 uprising, and the queen's brief visit, attention was deflected from the suffering caused by the continuation of famine.

Throughout her narrative, Williams, an art historian, not only evaluates the text of press articles but analyzes the images and cartoons that filled the pages of popular journals such as *Punch* and the *Illustrated London News*. She acknowledges that the scale of distress in Ireland after 1845 and the level of government intervention were both unprecedented. Nevertheless, she argues, relief policies were based on preconceived "assumptions, attitudes, stereotypes and ideologies" and the outcome was that "people did die" (p. 4). Furthermore, relief was generally combined with recognition of the need to bring about long-term improvement within Ireland. The book's subtitle is not to be taken literally. Famine mortality was not intentional murder, but people died because the British government "failed to put humanitarian concerns first" (p. 345).

A fascinating aspect of the book is Williams's suggestion that press reportage on Ireland was really

about Britain. Ireland was never discussed as an independent entity but always in terms of Britain's political and economic interests. More damagingly, the debate was expressed in binary opposites, with positive British attributes juxtaposed against negative Irish traits. Even food was a cultural benchmark: thus potatoes (despite their high nutritional value) were depicted as inferior to the British laborer's diet of bread. By highlighting Irish shortcomings, including the Famine, British superiority was reinforced. Williams argues that this was necessary in a society where traditional social relationships had been shattered by industrialization. The Irish Famine, therefore, helped to shape a new British identity while buttressing British supremacy.

Overall, Williams provides an important contribution to famine historiography and to understanding the British press in the nineteenth century. She also extends the debate about the emergence of a British national identity. Williams demonstrates the danger of one "civilization" viewing itself as superior to other cultures on the grounds of difference. Her book provides a prism for understanding the power—and distortions—of the nineteenth-century press: a perspective that has resonance at the beginning of this century. Williams died before this publication was complete, and the text was skillfully finished by her husband. Her premature death was both a tragic loss to her family and a sad loss to the academic community.

CHRISTINE KINEALY

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HERA COOK. *The Long Sexual Revolution: English Women, Sex, and Contraception, 1800–1975*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 412. \$55.00.

Until the 1970s, many historians assumed that the Victorians were sexually repressed. Then, scholars began to declare boldly that the Victorians were not repressed at all, citing Mabel Loomis's eloquent letters or the anonymous author of *My Secret Life* as evidence. The decline of the birth rate among the English middle class from the 1870s, and among the working class from the 1920s, has been seen as an indication that people were increasingly able to enjoy sex without fear. More subtly, Michel Foucault argued that instead of repression, this period witnessed an explosion of discourses about sex.

Hera Cook's bold new interpretation of English sexuality overturns these arguments with sophisticated theoretical analysis and careful material evidence. She insists on the significance of sexual restraint. As she points out, Foucault acknowledged that there was some silencing of sexual words in the nineteenth century, but his overall argument did not take this fact into account. The discourses produced by doctors, psychiatrists, and sexologists were available only to a few people. Cook accepts Foucault's argument that sexual desires and identities are socially constructed,



but she claims that Foucault tended to assume that prior to discourses there existed "the body and its pleasures," an "active, unrestrained body that had to be rendered docile by the internalizing of controls which had previously been imposed externally." But people must not only learn how to restrain their bodily desires, they also must learn how to be open with their bodies, how to express their feelings. With reticent parents and a culture that censored sexual representations, this could be difficult. Foucault largely ignored gender; Cook points out that in the absence of safe and effective birth control, women had to restrain their own desires or be shackled to endless pregnancies. She also rejects Loomis or *My Secret Life* as evidence of widespread sexual pleasure. The letters of one American woman and the fantasies of one English man cannot illuminate the experiences of millions of English women.

Cook instead posits a new chronology of sexual restraint. In the early nineteenth century, the culture was fairly open about "the possibility of physical passion" for both men and women, but moralists insisted that these desires must be controlled. A few radicals such as Richard Carlile and Francis Place advocated birth control and acknowledged female sexual desire, but these views were held by a tiny minority and repudiated by most working-class people. By the middle of the nineteenth century, "there was a thriving culture of sexual commerce available, which many middle class men took advantage of, but respectable women were expected to control their sexual feelings." Although radicals again advocated birth control from the 1870s, they slighted female sexual pleasure, and they were quickly suppressed. Their birth control methods were expensive, impractical, and not widely available. The decline in the birth rate, therefore, must have been caused by sexual restraint. Censorship also produced "considerable female and some male ignorance of physical sexual activity along with diminishing mutual sexual pleasure" (p. 100). Cook even asserts that much of the drastic interwar drop in working-class fertility could be attributed to sexual restraint, especially the withdrawal method, since condoms were still expensive, smelly, and quick to deteriorate, and diaphragms and spermicide only useful for those with private washing facilities and a cooperative partner. As a result, in the better economic circumstances of the 1950s, fertility quickly rose again.

Cook also challenges both radical feminist and socialist feminist historians of the 1980s. Sheila Jeffreys claimed that the interwar sex counseling movement actually harmed women's sexual pleasure by insisting on the vaginal rather than the clitoral orgasm, but Cook convincingly shows that this neo-Freudian belief did not become apparent in marital counseling until 1940, and did not become prevalent until the 1950s. The pill was not a ruse to force young women into sexual activity, nor a eugenicist plot against the

working class; for Cook, the pill genuinely liberated women's—especially young women's—sexuality.

This book is written in a sober and academic manner and forcefully argued. On occasion, Cook overstates her argument in an effort to differentiate herself from other historians, for instance asserting that sex manual writers reflected changes in behavior rather than shaping them. If people had to learn how to be sexual, were not the sex manuals one source of changes in behavior? But on the whole, Cook's compelling and convincing conclusions will reshape our understanding of nineteenth and twentieth-century sexuality. It is a refreshing challenge and essential reading.

ANNA CLARK

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MARJORIE LEVINE-CLARK. *Beyond the Reproductive Body: The Politics of Women's Health and Work in Early Victorian England*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 256. Cloth \$69.96, paper \$24.95, CD \$9.95.

This is an ambitious study of women's work and health in early Victorian England. Marjorie Levine-Clark has set out to examine "how 'woman' and the female body were constructed through the medical and social investigations of women's work" and "how individual working women expressed their varying experiences with their bodies in health and illness" (pp. 6–7). The first part of her book is devoted to an analysis of the ideas about women's bodies and health that emerged during the public discourse on employment, public health, and poverty in the 1830s and 1840s. Levine-Clark argues that medical men defined the female body as a "reproductive body," one that was essentially weak, delicate, and endangered by work. This conceptualization of the feminine body was dramatically different from that of a "masculine 'able body,' which was healthy and capable of gainful employment" (p. 5). Doctors, politicians, and social reformers argued that factory labor threatened women's reproductive health and, by extension, public health. They also asserted that woman's work further undermined public health because it interfered with a women's ability to carry out the tasks of social reproduction. To Victorians, this meant keeping their homes clean and taking care of their families to ensure a healthy work force.

In the second part of the book, Levine-Clark explores working women's ideas about their bodies and health as well as their experiences of illness. She does this through a close reading of more than 6,000 case histories of women treated at the West Sussex, East Hampshire, and Chichester Infirmary in Chichester, West Sussex, University College Hospital in London, and the West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum in West Yorkshire. She also draws on women's testimony before parliamentary committees. Levine-Clark concludes that working women and their medical practitioners did not conceive of the female body simply as the "reproductive body"; nor did they believe that



women's reproductive organs played a key role in determining their health or illness. Instead, women mentioned poverty, financial distress, and bad housing conditions in their medical histories. Additionally, those records indicate the numerous ways in which family relationships affected women's well-being. Married women suffered grief over the death of a spouse or distress from a spouse's adultery, desertion, or violence. Levine-Clark asserts that these stresses and strains of married life, conspicuously absent from the public discourse, "provide an alternative explanation to blaming working women for disrupting the family and causing a disordered household" (p. 136). All of this evidence substantiates her compelling argument that numerous aspects of women's everyday lives contributed to their physical and emotional illness.

The chapter, "'She Continued at Her Work': Negotiating Employment and Health," perhaps best illustrates the stark contrast between women's views of their work and health and those expressed by doctors and other participants in the public discourse. Working women did speak about the impact of their work on their health; they mentioned the strain of overwork due to seasonal labor or the heat, smells, fumes, and dust of the work place. However, Levine-Clark notes, "their complaints had little if anything to do with their reproductive health" (p. 174). The sources also lead her to conclude that poor women expected work to be a central part of their lives and that their "identities were bound up with the ability to work" (p. 170). Working women, like their male counterparts, placed a premium on being able-bodied and many believed "that the ability to do their work was a sign of their health" (p. 171).

Sonya O. Rose, Robert Gray, and other historians have analyzed the public discourse on the problematic woman worker during the 1830s and 1840s. Levine-Clark's contribution is to move beyond the discourse and to present the perspectives of working women themselves. She has skillfully and effectively juxtaposed the women's narratives with the "official" narrative constructed by medical men and social reformers and demonstrated significant points of divergence between them. For example, she has emphasized that working women thought of themselves as able-bodied workers, not as women incapacitated by their reproductive organs. This is one of Levine-Clark's intriguing and provocative conclusions that should prompt historians to reexamine early Victorian ideas about gender, class, and health.

CAROLYN MALONE  
Ball State University

CAROLYN MALONE. *Women's Bodies and Dangerous Trades in England 1880-1914*. (Studies in History New Series.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell for the Royal Historical Society. 2003. Pp. xi, 169. \$75.00.

This book takes as its focus the introduction of special measures by the British legislature from the 1890s

onward as an attempt to regulate particular kinds of work that were deemed to be of danger to women's health and that of their unborn infants. Those industries subject to regulation represented only a proportion of the workplaces and work processes that were subject to scrutiny, or that featured in debates and agitation about potential or actual dangers, but they did represent a new discursive arena that served to further define gender relations in late Victorian Britain. Carolyn Malone's book concentrates on two major aspects of dangerous trades regulation. First, she demonstrates that in the period under scrutiny, there were numerous actors engaged in defining the problem, and in the campaigns and debates, notably the "new journalists," medical men, and feminist and Labour women activists, and that state intervention was influenced by these. Second, and this is the core of her thesis, she demonstrates how ideas of sexual difference shaped the debates, campaigns, and regulatory outcomes, so that in some industries at least, notably the manufacture of white lead and the "potteries," restrictions were imposed on women workers alone. Malone recognizes that concerns about women's work changed toward the end of the century, so that the health of women, particularly their reproductive health, rather than threats to domestic life and morals were considered in need of "protection." The author has made good use of the rich primary sources that are available, and she provides a thorough narrative account that gives credence to her principal argument.

While the dangerous trades have not been subject to full monograph treatment in their own right, much of the material in this book has been subject to analysis by other historical scholars whom Malone acknowledges, including my own work on women and occupational health in this period, and by those who have examined the debates about infant mortality and dimensions of feminist activism. I would also contend that her own analytic treatment of this material does not vary in any major way from what has been published previously. There are some exceptions, such as the chapter on the "new journalism" and the importance of its campaigns as a vehicle for bringing women's working conditions into a wider public arena. It is also the case that her more detailed analysis of the debates around the nail and chain trade (within the context of the late 1880s "sweating" crisis), which Malone contends was central to the subsequent definition and regulation of dangerous work, is quite convincing as a consequence. My own view has been that dangerous trades regulation resulted not from one thing but from a confluence of previous investigations into white lead work, the debates around pit brow work for women in the 1880s and sweated work, including nail and chain making, which together with the press created a discursive momentum for intervention. Changes in administration, particularly within the Factory Department and Home Office, were also important.

Given the above comments, and her title, I had hoped that Malone might have done more to analyze the concept of women's bodies. She makes the development of sexual science a key factor in the extent to which sexual difference as a feature of dangerous trades' restrictions acquired increased potency, and she notes that the reproductive body was primary in constructing that difference. But I do think that the body as discursive construction—its different features, its strengths and weaknesses, its sources of difference—might have been drawn out to good effect in relation to the different positions taken. Distinguishing between the extent to which it was bodies in a biological sense as opposed to social bodies that were of concern is an important dimension of this. I have contended that the influence of medical men owed more to their ability to articulate their "science" in a way that was consistent with important aspects of the social body and gendered social relations, than it was to any established knowledge about women's particular vulnerability to danger and the hazards of particular industries. As Malone so clearly demonstrates, when women were subject to "special rules" or prohibited from particular processes, it was not always because they were more at risk. The evidence of poisoning rates in lead industries showed men to be equally at risk. Similarly the "science" of reproductive health was never conclusive about the impact of women's work on infant mortality, but this did not prevent women from being at the center of efforts to improve the national health, as she also demonstrates. Finally, this is an account of how calls for and actual intervention in work during this period were determined by ideas of sexual difference. Although the book leaves both theoretical considerations and empirical evidence of its consequences for women underdeveloped, it is a valuable historical examination of narratives of gender, danger, and risk.

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RHONDA ANNE SEMPLE. *Missionary Women: Gender, Professionalism and the Victorian Idea of Christian Mission*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2003. Pp. xvii, 285. \$110.00.

The focus of this book is primarily on the relationship between the British missionary movement and British social history and only incidentally on the missionary movement's relationship with non-European history and cultures. According to Rhonda Anne Semple, its objective is "to examine the role gender played in the professional development of British Protestant missions" between 1865 and 1910 (p. 2). Among other matters, Semple explores how gendered notions of women's roles in religion and society shaped the recruitment of female mission personnel and affected men's and women's work in the mission field. To illustrate her arguments about what was happening overseas, Semple explores the policy and practice of

three different missionary organizations: the London Missionary Society (LMS) mission in north India, the Church of Scotland (C of S) Eastern Himalayan Mission, and the China Inland Mission (CIM) in Chefoo, China. There are also a general chapter on "Gender and the Professionalization of Victorian Society: The Mission Example" and references throughout much of the book to the "Victorian Idea of Christian Mission" as the more general context in which gender roles were expressed and developed. The result of this perhaps necessary, though somewhat complex, method of organizing her material is that the reader has to remain constantly alert to identify which of the interlocking themes is under discussion at any one time.

One of Semple's most important contributions is her discussion of the selection and training of female candidates, an analysis that adds further depth to other studies in the recruitment of missionaries. Here she argues that when considering women's applications for service, all three societies employed somewhat different criteria to the standards they used for men. For example, when recruiting women "evidence that middle-class respectability counted more than did education, volunteer and work experience, and even a solid statement of religious belief appear as occasional comments about skin tone, accent, and table manners" (p. 31). For women in particular, "no matter how the selection process was codified in order to formalise the selection of candidates, the amorphous concepts that were so important in defining middle-class respectability at this time infused the entire project" (p. 35). Also significant is the author's comment on the women's use of emotive language when describing their religious experience, a habit that she suggests was beginning to affect men later in the period (pp. 43, 208–09).

Another theme is Semple's discussion of gender issues in the mission field itself. Here much of the focus is on administrative arrangements, local committee decisions about the role and management of male and female staff, rivalry, marriage rules relating to males and females, and family life, including the issue of the missionary children's education. But while these and other issues are relevant to the author's arguments about gender in particular, there are dangers in exploring them without paying sufficient attention to the impact of the indigenous social and cultural environment. There are occasional references to racial attitudes, the treatment of native assistants, and so on, but Semple fails to take sufficiently into account some other important local or indigenous features in her analysis. For example, in her discussion of the female missionary's professional development, she might well have made the point that the missionaries' attempts to convert certain classes in the indigenous population forced them to clarify or consolidate still further gender differences or similarities derived from home. Indian taboos in relation to women's behavior, especially in public, created great difficulties for male missionaries. Whether they liked it or not, they were

forced into a realization that there were some tasks they were either unable to perform or had great difficulty in carrying out. These tasks included visiting females in the home, teaching and preaching to certain categories of women, or even offering medical assistance. In such instances it was not British but indigenous pressures that encouraged the development of women's professional work in the mission field.

Related to the need for further consideration of indigenous or local developments is the author's discussion of the LMS mission in the Benares region. The impression the reader is given is that the mission was close to failure because of administrative problems (p. 83). If by failure Semple means failure to attract converts, then, as research elsewhere suggests, there was not always a clear relationship between the number and presence of missionaries and the rise and expansion of indigenous Christian movements. Burgeoning Christian movements did not always depend on missionary efficiency. Indeed, in many cases, the key factor in the mission field was the initiative taken by people themselves irrespective of the missionaries' active involvement in mission.

Lastly, in her discussion of the Victorian idea of mission there is insufficient recognition of the impact of the idea of the social gospel. Semple rightly refers to the impact of the holiness movement, especially on the work of the CIM, but the social gospel was also a significant factor, especially for missionaries working with the LMS. One of its greatest exponents was T. E. Slater of that society, and its influence is reflected in some of the candidates' papers, such as those of H. F. W. Lester and A. A. Dignum of the LMS, and in what Semple herself writes about the attitude of Budden in the north India mission (p. 219).

These comments are not meant to distract from the value of what is, on the whole, a worthwhile and original contribution. Moreover, to lighten the load of what is at times a dense and detailed text there are interesting illustrations that, unlike those in many other academic books, appear in the appropriate place in the narrative.

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JAMES H. MILLS. *Cannabis Britannica: Empire, Trade, and Prohibition 1800–1928*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 239. \$39.95.

This book by James H. Mills covers the involvement of Britain and of the British Empire with cannabis. It looks at the European "discovery" of cannabis and attempts to understand it as a drug substance, both the initial prescientific efforts as well as the later ones. These were of two kinds. There were the scientific, empirical, or rationalistic approaches, and there were those that were ill-informed, alarmist, and irrational. The latter were most often promoted by politicians, clergymen, administrators, and the popular press, and these tended to prevail.

On the whole, Britain's major encounter with cannabis as a drug substance was in its Indian empire. Here, British administrators came to realize that they were ruling a society in which regular and widespread cannabis use had long been a part of the culture. The drug was used as a medicine, a tonic, and an intoxicant by individuals at all levels of society across the subcontinent.

Mills carries the story up to the late 1920s, when the issue of prohibition was raised at a number of international conferences ostensibly focused on opium. Finally, at the prompting of American temperance advocates and other anti-opium interests, cannabis, too, was banned under a League of Nations resolution. Mills promises a second volume that will deal with the history of cannabis during the subsequent period from 1930 to 2000.

Mills presents his story as an attempt to rectify the history of cannabis. He notes that "the Blair government has defended its policy [of banning cannabis] using the assumption that its predecessors had good reasons for arriving at their assessments of cannabis and that their judgments were based on solid ground." Mills takes issue with that assumption and demonstrates quite convincingly that governments have chosen to "ignore the long history of safe therapeutic cannabis use."

Mills's major contribution is to show that, in the nineteenth century, cannabis was widely used both as an intoxicant and as a useful therapeutic agent without apparent ill effect of any significant kind. It was, moreover, widely studied and debated, although there was a lack of true consensus on the drug. When cannabis was banned, however, both in international trade and in Britain itself, none of this history was considered at all. He also shows that its properties as an intoxicant or recreational drug have been considerably distorted, and that supposed connections between cannabis use and insanity, criminality, and indolence have been grossly exaggerated. He bases his study on a review of British writings on the drug in nineteenth-century medical journals, government and administrative records, and the popular press. Much of the evidence is drawn from British experience in India, where the government collected substantial tax revenue from the sale of the drug.

Oddly enough, Mills has little time for a discussion of Britain's native cannabis, which had been used for centuries as a principal source of fiber. Related to that is the issue of taxonomy. Mills does not engage the issue of species. It is a small point, but one that can lead to some confusion. Although Mills appears to accept the Anglo-American orthodox view that there is but one species, *cannabis sativa*, the book is peppered with references to *cannabis indica*. The question of whether we should consider the former, which has been known in Europe for centuries, and which has only minimal use as a drug plant, as a different species from the latter remains unanswered.

Mills has made an important contribution in resur-



recting the information in the Indian Hemp Drugs Commission Report and in bringing to light again the extensive nineteenth-century medical and scientific literature on cannabis. His description of how it was that cannabis came to be classed as a "dangerous drug" is an object lesson in the vagaries of international drug policy. One would hope that future debates on the issue of cannabis will be informed by his research.

CARL A. TROCKI

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**VERA DRAKE: WIFE, MOTHER, CRIMINAL.** Directed by Mike Leigh. Produced by Simon Channing-Williams *et al.* United Kingdom. 2004; color; 125 minutes. Distributed by New Line Cinema.

Richard Hoggart once remarked that working-class mothers were the pivot of the home. Within the first ten minutes of his new film, Mike Leigh establishes how many lives are structured around one such woman's labor and love. Vera Drake is a fiftyish, working-class woman living in north London in 1950. Her days are spent cleaning the houses of upper-middle-class people who hardly notice her presence and helping out less fortunate neighbors in her council block. The work day over, she prepares her own family's tea, until daughter Ethel, son Sid, and husband Stan are all gathered around the table, an oasis of warmth and affection in the midst of a cold London winter. And, from time to time, usually on Fridays at five, Vera "helps young girls out," in her own words, by performing abortions.

Before 1967, abortion was a criminal offense in Britain, only permitted under very strict criteria. It was punishable by jail sentences of up to four years. But abortion remained an important form of contraception, particularly among working-class people whose access to other kinds of birth control was limited. Until the passing of the Abortion Act, it was estimated that there were 100,000 illegal abortions each year, often performed by working-class women like Vera Drake.

We should not judge historical dramas only for historical correctness, but *Vera Drake* is an accurate reflection of the practice of working-class abortion and the way abortion law worked in the pre-1967 era. Vera could have been plucked out of Moya Woodside's 1963 survey of forty working-class female abortionists. And those who think that Vera's refusal to accept payment for abortion is a fanciful idealization on Leigh's part should read Woodside: for most of the older, working-class women jailed for abortion in the 1950s, money was but a minor consideration. Leigh and his cinematographer Dick Pope also manage to catch the look of postwar Britain just as it shrugged off austerity, with cigarettes and nylons still in short supply but clothes starting to become more colorful.

The film is notable for its subtle handling of the intersections among class, gender, and sexuality in postwar Britain. Leigh is one of the few British directors who still cares about class. With *Vera Drake*, he

offers a portrait of the postwar working class and the place of women like Vera within it. Leigh has been criticized for sentimentalizing an older working class uncorrupted by modern consumerism. To be sure, the Drakes sometimes seem too good to be true, a respectable working-class family at ease with itself in a home full of love and support. At times, the emotional dichotomy between a "warm" working class and a "cold" middle class is overdrawn. And the poisonous apple of affluence duly makes its appearance through Joyce, Vera's materialist and upwardly mobile sister-in-law. Joyce is as determined to acquire a washing machine as she is to get pregnant; indeed reproduction is related in her mind to consumption. But looking beneath this surface, Leigh's view of the working class is not without its sharp edges. Vera's childhood friend, Lily, is a backstreet entrepreneur, selling abortions to the desperate for two guineas, along with black market sweets and sardines. Leigh also has much to say about the fracture along gender lines running through working-class life. The men of *Vera Drake* are preoccupied by the war or, like Sid, intent upon buying the sexual favors of young women with black market stockings, without much thought for the consequences. Women are left to deal with those consequences, alone in dark rooms, only able to rely upon other women, discussions of sexuality silenced by embarrassment or shame. Although Vera's husband Stan, wonderfully played by Phil Davies, always supports Vera, he does not fully understand her actions. Her son is disgusted by what he calls the "dirty" business of abortion. Male empathy for Vera and for women's lot comes from an unlikely source, Reg, Ethel's almost mute fiancé, who makes a simple and heartfelt case for abortion: "It's alright for the rich, but if you can't feed [children], you can't love them." *Vera Drake* is less complex than Claude Chabrol's film about abortion in Vichy France, *Une Affaire des Femmes* (1988), but it shares with that film an interest in the ambiguous position of women within working-class communities.

*Vera Drake* also maps the class distinctions over abortion. In a somewhat didactic but nonetheless necessary subplot, Susan, the daughter of one of the middle-class families for whom Vera cleans, gets pregnant. Like her working-class sisters, she uses a network of female acquaintances to secure an abortion. But there the similarities end. Susan is passed from one middle-class professional to another, from general practitioner to psychiatrist to obstetrician, obtaining her abortion for one hundred guineas in a posh nursing home, safely within the ambit of a law that favored the rich.

Vera, by contrast, becomes the victim of middle-class professionals. At the heart of the film is Imelda Staunton's extraordinarily moving and nuanced performance as Vera. Staunton saves Vera from being either a long-suffering, working-class saint or a proto-second-wave feminist. Vera does abortions not for the money and not for the politics but because, as she says, "no one else will help" young girls and over-burdened



mothers. In part, this is a simple act of solidarity. In part, it is a consequence of personal experience. Staunton catches Vera's emotional register perfectly. She is devastated when she is arrested, not because she thinks what she has done is wrong, but because she fears she has endangered the life of another woman and because she has spoiled her daughter's engagement party. Staunton's eyes convey Vera's panic and shame. In the journey she takes through the legal system (played out by Leigh in an admirably sober, procedural style), from initial questioning to final sentencing, we see Vera get smaller, more bowed, and more frail, almost physically bent to the authority of middle-class figures such as the police inspector, her solicitor, and the judge. But, if not defiant, she remains uncompromised and independent. When accused of performing abortions, she replies: "That's not what I do. That's what you call it. No one else will help them."

Leigh is careful to show the dangers of backstreet abortion, even when in the kindly hands of a Vera Drake. But he also portrays Vera as the victim of a time when abortion was a crime. The last shot, of her family sitting down to tea, reminds us of the human cost of such laws, a home reduced to silence and emotional detachment, without its center. *Vera Drake* is a compelling film on what may seem a distant subject in 2005: the everyday politics of working-class abortion in postwar Britain. But given recent political events in Britain and America, perhaps this makes it all the more relevant.

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GEOFFREY JENSEN. *Irrational Triumph: Cultural Despair, Military Nationalism, and the Ideological Origins of Franco's Spain*. (William S. Shepperson Series in History and Humanities.) Reno: University of Nevada Press. 2002. Pp. x, 237. \$44.95.

Geoffrey Jensen's book is a lively and intelligent contribution to the analysis of the Spanish military in the first half of the twentieth century. Much has been done in recent years to correct the traditional image of a largely monolithic army. Jensen takes the argument of the diverse, even disparate, nature of the army one step further by examining the different ideological strands among its officer corps. He explores the nationalist and military discourse of four influential figures within the army across the relatively long period of their careers from the last quarter of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the Franco dictatorship. In doing so, he suggests that they, and by extension other officers, were open to the many conflicting ideologies and military beliefs that took root in the troubled and conflictive world of fin-de-siècle Europe, influences that would undermine the rather feeble technical and positivist tradition of military training in Spain.

Jensen stretches the paradigm of ideological diversity to its extreme in examining these four officers,

from the flamboyant and slightly dotty right-wing founder of the Spanish foreign legion, Millán Astray, to the progressive military adviser to the Second Republic, Brigadier-General Enrique Ruiz-Fornells. His choice of military ideologues is a balanced one. Two were influential figures on the Right and the other two were leading Republican military figures. Yet Jensen reveals how some of them shared similar ideological influences across the political divide and how these influences helped to shape the right-wing nationalism that came to dominate military culture in Spain until democracy. His portrait of the Republican general Ricardo Burguete is particularly subtle and complex.

Jensen also emphasizes the importance of ideological education and training among military officers and the contribution this made to the development of right-wing nationalism. Apart from the work of Carlos Blanco Escolá, this is an area that had only been explored cursorily in previous analyses of the Spanish military. Jensen delves fascinatingly into the reading materials of the Madrid-based military club, the Centro del Ejército y de la Armada, to reveal quite extensive reading on the part of a number of the military elite, at least during the years of the Restoration monarchy.

One of the problems faced by Jensen is judging the extent to which all four case studies were representative of and influential in military opinion. The officers he examines cannot be described as typical of their comrades. They were not outsiders but nor were they simply the most eloquent spokesmen of new ideological tendencies in the military. Indeed, their views were highly eccentric, such as Burguete's opinion, according to Jensen, that Ferdinand and Isabella were "usurpers" and had harmed Spain's interests in the Mediterranean by expanding westward (p. 107). In proposing the importance and diversity of ideologies within the military, Jensen may have bent the stick too far. It is likely that outside the periods of war and crisis, the vast majority of officers were more consumed with everyday corporate issues of pay, promotion, rank, and status than questions of national identity and politics. At one point in the text, Jensen acknowledges the difficulty of proving a direct relationship between the "cultural intangibles" represented by his cases and military strategy and tactics (p. 153). Elsewhere, he resorts to intangible measures of his own, referring to the ways in which his figures "clearly" influenced situations or "helped to pave the way" for them.

Although Jensen is careful to provide the socioeconomic and political contextualization for the writings of his military ideologues, he may have downplayed the effect of the 1898 Disaster and the rise of social protest on the shifts that took place in military thinking and identity. Greater balance would have also been achieved by stressing the important role played by corporatist institutions such as the juntas (which, despite Jensen and much of the literature, sprang up in the Army of Africa in Morocco as well as on the

peninsula) in shaping the values and mentalities of many officers.

Nevertheless, Jensen's book brings a much-needed ideological perspective into a literature dominated by political analysis and historical narrative. Through his four characters he shows officers grappling with a range of ideas in their efforts to explain and to transform the turbulent society in which they practiced their profession. His analysis demonstrates a grasp of the ideologies of the time and deepens our understanding of the complex mind of the Spanish military in the first quarter of the twentieth century.

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BARBARA STEPHENSON. *The Power and Patronage of Marguerite de Navarre*. (Women and Gender in the Early Modern World.) Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate. 2004. Pp. xi, 214.

In this book, Barbara Stephenson seeks to establish that Marguerite de Navarre (1492–1549) was a political actor in her own right through the influence she wielded over her brother, Francis I, and through the power she exercised as a peer of the realm and as queen of Navarre. Marguerite was also a powerful patron with a wide variety of clients, ranging from religious reformers within France to the nobility, clergy, and office holders living on her many estates, as well as many other clients and would-be clients who approached her because of her status as the king's trusted sister.

Patronage is central to Stephenson's argument regarding the meaning and significance of Marguerite's life and correspondence, and she accordingly spends a good deal of time discussing the shift in France from medieval vassalage to the patron-client system that came to substitute for feudal ties. In particular, Stephenson emphasizes the distinction between the "strong" ties that bound closely knit networks and the "weak" ties that linked these networks to each other. Following the work of sociologist Mark Granovetter, she argues that these weak ties could be more significant than strong ties, because they fostered exchanges of ideas, social positions, and wealth among otherwise isolated and disparate networks. More important for Stephenson's purposes here, women frequently tended to serve as these weak ties, which meant that the actual significance of the types of patronage women most often were able to exercise—usually informal and less visible than the strong and normally male patronage bonds that define patron-client relationships for historians—was far greater than scholars have realized. Moreover, distinguishing between weak and strong patronage ties can help to explain instances of patronage not characterized by ongoing bonds of loyalty usually considered fundamental to patron-client relationships.

Thus, Stephenson contends, as sister of the king, as queen of Navarre, as duchess de Berry, as an educated

noblewoman deeply interested in humanism and religious reform, and as a noble lord of estates all over France, Marguerite exercised patronage in both male and female ways, as both a strong and a weak link within and between many different networks in France. Moreover, in Stephenson's view we can also learn from Marguerite's letters how noblewomen lived and experienced gender in sixteenth-century France. The "flexibility" of the as yet not fully formed patronage system permitted noblewomen such as Marguerite to exert power through forms of patronage that were impossible for women in the more rigid model of patronage prevailing in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Stephenson's insistence on Marguerite's unique status as an "honorary male" in certain of her roles, such as that of royal counselor in the council of state, tends to undercut this part of her argument. It is likely, however, that even though Marguerite was unique in the high visibility and extensive power and authority of her official roles, the possibility for women to exercise power and patronage in typically male ways, to become "gendered male" in some circumstances even as they remained "sexed" female, was less rare than historians have realized. Such situations were common in many other premodern cultures, in Africa for example, and recent research on early medieval Europe suggests that it was not uncommon in Europe, in some periods at least.

Because Stephenson's research is based on Marguerite's correspondence, Stephenson analyzes closely the language used in these letters. She revives the debate between Arthur Herman and Jay M. Smith over "language games" and how the usually formulaic and often overblown rhetoric of letters should be understood. She concludes that for the most part scholars can assume that the authors and recipients of the letters mutually comprehended their meaning in terms of their letters' contexts, and sincerity and manipulation were understood to coexist in the language used. Stephenson devotes more space to this issue than necessary, as most historians have no choice but to approach their documents in this manner, given the difficulties inherent in Smith's approach, and too little to the interesting issue of Marguerite as an "honorary male." Overall, however, this is a valuable and significant book.

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JANIS LANGINS. *Conserving the Enlightenment: French Military Engineering from Vauban to the Revolution*. (Transformations: Studies in the History of Science and Technology.) Cambridge: MIT Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 532. \$55.00.

Although she chronicles the development of French military engineering from Sébastien Le Prestre Vauban to the French Revolution, and does so with admirable clarity, Janis Langins's principal emphasis is

on the eighteenth century, a period that she characterizes as one of crisis for military engineers in France. Her book presents an in-depth study of professionalization in French engineering, and it is directed to a readership drawn from engineers as well as historians. She offers various analogies to later crises for the engineering profession, particularly in the United States, and suggests that there are lessons to be drawn from the French case that have relevance to the present day. Her subject is the military arm of French engineering (the Corps du Génie) officers trained in technology and mathematics in the War College at Mézières and later at the Polytechnique, a corps of military engineers who combined theoretical understanding with practical experience and who increasingly made the claim that they were studying the science of war. Their status and influence rose spectacularly during the reign of Louis XIV, at a time when European military commanders attached great importance to siegecraft, and when France's greatest architect of defensive fortification, Vauban, was at the height of his influence. The Corps du Génie not only designed France's defenses, but engineers were employed as regional directors of fortifications, verifying, inspecting, reporting on the state of the nation's fortifications, and gaining a reputation for professionalism in an age characterized by venality.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, military requirements had changed. Armies had become much larger; military reformers increasingly advocated the use of faster, lighter artillery; and the defensive value of fixed fortifications was being called into question. A major part of the book focuses on tactical arguments within the Corps as well as those that divided the engineers as a profession from the Enlightened reformers of the day. It was a bitter struggle for influence, in which the engineers adopted the position of defensively minded conservatives, defending their skills and their position in the army against what they saw as headstrong and risky change. At the height of the Enlightenment this was not an easy line to argue—it could sound dangerously like the defense of established privilege—and yet, perhaps surprisingly, this was one argument the reformers did not win. The engineers successfully appealed to their reputation for learning and mathematical accuracy, and they took full advantage of the prestige in which Vauban's architecture was still held. By the 1780s, they had seen off the attacks of Montalembert—the most imaginative and persistent of their critics—and had, with great attention to detail, impressed on their readers the critical importance of their mission. Significantly, during the revolutionary wars, when the ideas of reformers like François-Apollini de Guibert and Jean-Baptiste de Gribeauval helped reshape other aspects of French military thinking, the engineers retained their authority. It was something of a compliment to their profession that it was to two graduates of the Ecole du Génie, Claude-Antoine Prieur and Lazare Carnot, that the Committee of Public Safety

turned in the Year II to guide its armies out of the mire of defeat.

The debates between the Corps and its critics form the centerpiece of this study, and though it may at times seem overly dense in its detail, it rewards a careful read, especially in the light of Kenneth Alder's recent claims that artillery engineers—a rather different category from the men discussed here—were a radical force for modernization in the later eighteenth century. The difference is largely explained by the nature of their respective crafts. Alder focuses on the artillery, on mechanical engineers who sought to create a technology of interchangeable parts, whereas the Corps du Génie was concerned with defensive strategy and the architecture of fortification. Indeed, Langins suggests, perhaps rather tentatively, that building fortifications and defending society were activities indicative of a conservative temperament. But the Corps did not emerge entirely unscathed from the conflict. Its role did change, and the engineers had to accept the more limited functions of a service corps, one more relevant to a flexible modern army.

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PETER SAHLINS. *Unnaturally French: Foreign Citizens in the Old Regime and After*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 454. Cloth \$67.50, paper \$27.95.

Historians have, almost by definition, a fascination with transformations. Peter Sahlins is clearly no exception. Sahlins's superb new book on Old Regime France explores two related "passages": one an alteration in personal identity regularly accomplished almost entirely through routine paperwork, the other a change in the relationship between subjects and the state that even the Revolution of 1789 could not fully secure. Together, he argues, these incommensurate transformations shaped what it meant to be French across the dividing line of the early modern and modern eras.

Sahlins's first concern is naturalization, an administrative process through which the French crown could, with the stroke of a pen, remake an individual's legal status. As Sahlins explains, the French monarchy maintained an unusually punitive attitude toward the many foreigners, or aliens, working and residing in France during the Old Regime. Foreigners could not hold office or religious benefice. They paid special taxes. Most seriously, at a time when similar limitations were starting to wane elsewhere in Europe, foreigners in France (with certain exceptions) remained unable to inherit or bequeath property. Thanks to the endurance of the so-called *droit d'aubaine*, the property of unexempted aliens belonged, after death, to the king. However, the royal government offered one way out of this state of affairs. Beginning in the late sixteenth century, French jurists and the crown had together crafted a bureaucratic procedure through which the king, exercising his exclusive royal authority, could remove a foreign sub-



ject's "vice of origin" (p. 65) and attendant liabilities and, for the right price, make him or her a national (albeit an "unnatural" one). Over the next hundred years, this process became, if not as lucrative as the crown had initially hoped, an important tool of absolutist state building.

Indeed, based on an enormous (if unavoidably incomplete) database, Sahlins is able to recount in extraordinary detail how naturalization worked and, perhaps more importantly, what it meant both for the state and for specific foreign individuals and their families. Sahlins has mined more than 6,000 cases in which individuals sought letters of naturalization between 1660 and 1790, as well as the rolls of the Naturalization Tax of 1697, which list more than 8,000 additional foreigners whom Louis XIV naturalized by force. He uses this material, in part one, to get at the different stakes various sectors of the government and the foreign community had, over time, in the process of artificially manufacturing Frenchmen. The book continues, in part two, with a detailed social history of this statistically small subgroup of immigrants, a discussion that serves partly to remind us how little we still know about settlement in France before the modern era. Collectively, those who became French by legal means in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were certainly wealthier than immigrants as a whole—a predictable finding given the cost of the process—and they were more likely to have jobs in the service sector, including the church, the state apparatus, and the service economy. They were also a heterogeneous group from the perspective of age, sex, religion, and place of origin. And while we hear in the letters of these immigrants the occasional hint of an older language of citizenship stressing their distinctive contributions to French public life or degree of social assimilation, applicants for naturalization tended to be upfront about their ordinary, private, and generally venal motives in seeking this change of status. Sahlins may strike some contemporary readers as having too little to say about what this transformation signified in terms of these foreigners' sense of self. But that is exactly the point: naturalization was primarily a legal process, one that became increasingly routinized in the course of the Old Regime and whose incidence rose and fell following larger economic cycles and political developments.

It is through the painstaking exposition of this ultimately arcane administrative procedure, its architects, and its beneficiaries that Sahlins is able to document a second, larger, and considerably slower and more complicated "passage." Naturalization provides Sahlins with a lens for exploring not only the shifting conception but also, in part three, the shifting practice of citizenship in French law and politics from the late sixteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth. The principal thesis of this complex book is that, in its seventeenth-century heyday, absolutism rested on a legal construction of the citizen, defined primarily in opposition to the foreigner/alien living

inside the borders of France. But as a result of two simultaneous though largely distinct changes, this understanding came undone in the second half of the eighteenth century. The monarchy's gradual and quiet abandonment of the *droit d'aubaine* over a series of more than sixty international treaties between the 1760s and 1782, coupled with the well-documented rise of a new rhetoric of citizenship in the oppositional literature of the era, caused the "absolute citizen," as Sahlins calls him, to suffer some serious setbacks during the last decades of the Old Regime. Sahlins takes this conceptual shift to mean that the conditions for a postabsolutist and distinctly political (as opposed to legal) understanding of the citizen, and the nation, began to come into existence well before the Revolution of 1789. Moreover, he argues that it was not until well into the Restoration (the *droit d'aubaine* disappeared for the last time in 1819), or maybe even the Third Republic, that this process was complete, which is to say that citizenship was firmly and definitively separated from nationality, and political rights were made distinct from civil ones.

Sahlins's big argument about timing is, by now, unsurprising. Much of the voluminous recent literature on the history of citizenship in France already works, in Tocquevillian fashion, against the classic story of an abrupt revolutionary shift from subjects to citizens, prefigured only by the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Sahlins's own first book, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (1989), makes a similarly persuasive case for the revolution as simply one among a series of important steps over a two-hundred-year period during which French national identity was forged. But it is precisely for the nuances in the argument that his new book deserves a large readership. Sahlins has an excellent eye for paradoxes (though one eventually tires of too many "on the one hand, on the other" constructions). The first chapters of the book explain in considerable detail how the contradictory goals of the absolute monarchy were, when it came to naturalization, frequently papered over by a slew of "legal and administrative fictions" manufactured by the state. For example, to get around its own prohibitions against the practice of Protestantism, foreign Protestants were repeatedly (and falsely) naturalized as residents of France's only multiconfessional province, Alsace. The result was that foreign Protestants could become French nationals before it was possible for French Protestants to do so. Later chapters then explicate the paradoxical effects of the expansion of citizenship's meaning in the era of the revolution. Sahlins points out that as citizenship grew into a moral and political category, rooted in public mindedness (rather than obedience), property ownership (rather than transmission), and natural rights (rather than privileges granted as gifts from the king), it also became more socially and politically restrictive. Where once the category had encompassed everyone in France with the exception of resident aliens, it now began to exclude women, children, servants, and,



potentially, all dissident or insufficiently public-minded voices. From the perspective of logic, the revolutionary impulse to treat aristocrats, émigrés, refractory priests, and other political enemies of the new regime as "foreigners" begins to make new sense. Finally, the whole book illustrates how the documentary and the theoretical, the statistical and the anecdotal or exemplary, and, ultimately, multiple fields within history can be successfully brought together within one study. (Happily, Cornell University Press permitted Sahlins to include more than a hundred additional pages of appendixes, notes, and bibliographies to help the reader put all the pieces together.) This book should become a standard work for students of French history and, indeed, for all historians concerned with how to write the history of immigration, foreignness, nationality, and citizenship before the age of passports, work permits, and border patrols.

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ROBERT ZARETSKY. *Cock and Bull Stories: Folco de Baroncelli and the Invention of the Camargue*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 190. \$49.95.

In March 1995, up to 30,000 people marched from Beaucaire to Tarascon in southern France, crossing the Rhône, to protest government measures against those deemed responsible for the deaths of three people, including two foreign tourists, killed by bulls thundering down narrow streets during local festivals. Bulls are at the heart of Robert Zaretsky's engrossing story of the ways in which a distinctive local identity was constructed in the late nineteenth century. The locus of the study is the Camargue region, the delta of the Rhône, a land of bulls and horses. Here bulls and bull-running—the *course camarguaise*, in which athletic *raseteurs* snatch tassels and cockades from between the bulls' horns—were as symbolic of local identity as was the Gallic cock of the idea of France.

The gradual process by which France, a land of great linguistic and cultural diversity, became both united by shared symbols and understood as an amalgam of regional traditions has often been studied. But Zaretsky makes a real contribution to a genre that has produced some of the finest writing on modern France, from Maurice Agulhon and Jean-François Chanet to Caroline Ford and Robert Gildea.

In the late nineteenth century, members of the Félibrige in the Occitan-speaking region of southern France asserted the legitimacy of their claims to autonomy by appealing to history. In their case, the pivotal period was the crushing in the thirteenth century by northern French forces of the Cathars or Albigensians, and of "Occitania" (even though there had never been a political entity of that name).

Zaretsky traces the checkered interaction of the cock and bull from the late eighteenth century to the present, but the central focus is on the life of a

remarkable character, Falco de Baroncelli (1869–1943). His father's family, of Florentine origins, had become courtiers at Versailles and after 1789 were, like his mother's, militant "legitimists," believing the return of Catholic and royalist autocracy to be the only way to reverse the revolution's liberalism and abolition of regional privileges. Baroncelli was born in Aix; his family subsequently moved to Nîmes and Avignon, where he met the driving force of the Provençal Félibrige, Frédéric Mistral. Baroncelli shared the antiliberal and anticentralist attitudes of Mistral and the founder of the Action Française, Charles Maurras, but Zaretsky argues that he was more tolerant than either and certainly not a fascist. While he readily accepted the construction in 1942 of a detention center for Gypsies near his estate (*mas*), Zaretsky argues that he was fascinated by race rather than being racist. He was fêted under Vichy, but his main interest in the regime was that he was able to appeal successfully to Marshal Philippe Pétain's love of the "picturesque" to prevent further drainage works in the Camargue.

In 1899, Baroncelli left his family in Avignon and moved to the Mas de l'Amarée near Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer, where he lived until the estate was commandeered by the German army in 1943. He had a brief affair with the equally intriguing Jeanne de Flandreys, who remained his closest companion (unfortunately, Zaretsky does not tell her story). There is a striking photograph of them in the book, wearing Native American costumes. The most arresting part of Zaretsky's book concerns Baroncelli's fascination with Amerindians, whose fate he likened to that of his Occitan people: Manifest Destiny was to him the equivalent of the Albigensian Crusade. For twenty years Baroncelli maintained a correspondence with the Oglala Sioux Jacob White Eyes, a member of William F. Cody's Wild West Show, which toured France in 1889. Baroncelli took White Eyes and other Sioux to Toulouse to show them the capital of "Occitania." But he was equally fascinated by the idea of the Wild West and played with the idea of the Camargue horsemen as the French equivalent of Cody's men.

Zaretsky does not draw out the paradox of the fierce advocate of the rights of Native Americans galloping through the Camargue dressed as Buffalo Bill. But this is an insightful and thought-provoking book, based on an impressive knowledge of this region and its history. Like Zaretsky's prose, the book's production is of the highest quality.

PETER MCPHEE  
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KOLLEEN GUY. *When Champagne Became French: Wine and the Making of a National Identity*. (John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science 121st Series.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 245. \$39.95.

French luxury goods, including fashionable clothing, lace, perfume, porcelain, and furniture, have enjoyed a reputation for elegance and quality for centuries both domestically and abroad. Likewise certain foods—most notably wine, cheese, chocolate, and foie gras—as well as French cuisine have also been lauded by connoisseurs the world over. It is, therefore, not surprising that historians have long underscored the particular importance of luxury products to the French economy and balance of trade. It is, however, only more recently that scholars have sought to determine their role in the making of French national identity. This book by Kolleen Guy contributes to both of these historiographies. In seven well-researched chapters, the author provides the reader with a clear understanding of the exigencies of grape cultivation in the Champagne region of France and of the systems of production, marketing, and distribution of its namesake beverage from its origins in the eighteenth century until World War I.

The strongest parts of this well-written book are the sections recounting the economic, social, and labor history of the champagne industry. One learns a great deal, for example, about the nature of the soil in the region, traditions of grape cultivation, patterns of labor organization, effects of the phylloxera epidemic of the 1890s, numbers of bottles sold in France and abroad, size of individual holdings, marriage and naming habits among large proprietors, efforts to create a producer's cooperative, and strategies for obtaining state support. Equally laudable are the book's aspirations to bridge the traditional divide between economic and social history on the one side and cultural and political history on the other. And, within the domain of business history, the author succeeds in this difficult challenge. Guy provides, for example, some fascinating readings of the labels and advertisements used to market champagne.

But the author's ambitions are even greater; the book's title promises that we will learn how champagne "became French" (that is a national as opposed to a regional product) and how it was mobilized in the project of constructing national identity. The book does not succeed, however, in moving beyond a series of intriguing insights on this topic to a sustained argument. This may be the result, in part at least, of the author's choice to eschew abstract discussion (and sidestep engagement with the relevant historiographical and theoretical literatures) of the complex issues of the relation of Paris and provinces and the intersection of commodities and national culture. Guy argues strongly, for example, for the initiative taken by the Champagne region in the forgoing of a French national identity without situating her argument in the on-going debate in the French historiography concerning the relation of Paris. She writes in the introduction that "Rather than a construction of 'France' as a nation that was imposed by Paris on the periphery, the regional wine community helped to manufacture a common culture in which local traditions became

national and local regions became national territory" (pp. 7–8). Indeed, the book does demonstrate provincial creativity and resilience in the face of efforts at control by the national state and Parisian-based businesses. Guy shows how both peasant organizations and private businesses negotiated with the state to define champagne as a regional product that also incarnated the French nation. The argument is well developed and documented, but it could have been even more persuasive and wide-reaching had the author chosen to address more directly the very substantial literature on regionalism. Brief mentions of a few key (largely American) texts are included in the concluding bibliographic essay, but they do not do justice to the implications of this research for the ongoing debate. It is unclear as to whether the case of champagne provides another confirming example or if it is intended to nuance or contest earlier interpretations of this dynamic.

Likewise, more reflection on the parallels and differences between comestibles and other symbolically rich consumer goods would also have increased the explanatory power of this analysis. How, for example, did champagne's capacity to carry a national message compare with that of fashion? One can imagine that champagne would have had considerably greater potential to unite the French because, however expensive it was, by the late nineteenth century it could actually be consumed by all, even if only a few times in a lifetime. High-fashion clothing, by contrast, could only be acquired by the very rich, although filmgoers and magazine readers could participate in its semiotic system, as Roland Barthes demonstrated (*The Fashion System* [1983]). Did commodities do different work in the construction of national identity when ordinary French men and women could consume the thing itself or when they were limited to its representations? It would also have been important to place champagne within the field of food: was cheese, not a luxury good, but one also marked as both very local and French, mobilized in parallel fashion in the making of Frenchness?

Guy's book is an essential read for anyone interested in champagne, an engaging one for those interested in the relation of Paris and the provinces, and a useful one for those seeking to think simultaneously about production, distribution, and consumption of a commodity.

LEORA AUSLANDER  
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JOAN L. COFFEY. *Léon Harmel: Entrepreneur as Catholic Social Reformer*. (Catholic Social Tradition Series.) Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2003. Pp. x, 340. \$48.00.

French Catholicism underwent a sea change between the French Revolution and World War I. It witnessed the rise of Ultramontanism, the feminization of Catholicism, and a series of religious revivals, alongside a

decline in religious practice, especially among the French working class. Throughout the nineteenth century, conflicts between the church and state were often intense. For much of this period, the church allied itself with the Right and with the forces of political reaction. However, beginning in the 1820s, a Catholic laity and clergy began to present an alternative, social vision of Catholicism, as evidenced in the writings and activities of figures that included Félicité de Lamennais and Frédéric Ozanam. Utopian socialists like Pierre Buchez and Charles Fourier further contributed to the early development of social Catholicism, but the potential alliance between socialists and social Catholics was shattered by the repression of the working class following the Revolution of 1848. Nonetheless, a generation of lay and predominantly elite Catholics began to consider ways in which religion could address the needs and problems of the French working class after the trauma of 1848. Léon Harmel, industrialist turned social reformer, was one of several men of this generation, which also included Albert de Mun, René de la Tour du Pin, and Frédéric Le Play. What was unusual about Harmel was that he, like Robert Owen in Scotland, attempted to implement his reformist ideas in a very concrete and practical sense as the owner of a spinning factory, Val-des-Bois, in the Ardennes.

Joan L. Coffey does not only wish to write the story of Harmel's life and activities at Val-des-Bois. Drawing on a voluminous trove of archives housed in the Vatican, Paris, and Châlons-sur-Marne, Coffey seeks to explore his involvement in the worker pilgrimage movement to Rome and the complicated cultural, religious, national, and international contexts in which Harmel articulated and implemented his ideas. Ultimately, she strives to determine the extent to which Harmel's thought and actions were representative of his epoch or whether they were unique. In posing this question, she sheds a nuanced light on the changing contours of Catholic life from the 1870s to the outbreak of World War I.

Coffey's engaging study is divided into five parts. The first examines Harmel's origins, the social milieu in which he grew up, and the way in which each shaped his reformist ideas. The second provides an account of how he implemented his ideas in his factory. She pays particular attention to the concept of worker corporations, which sought to reconcile the interests of workers and employers. The third part focuses on the social, political, and cultural contexts in which Harmel pursued his ventures by tracing the often hostile responses that he received from fellow factory owners, and his relationship with Pope Leo XIII, who increasingly concerned himself with social questions. Part four explores Harmel's participation in the worker pilgrimage movement to Rome in the last three decades of the nineteenth century, a subject that has not, heretofore, received the attention that it deserves. Part five examines new initiatives taken by Harmel during the period of the Dreyfus Affair. This period saw the splintering of the social Catholic movement with the rise of

Christian democracy, Modernism, Americanism, and antisemitism. Moreover, a new pope, Pius X, did not share his predecessor's interest in social issues. He began to take a hard line toward what he perceived to be the most radical wings of the social Catholic movement.

Much of Harmel's thought was by no means unique. His focus on the need to rechristianize the working class and his assertion that family, morality, and clearly defined gender roles were crucial to the creation of a stable society were widely shared by Catholic thinkers in the nineteenth century. His activism, albeit highly paternalistic in nature, was not. However, the paradoxes inherent in Harmel's thought and actions are by far the most fascinating aspects of this carefully researched book. Some of them are deftly explored by Coffey. Others are not. They include Harmel's valorization of the traditional family and chastity, while giving women an important role in Christian salvation and in the church. He had an exalted notion of motherhood, and was largely silent about his own daughter's decision to become a nun. Harmel greatly admired America as a god-fearing and virtuous nation. He also held Theodore Roosevelt and Andrew Carnegie in high esteem, while idealizing the period of the Middle Ages and decrying the crass individualism that characterized modern industrial society. Finally, Harmel, like many social Catholics and Christian Democrats, became increasingly antisemitic during the period of the Dreyfus Affair. This put them in the anti-Dreyfusard camp, even though they shared many of the social values of republican Dreyfusards. Why and how did antisemitism come to trump the powerful social ideals of social Catholicism and Christian Democracy that Harmel embraced? While Coffey gives us indications of an answer to this question, it remains important to understanding the early failures of social Catholicism in the first decade of the twentieth century. Coffey's balanced and unsentimental biography of Harmel thus raises larger questions about religion, politics, and their reconfiguration in France in the last decades of the nineteenth century.

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SUE PEABODY and TYLER STOVALL, editors. *The Color of Liberty: Histories of Race in France*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 384. Cloth \$74.95, paper \$24.95.

This collection of essays heralds a trend that is likely to become the leading edge of Francophone studies: interactions of France and formerly colonized peoples in the imperial and postcolonial eras. Older histories of French colonialism honed in on its civilizing mission, whether condemned or admired. These essays focus on metropole-periphery interaction, and overall the collection achieves its goal of examining French universalism in light of racial inequality and "the



metropole and colonies not as separate entities but rather as parts of a unified political and cultural formation" (p. 7).

The book raises a number of larger questions: can postcolonial analytical methods reconcile racial and colonial history? What are the continuities and breaks between the first and second French empires? How does the concept of race translate between French and Anglo-American historical contexts when the targets and the markers of race differ? These questions prove tough nuts to crack because a consistent theory of race eludes the authors. Editors Sue Peabody and Tyler Stovall point out that the essays "reject any opposition between biological and cultural racism" (p. 4) and one claims that "French racial attitudes . . . were and remain based on a mixture [of the two] factors" (pp. 4, 206). Such views unwittingly legitimate what they purport to reject. Pseudo-biological mystification is no more biology than cultural essentialism is culture; and they are more than a mixture. Both are aspects of a construct that emerged as capitalism developed, albeit using certain anachronistic forms, to solve the problem of social control. But the need it insure a smoothly working system of exploitation that was also cost effective encompassed both nonwhite and white laborers.

Rejecting the Memmi-Sartre-Fanon antipodal, colonizer-colonized perspective, the authors attend closely to the variety, complexity, and specificity of experience on the side of the street inhabited by the colonized. The story of the dominant people is as that of complicated as the subalterns, yet the essays understate or elide conflicts among Europeans. Ironically this imbalance implies a single, static, "white" viewpoint that borders on stereotyping. In settler societies, however, exploited yet racially privileged "white workers" play a crucial role in social control; in other types of colonies, other groups perform that function. This crucial difference determines the workings of race.

The comparison of American and French race histories is implicit in this collection, and the paradigm that equates race with phenotype uneasily coexists with the more recent one defining race as a social construct, with pseudo-biology serving alongside religion, language and other culture-based markers to elevate "whites" and subordinate "colored" others of all hues. Another area of confusion about race overlays the phenotype-construct dichotomy. In his *Invention of the White Race* (2 volumes, 1994, 1997), Theodore William Allen argues that race was invented by the mainland Anglo-American plantation elite to recruit propertyless "poor whites" as their social control strata. British and French colonies in the West Indies failed to establish European labor forces and anointed mixed race, small propertyholders as their social control strata. Where white laborers constituted a majority, there "white supremacist democracy" arose. In the islands, gradations of color roughly coincided with class stratification along a more fluid, fluctuating color line.

Part one's essays, which focus on the eighteenth century, tentatively incorporate the Atlantic plantation complex, age of democratic revolutions, and Haitian revolution into a unified field. Pierre Boule's essay on François Bernier, an early Enlightenment originator of the concept of race, ends with the provocative point that "polygenesis [of races] is . . . linked to eighteenth-century racist thought, notably in Voltaire" (p. 19). Boule explores, albeit briefly, the paradox of universalism versus European superiority writ large across the Enlightenment. John Garrigus's essay on *mûlâtresse* fiction views Saint Domingue as an epicenter of the revolutionary era, perhaps equal in importance to Paris, Boston, or London. This perspective coincides with the editors' goal of presenting metropole and colonies as a "unified political and cultural formation." Extended to the realm of political economy, Garrigus's work suggests that, under the Old Regime, the Antilles was an economic pseudopod of France. To incorporate the role of the sugar islands, where thousands of planters produced a cash crop for the world market employing 750,000 African agricultural proletarians, would reframe the debate over whether France was a society of "orders" or "classes." This essay hints at the larger question without directly tackling it.

The contributors assume more continuity than break between the early and later French empires. However, a racially privileged, propertyless, and exploited European strata emerged in Algeria by the beginning of the Third Republic. This settler society, a white supremacist democracy with its mass of "poor whites," distinguishes the second from the first empire and helps translate the meaning of race from American to French contexts. White colonists of the first empire roughly coincided with the ruling elite, but a million white settlers in Algeria created an anomalous exception to the rule in the second empire. Many of the later essays in this volume would benefit from a more differentiated analysis of whites. Michael Vann's finely nuanced typology of races in Southeast Asia describes a racial hierarchy akin to Arthur Gobineau's taxonomy more than to Frantz Fanon's dualism, and the anecdotes about mistaking officially "white" Japanese for colonial subjects confirm this construction. Did all the whites really look out on the world with one uniformly superior gaze?

The essays on representations of popular culture innovatively handle tricky problems of "reception" without quite landing the slippery fish of race. Dana Hale's work on advertising logos is fascinating, but it would benefit from a broader, material-cultural context so we could compare the total array of product labels with those that had colonial or exotic themes. Hale describes specific products and what exotic group was used to sell each. Comparisons with "white" French norms could connect general commodification and consumerism with race-specific behavior. Hale defines race as both phenotypical and cultural, consistent with "the French context of this period" (p. 145) but offers no reason for this eclecticism. Rereading



both categories as subsets of social control and cultural construction might open a window on how the metropolitan French perceived themselves through their stereotyping of others.

Of Patricia Lorcin's two "Algerian" women writers, Elissa Rhais perpetrated a successful career-spanning fraud on the French public, passing herself off as a native Algerian woman and even dressing in costume to deliver lectures in Paris. She succeeded, in part, because a leading settler intellectual authenticated her persona and her titillating novels. Rhais and Lucienne Favre were but two of many settler writers. Marie Bugéja wrote against the grain of white dominance. Jean Vignaud, like Rhais, used a mix of sex and violence in his works, adding incest in *Sarati le Terrible* (1919). His history of Algeria (1947) erased all trace of Islamic civilization. Vignaud's novels were translated into English and made into films. Including these other voices might explain why Rhais's audience remained limited to the French reading public in contrast with Vignaud's and clarify to whom in settler and metropole society these soft porn fantasies appealed. A wider reading of these authors might show us how the whole group acted as a transmission belt for settler racial values to reach France.

Leora Auslander and Thomas Holt theorize a context to explain the Sambo statuary peppering the contemporary commercial landscape of Paris. Sensitive to the dynamics of "glocalism" (global plus local), they examine how American racial views interact with those of the French and turn to Parisian leftist friends to translate cultural and phenotypical markers. But they do not interpellate the owners, customers, and employees of establishments displaying the icons, so we get no explanations from the people on the spot. Opinion polls, intermarriage statistics, and a discussion of racial attitudes of whites toward nonwhite immigration would have added perspective.

Racial interaction is more central to the last essays in the book. Yael Fletcher compares autobiographies of Catholic, communist, and Maghrebin denizens of working-class Marseille. Her discussion of a 1950 dockers' strike, its aftermath, and class-race intersections is tantalizing. Gary Wilder, studying relations between interwar Pan-Africanists and communists, relies on police reports, in turn based on informers' words filtered through their handlers' official accounts. Recently opened French communist (PCF) archives might offer a counterbalance, one yet to be exploited. The French power structure used anticommunist attacks on colonial nationalists to criminalize these groups, and a possibly intended side effect was to block acts of solidarity by white leftists such as those in the PCF across racial lines. Wilder urges Europeanists to "historicize rather than presume the nation" (p. 251). The white race should be subjected to the same scrutiny, and it was among the far-left parties that the strongest impulse to interracial solidarity resided.

Stovall's essay questions whether the Paris Red Belt suburbs' transformation into a "Black Belt" in the last

three decades has led to a consensus in which ethnicity trumps class. He concludes that the Red to Black transition is "ultimately . . . a myth" (p. 363). But working-class voters have defected from the far left to the National Front, even in the suburban ring. This electoral phenomenon suggests a more complex interaction than simply "identity" versus class. Racial privilege includes economic advantage, not just a "psychological wage." Moreover, electoral habits based on cultural antagonisms (or rather race/gender privilege) that trump economic (i.e. class) interests is a pattern that sounds like the Republican "southern strategy" in the United States. Is a white race in the making in France? This book provides no definitive answer, but its seminal essays frame important questions about French "histories of race" and contribute to our general understanding of the role race plays in shaping the modern world.

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KRISTEN STROMBERG CHILDERS. *Fathers, Families, and the State in France, 1914–1945*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 261. \$39.95.

Kristen Stromberg Childers complements existing work on the significance of gender in the creation and elaboration of welfare states by turning readers' attention from women to men, from mothers to fathers, and from arguments over the meaning of maternity to arguments over the meaning of paternity. Her book, which focuses on France from the 1880s through the 1940s, also revisits the vexed question of whether Vichy's National Revolution under Marshal Philippe Pétain represents a period of continuity or contrast with the Third Republic that preceded it and the Fourth Republic that followed. By presenting and considering a wide variety of verbal descriptions and visual images, Childers explores the ways in which French commentators tried to describe, define, glorify, or regulate fatherhood through its contrasts with motherhood, with bachelorhood, or with other manifestations of manhood in areas such as occupational life, military service, or political practice.

Historians such as Sarah Fishman, Francine Muel-Dreyfus, and Miranda Pollard have already demonstrated the contradictions in Vichy legislators' treatment of women as mothers. Vichy propaganda castigated women who left home to work, for example, but Vichy welfare programs offered social assistance so minimal that mothers often had to seek jobs to support their children. Childers demonstrates similar contradictions in Vichy legislators' treatment of men as fathers. Just as politicians, lawyers, and judges tried to force women into motherhood by censoring birth control information and increasing the penalties for abortion, so also they tried to force men into responsible fatherhood by broadening the definition of *abandon de famille* and increasing the number of prosecutions against men who abandoned their families

morally or materially. In theory, men under Vichy enjoyed unquestioned authority as the natural leaders of state and society; in practice, men often saw the substance of their autonomy as husbands, fathers, and heads of household challenged, reapportioned, or even legally restricted.

Childers argues that good fatherhood ultimately proved harder to define than good motherhood. Even the most enthusiastic writers for Pétain's National Revolution had trouble articulating the necessary connections they wanted to make between virile masculinity and productive paternity. Vichy's welfare programs may have increased the rights of families, for example, but they also decreased the importance of the father as the sole supporter of the women and children under his care. The administrators of Vichy's *caisses de compensation* may have looked first to the father when they calculated the size of their family allowances based upon his salary, but a 1940 addition to the *Code de famille* ensured that these same administrators would eventually acknowledge the authority of the mother when they paid the resulting sum directly into her hands.

Childers concludes that "Vichy marked both the zenith and the breaking point of a particular discourse that proclaimed the *père de famille* a key national figure worthy of expanded political rights" (p. 191). Although she acknowledges the many continuities between Vichy's population policies and the welfare programs of the Third and Fourth Republics, she places her own emphasis on the way in which the ideals of Vichy went down in defeat when the political leaders of the Liberation drafted a new constitution that added individual votes for women rather than family votes for fathers.

By ending her analysis in 1945, Childers closes her book just four years before Simone de Beauvoir published her own foundational analysis and influential critique of gender relations, *The Second Sex*. Childers successfully shows that the creation of acceptable models for masculinity was far more complicated than de Beauvoir's focus on the construction of femininity might suggest. At the same time, however, Childers's book leaves open the questions of how and why it is that while men systematically lost their power as fathers of families, they so often retained their power as men in other capacities.

Besides interesting modern French historians, the book should be useful for comparative historians of welfare, of war and peace, and of the reality and representation of men's and women's lives under fascist, authoritarian, or totalitarian regimes.

JEAN ELISABETH PEDERSEN  
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MICHAEL BESS. *The Light-Green Society: Ecology and Technological Modernity in France, 1960–2000*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. xix, 369. \$18.00.

Michael Bess combines a splendid history of the greening of France with a meditation on the advent of the global light-green society. This is a persuasive and provocative study, but it is not a conventional history. Bess laces his story with unabashed advocacy for the Greens and personal speculation. He presents his historical interpretation, which is based on extensive research, in the form of a colorful, sometimes humorous narrative. If Bess grounds his study in the environmental history of France and the Green movement since the 1960s, he launches it into the atmosphere by addressing the philosophical problems posed by our new awareness of ecology.

What is a light-green society, and why did France adopt it? The French, in Bess's view, are distinctive in their attachment to traditional rural society and in their obsession with attaining national autonomy through technological progress, which has made them ambivalent about environmental concerns. Thus, even if the French have introduced thousands of incremental changes in their lives and transformed their thinking about nature and society, they have, in his estimation, only grown a light-green, rather than a deep-green, society. The "green turn" failed to subvert mass consumerism, halt the harmful practices of agribusiness, curb the use of the automobile, end dependence on nuclear energy, or shrink the state. The French have tried to have it both ways, to be modern and ecologically sound; the consequence has been the creation of a light-green society. In general, the author expresses mixed feelings about this achievement. Bess admires the greening of French attitudes and practices over the past forty years, yet he concludes that "in the early 2000s [France] is still borrowing from the future in order to live richly in the present" (p. 232).

Perhaps Bess should be more satisfied than he seems to be about the progress France has made. After all, he believes that the basic environmentalist message has been widely adopted. He may be disappointed because he has raised the bar too high. His picture of what a dark-green France would be like in 2020 and the sacrifices it would entail moves this reviewer to think he may ask for too much.

There is a minor problem with the contention that the French are unique. To prove this point, the study would have had to adopt a comparative perspective. How were, for example, *les Verts* different from the Greens in West Germany? And if, at the end of his study, Bess speaks of a global light-green society, then just how unique is France?

What is the essence of this new global light-green society? For Bess, it is a revolution in how we think about society and nature. We now understand that nature has invaded society, just as humans increasingly control nature; and this realization has changed everything: what people eat, how they move around, where they vacation, which products they buy, and even their political agendas. Today we accept the intermingling of the human and the natural.

In the final chapters, Bess abandons France and

history to raise philosophical issues raised by environmentalism. He asks what is the intrinsic value of the wilderness? How should we conceive of the proper relationship between society and the wild? Will intervening to save nature unwittingly destroy it? And is the global light-green society sustainable? He also reflects on the paradoxes of our new age of ecology. For example, environmentalists wanted to reject consumer culture, but they expanded it by adding a plethora of green products.

In his conclusion, Bess places France in a global context. He believes France may be "closer to the shape of things to come" than other nations (p. 294). The French, he believes, can instruct others about how we should think about nature. Nature should not be equated with pristine wilderness: nature is, the French know, a partially transformed countryside, a semi-humanized and tamed landscape. For a generation or more, the French have been looking for a new global mission. At times they seem to think it is to act as the rivals of the United States or as the opponents of globalization. Perhaps Bess has identified their true mission: the new form of French *rayonnement* should be to champion ecology.

RICHARD KUISEL  
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BETH KREITZER. *Reforming Mary: Changing Images of the Virgin Mary in Lutheran Sermons of the Sixteenth Century*. (Oxford Studies in Historical Theology.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. 239.

Beth Kreitzer asks how the Virgin Mary, so potent a force in medieval Catholicism, came to be so effaced in Protestantism. She argues convincingly that the answer to this question must be sought in a broader examination of how several generations of Lutheran preachers reinvented Mary to suit their own theological and pastoral preoccupations, and how they tried to communicate the complexities of their "Lutheran" Mary to their congregations. Her conclusions rest on a thorough survey of published sixteenth-century sermons and a few other relevant texts, such as Martin Luther's commentary on the Magnificat. Her work is informed by the ideas of Carolyn Walker Bynum and earlier work by Robert Lansemann on the Lutheran liturgical year; it complements Robert Kolb's work on the Lutheran Reformation and its ideas about saints and sainthood.

The book includes a literature review, a summary of late medieval developments in Marian piety, and an overview of Marian ritual within the old church calendar. Three chapters examine what Lutheran clergy preached on the great festivals traditionally connected with Mary (Annunciation, Visitation, Purification); two treat sermons on major biblical texts not commemorated by holidays (Luke 2:41–52, and the Wedding at Cana); a sixth chapter collates sermons on minor Marian festivals and tangential references to Mary in sermons on other topics. In addition to the usual

scholarly apparatus, Kreitzer provides a very useful set of short biographies of the more than forty preachers whose sermons provide her documentation.

Kreitzer concludes that Lutheran ideas about Mary exhibit considerable continuity with medieval teaching. Mary remains the mother of God, a virgin who conceived without sin and gave birth naturally, and who remained virgin despite being married; Lutheran preachers continued to contrast Mary to Eve and to hold Mary up as a model of faith for all. Kreitzer also finds important ruptures with tradition in the rejection of Mary's intercessory role and power; Lutheran preachers show remarkable cohesiveness here. Most noticeably she traces the rapid decline of reverence toward Mary in the second Lutheran generation, and a rising tide of criticism toward Mary in the second and third generations, criticism made in riposte to resurgent Catholicism. Historians of women and gender will be particularly intrigued by the discussions of Mary's sins and errors as a mother. Despite these human weaknesses, Mary remained an exemplar of the best that women could achieve. Lutheran preachers stripped the Queen of Heaven of agency, heroism, and power, leaving her fully domesticated, "meek, pious, chaste, and obedient" (p. 25). While Mother Eve could still damn, Mother Mary could not save; her role was but to bear the savior (p. 39).

The book has minor flaws. It promises comparisons with Geiler von Kaysersberg's views in each chapter (p. 22), but these turn out to be fragmentary. The index does not include entries for contemporary historians and theorists whose views are discussed in the text. Despite intriguing references to Philip Melancthon as a precursor of the developing Lutheran critique of Mary, Kreitzer does not explore the possibility that lay conservatism and lingering devotion to the old, powerful Queen of Heaven provoked clerical criticism of Mary before the revitalization of Catholicism. More than a passing reference (p. 136) to the intra-Lutheran controversies that plagued the second and third generations is needed to place sermon writers in the overall evolution of Lutheran orthodoxy; it would be helpful to have the bits of information on this in the appendix brought together in the text.

The book's strengths outweigh these weaknesses. Kreitzer has read very widely in the extant sermon material and provides an illuminating exploration of what Lutherans taught about Mary. Her readings of gender messages are nuanced; she notes not only how Mary was used to advance the case for the domestication of women, but also how preachers used Mary to castigate bad husbands and disobedient sons. Throughout her chapters, Kreitzer is careful not to argue beyond her evidentiary base. She knows she cannot tell how readers or congregations received their preachers' messages, or whether the Lutheran laity were as quick to forget Mary's power as their preachers had been. The result is a thoughtful, careful



contribution to the intellectual history of the sixteenth-century reformations.

LORNA JANE ABRAY  
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ULRIKE STRASSER. *State of Virginité: Gender, Religion, and Politics in an Early Modern Catholic State*. (Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 248.

Ulrike Strasser's elegant study examines the interplay of gender, religion, and state building in the Duchy of Bavaria in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Not surprisingly, she argues that the Bavarian princes and officials used Catholicism to strengthen the precocious state. More originally for the traditionalist field of early modern German Catholicism, Strasser asserts that the Bavarian state, in close alliance with elements within the Catholic Church, imposed new models of sexual behavior that benefited the modern state. These new rules strengthened the patriarchal family by curtailing the independence of women, especially nuns, who were not part of male ruled households. Strasser's aim of better integrating the study of gender into our understanding of the process of confessionalization is very salutary.

The study focuses on the city of Munich and has two trajectories: the lives and sexuality of laywomen, and the experience of Catholic nuns. The study is based on extensive archival research. Strasser examines laws and decrees to identify the new marriage regulations and new official attitudes toward sexuality/virginity that developed in the late sixteenth century. She then analyzes the records of the city court to see how these regulations played out in practice. The chapters on several Munich convents are based on impressive research in the archives of these houses and in other collections of ecclesiastical records.

Strasser reminds us that in Catholic Europe the regulation of lay sexuality was closely linked with ideas about the place of virginity in society. This idea provides the conceptual tie between the two parts of the study, which are often quite separate stories. Strasser convincingly argues that the Bavarian elite, including the ruling Wittelsbach family, consciously and consistently moved to hem in sexual activity by poor women (and, to a lesser extent men), prosecuting prostitution and extramarital sexuality with increased vigor. The regulation of sexuality aimed at preventing the creation of unstable or financially insecure families, thus reinforcing the patriarchal household, considered to be the foundation of an orderly society. Most importantly, civil and ecclesiastical courts became less willing to rule in favor of women who sought legal recourse against men with whom they had slept, but who subsequently reneged on promises of marriage. Authorities considered this policy essential for combating profligacy (*Leichtfertigkeit*), a term they

used to label someone who had both loose morals and was economically irresponsible.

Strasser further argues that it was not an accident that at about the same time (around 1600) the Catholic Church moved to enforce enclosure on all nuns in Munich, particularly those in the Ridler and Pütrich convents, who had appeared frequently on Munich's public streets, especially as part of funerals. It took decades for authorities to enforce enclosure on these nuns, who had strong support from family connections at court and among Munich's ruling class. By the 1620s, however, the convents were fully enclosed, which forced the nuns to adopt new values and lifestyles. Strasser shows very effectively how some nuns internalized the new values and how the convents deployed the importance of virginity favored by the Tridentine church. Now protected by enclosure, the nuns' virginity could not be doubted, which in turn enhanced the value of the prayers offered by the nuns for the salvation of family members and benefactors, including the Wittelsbach princes. At the same time, many nuns contested enclosure, for example by refusing to participate in the new Latin liturgy or by adapting extreme forms of meditation copied from Theresa of Avila and the Carmelites.

A special chapter tells the story of Mary Ward, a follower of the Jesuits, who sought to found a female branch of the Society of Jesus. Ward's Institute of English Ladies was eventually suppressed by the pope in 1631, but under the protection of the dukes of Bavaria, the English Ladies opened a school in Munich several years later. Supported by the state as a useful institution and by the city's elite, who sent their daughters there, the English Ladies carved out an important niche in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Munich. Strasser's conclusion to this example is mixed. On the one hand, the English Ladies supported the development of patriarchy by teaching girls morals, religion, and domestic skills. On the other hand, the Institute offered women a career in education—a religious calling that remained part of the secular world—as an alternative to marrying or entering an enclosed convent.

Strasser's introduction lays out a story, a narrative of modernization that is clear and linear: the Catholic Church supported the Bavarian state's program to expand its power and reach by enhancing the role of male dominated households. This program included both the growing valorization of marriage with its emphasis on the domesticization of women (just as happened in Protestant polities), as well as the enhancing of the role of virginity, especially of nuns. The rest of the book shows that this process was far from linear and orderly. Modernization on the ground, whether of the family or sexuality, was, in fact, a messy process that involved resistance to state-sponsored state building, compromises and negotiations between officials and people, husbands and wives, nuns and confessors, men and women. At times Strasser seems uncomfortable with the ambiguities and confusion she describes.



Perhaps she is right that she has located one of the important "discursive shifts" that contributed to the creation of the modern state and modern patriarchy. As her own evidence shows, however, the experience of the women and men who lived between 1550 and 1800 was apparently not one of unbridled patriarchy and unfettered state power. Strasser's research, especially her stories of nuns' resistance and Ward's English Ladies, present a more complex and more interesting story than allowed for by the overall argument of the book.

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SHEILAGH C. OGILVIE. *A Bitter Living: Women, Markets, and Social Capital in Early Modern Germany*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xviii, 394.

Both theoretically and empirically rich, Sheilagh C. Ogilvie's formidable and oftentimes brilliant study addresses fundamental questions concerning the social, political, and—most importantly—economic status of women in early modern central Europe. A major contribution to the identification and interpretation of women's and men's distinctly different patterns of work, her findings deserve the broadest possible discussion and should greatly stimulate future research. This is a case study of the Württemberg Black Forest town of Wildberg and surrounding villages that builds on Ogilvie's earlier monograph, *State Corporatism and Proto-Industry: The Württemberg Black Forest, 1580–1797* (1997), on the region's production of worsted cloths for export. To reveal the full range of women's and men's work activities, both for the market and the household, Ogilvie meticulously compiled a remarkable data set consisting of nearly three thousand references to the specific tasks that men and women were doing at the time of the various incidents recorded in the voluminous church-court minutes from 1646 to 1800. With this large and balanced collection of observations of women and men at work, plus soul tables and other demographic sources, she reconstructs the compositions of the female and male labor forces and contrasts the activities of daughters and maidservants, married women, widows, and independent unmarried women with one another and with those of corresponding groups of men.

Ogilvie adroitly employs a variety of quantitative methods to analyze these and other data. In a few instances, her efforts dazzle, especially her use of burial donations to discern the changing value that social circles attached to women and men over the course of their life cycles. Ogilvie also deftly handles the qualitative evidence and the relevant economic theory. Her exposition of marital strife as friction between husbands and wives in deciding about household consumption and production and her discussion of the various economic factors that account for female-male wage ratios are particularly insightful.

The central question in Ogilvie's analysis is why

women allocated their time in the ways that they did to particular types of work activities. Her answer consists of three closely braided arguments. First, she repeatedly and convincingly demonstrates that the physical differences between men's and women's reproductive and childrearing functions accounted for only a comparatively small portion of the observed work activity differences between the sexes. Second, the significant expansion of the market economy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did not profoundly affect, either positively or negatively, women's work patterns. Third and most importantly, she argues that local communities and urban and rural guilds, which possessed considerable regulatory powers over entry into marriage, household settlement and composition, and economic activities, functioned in accordance with the political scientists' notion of "social networks" that generate "social capital." Controlled exclusively by men, guilds and communities restricted the types of work open to women so as to benefit journeymen and male householders. The restrictions greatly disadvantaged maidservants and independent, never-married women by excluding them from any sort of guild work. Thus they labored disproportionately in agriculture and unguilded crafts such as spinning and sewing, thereby depressing the low female wages in these sectors. By contrast, wives and to a lesser degree widows engaged in their husbands' guild work and fared much better.

Despite these advantages, wives and widows still faced adversity. Ogilvie contends, for example, that South Germany's comparatively high levels of infant mortality stemmed from married women's decisions, constrained by guild and communal restrictions, to engage in physical labor that increased a newborn's risk of dying. In advancing this argument, however, Ogilvie fails to show that women's work patterns in North Germany, with lower infant mortality rates, differed significantly from those in the South. But her exposition of how guilds and communities discriminated against widows and thus discouraged them from farming their own land and working in crafts and proto-industry vividly highlights women's legal and social vulnerabilities.

The book's final chapter asserts forcefully that guild and communal constraints on women's time allocation decisions produced inefficiencies throughout the local economy. To convey some sense of their cost, Ogilvie points to the relative performance of, on the one hand, the sluggish Black Forest proto-industrial economy and, on the other, the Dutch and English economies, with comparatively mild constraints on women and bountiful evidence of Jan de Vries's "industrious revolution." Although the latter economies, especially respecting urbanization and international trade, differed so fundamentally from Württemberg's that Ogilvie's contrast seems a bit problematic, her theoretical explication of the issues highlights ways in which European regional transitions from premodern to

modern economies may have hinged crucially on women.

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ERIK GRIMMER-SOLEM. *The Rise of Historical Economics and Social Reform in Germany 1864–1894*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 338.

In his well-organized and clearly written work based on a wide array of printed primary sources and archival materials, Erik Grimmer-Solem adds yet another dimension to the large body of literature on the "Social Question" in nineteenth-century Germany. The author studies the relationship between the historical economists (in particular Gustav Schmoller, Lujo Brentano, Georg Friedrich Knapp, and Adolf Held), who "represented a subtle, timely, and effective empirical alternative to classical economics" (pp. 15–16), and social reform in Bismarck's Germany. According to Grimmer-Solem, the historical economists (who, strictly speaking, never formed a school) used history as a critical analytical tool and combined it with statistics to seek "practical solutions to economic and social problems and to advance projects of social reform by disseminating social and economic information to their colleagues, the general public, bureaucratic officials and governments" (p. 34).

Grimmer-Solem emphasizes more than previous scholars the influence of the historical economists on social legislation, arguing that their impact was indirect but highly significant. He targets multiple points of influence, including the use of statistical materials to disseminate new economic methods and influence state administration, the publication of new journals and handbooks to promote statistical-historical methods and social reforms, the founding of associations to create links between historical economists and bureaucratic reformers, and direct links to policy makers. Their Verein für Sozialpolitik, founded in 1873, was designed to "provide scientifically derived, general, and above all, practical information on reform to appeal . . . to the public, legislators, and government officials" (p. 179) who would use this information as the basis for policy decisions. The author argues that the links between historical economists and senior civil servants in the interior and trade ministries under Chancellor Otto von Bismarck in the 1880s, in particular with Theodor Lohmann, helped to determine the outcome of Bismarck's social legislation. Lohmann, the chancellor's main legislative advisor, pushed through social reforms advocated by the historical economists at times even against Bismarck's wishes (pp. 216–18), such as more comprehensive worker protection laws and worker insurance programs.

Grimmer-Solem characterizes the political orientation of the historical economists as social liberalism. Emerging from a liberal tradition, they deviated from

the path of Germany's narrow, class-oriented economic liberalism to advocate the combination of a strong, *Mittelstand*-dominated civil society and a constitutionally based activist state to correct distortions produced by an unfettered market. The state would be "the representative of a higher moral-ethical interest, a force for good" (p. 141) by emphasizing common interests among workers and employers and reconciling individualism and community through associational activities. A combination of self-help and state help would foster an "egalitarian stakeholderism" (p. 154) aimed at the creation of a *Mittelstandsgesellschaft* that would both help to integrate the growing urban working classes into a new socioeconomic order and eliminate the specter of a leftist-sponsored revolution of the economically disenfranchised but politically emboldened workers.

The author makes the interesting point that the leading historical economists all came from traditional patrician or civil servant families in small to medium-sized southwestern German cities within a 100-mile radius of Frankfurt/Main, where a "self-conscious *Mittelstand* identity" (p. 101) was preserved longer than in most of Germany. Hence they saw themselves as defenders of the *Mittelstand*, and the economic ideal of a *Mittelstandsgesellschaft*, a "classless society of the middle estate" (p. 101) as Grimmer-Solem describes it, became the rallying cry for the social reform movement of Schmoller and his circle.

Grimmer-Solem's well-rounded analysis of the relevance of economics to state-society relations not only sheds light on nineteenth-century German social reforms but also impresses on the reader the continued relevance of historical economics to contemporary economic problems and their resulting social disruptions. The attention paid to the *Methodenstreit* between Schmoller and the Austrian economist Carl Menger (in the book's last chapter) is perhaps excessive and might have been better spent fleshing out the details of social legislation as influenced by the historical economists or further elucidating the author's claim that the work of the historical economists in "questioning the speculative, metaphysical, and deterministic remnants of Enlightenment and Romantic thought in political economy" can be compared to "Charles Darwin's challenge to the authority of natural theology" (p. 283). But this does not detract from the overall value of his informative book, which succeeds in illuminating the wider implications of the historical economists' policies: the ethical foundations of social life, nation-building, civil society, the role of the state, and the integration of all classes into the socioeconomic structure.

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CORINNA TREITEL. *A Science for the Soul: Occultism and the Genesis of the German Modern*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 366. \$46.95.

The last decade witnessed the appearance of a number of studies that dealt with visions of "alternative modernities" in fin-de-siècle Germany. Instead of interpreting the emergence of social and cultural reform movements as symptoms of Germany's pathological "special path" toward modernity, these newer studies see German reform-mindedness as a response to the alienating and depersonalizing tendencies of a rapidly urbanizing industrial society. Health and urban reformers, social and cultural critics searched for new ways to shape the modernization process in accordance with their perceptions of human needs.

Treitel situates her study on German occult sciences and practices within the scholarship on alternative modernities (p. 51). This is a highly original book that provides fresh perspectives on such diverse fields as the history of psychology, medicine, and modernism in art. Focusing on the decades from the 1870s to the 1940s, Treitel deals with esoteric subjects such as spiritism, mediums, theosophy, anthroposophy, astrology, dowsing, and graphology. Her claim is that these practices and the epistemological assumptions that informed them were not confined to the margins of German society. Interest in occult sciences shaped research on parapsychological phenomena by psychiatrists like Albert von Schrenck-Notzing. Popularizers of occult practices like the theosophical leader Franz Hartmann promoted individual spiritual self-development and self-empowerment among their followers. They objected to the anonymity of a materialistic and meaningless modern world while attempting to "reinvigorate their world, their lives, and modern science alike by experimentally researching and developing the occult powers of the human psyche" (p. 245). Rudolf Steiner's anthroposophy, an esoteric philosophy that became the basis for the reform pedagogy of the German Waldorf Schools, similarly emphasized the importance of cultivating man's true being by bringing occult knowledge about the spiritual world into everyday life.

As Treitel shows, interest in the occult blurred the boundaries between science and religion, as well as distinctions between lay knowledge and the knowledge of scientific experts. Her case study of the 1902 controversy surrounding the trial of the spirit medium Anna Rothe demonstrates how public debates about occult practices became battlegrounds for epistemological authority. At stake was who could make authoritative claims about nature and the supernatural. Lay people who attended Rothe's performances testified that she materialized objects out of thin air, whereas scientific expert witnesses like the psychology and philosophy professor Max Dessoir and the psychiatrist Richard Henneberg denounced her as a fraud. In the Rothe case, orthodox science prevailed. The court returned a guilty verdict and sentenced her to eighteen months in prison, even though Rothe had many supporters among the social elite who testified on her behalf.

The German legal system was not consistently hos-

tile to occult practices. During the Weimar Republic, parapsychological expertise was incorporated into the practices of criminologists who used spirit mediums to uncover trails of evidence in criminal cases. Vocational and medical advice based on astrological and graphological character analysis became an important field for practitioners of the occult sciences during the 1920s. People who consulted with occult practitioners in order to get personal or medical counsel hoped to receive advice tailored to their individual needs. They expected treatment with a human touch that was different from the schematic and rationalized advice they received from regular physicians and psychological counselors. Ironically, such personalized advice was frequently dispensed in the most impersonal manner. Advice seekers could not escape the rationalizing tendencies of modernity when they were asked to fill out a standardized questionnaire about their personal life that then became the basis for a distant diagnosis of their ailments or abilities.

Finally, Treitel takes issue with interpretations that overemphasize the cultural affinity of German occultism with racist *völkisch* ideas. She does not deny that there was overlap between *völkisch* and occult milieus and practices, citing the racist philosophy of Ariosophy as an example. However, Treitel argues that it would be a mistake to interpret German occultism simply as one of the intellectual roots of Nazism. She points out that, while there were some Nazi leaders like Heinrich Himmler or Rudolf Hess who dabbled in occult practices, after 1937 the policies of the Nazi regime became increasingly hostile to occultism as an alternative worldview. Occultists were thrown into prison and concentration camps and some were even murdered.

Treitel presents an impressive synthesis of a wide range of archival materials and other sources, although a few of her individual claims might be considered problematic. In my view, she exaggerates the acceptance of the occult sciences among physicians. Nevertheless, Treitel develops a rich and multifaceted analysis of the role of the occult in German society. This excellent study is a major contribution to our understanding of German culture and society in the early twentieth century.

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MARK D. KARAU. *"Wielding the Dagger": The MarineKorps Flandern and the German War Effort, 1914-1918.* (Contributions in Military Studies, number 226.) Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2003. Pp. x, 268.

Mark D. Karau's informative monograph on the MarineKorps Flandern examines the creation, organization, and operations of the imperial German navy's land, sea, and air units based along the Flanders coast in Belgium during World War I and their impact on German naval strategy and on the outcome of the war. This study also sheds light on the significance of



Belgium in German plans and on the wartime relationship between the German navy and army.

From the very start of the conflict in 1914, Karau explains, the German army refused to dispatch soldiers to execute the navy's aim of capturing the Belgian coast and harbors for the naval war with Britain. Consequently a naval division of reserve troops would garrison the coast, although assembling the manpower from Baltic and North Sea naval stations caused tensions within the navy. The naval force in Flanders gave the navy a large role in the war but did nothing to improve coordination between army and navy.

The author divides the history of the naval division and later the corps in Belgium into three phases: to November 1914, when the division served military purposes; from November 1914 to March 1918, when its successor, the corps, conducted the naval war in the English Channel; and to the end of the war, when the corps focused again on military duties. Karau explains the impact of leadership, from the changes in the imperial German naval command to the role of the corps commander, Admiral Ludwig von Schröder, on the operations in Flanders. He emphasizes the roles of the Flanders submarine, torpedo boat, and destroyer flotillas, and the naval air stations. The ascendancy of the submarine as the key weapon in German naval operations led to the increased importance of the Flanders stations after mid-1916 and their crucial role through the end of the war.

The author situates his story in the wider context of German naval war aims to acquire the Belgian coast, if necessary through the annexation of Belgium, and German concerns about the possibility that the British might try to turn the flank of the Western front with an invasion through the Netherlands. The German preoccupation with the possibility that the British would invade either the Netherlands or even the Flanders coast proves fascinating. The British actually planned, Karau notes, to stage an amphibious landing in Flanders that, fortunately for them, was never executed, as it would have ended disastrously for the invading forces. As for the famed British raids on the ports of Zeebrugge and Ostend in 1918, Karau concludes that while courageous and upsetting to the Germans, they had minimal effect on the course of the war.

Karau's well-researched study is based on a plethora of relevant primary and secondary sources. Overall, his story emphasizes missed German opportunities to stage operations from Flanders, some of which could have had an impact upon the course of the war. For example, the navy's use of its Flanders destroyer flotillas for strikes against British lines of transport and communication across the English Channel had the potential to disrupt the Entente war effort. Yet the Germans never realized the devastating potential of this more offensive strategy. In other cases, Karau suggests, a change in German policy would not have altered the outcome of the war. He explains that the Germans never accorded the Flanders theater the

resources it merited, and that the British understood its importance more clearly than did the Germans. The author concludes that "if Belgium was the dagger pointed at Britain . . . the Germans were incapable of wielding that dagger properly" (p. 246).

Karau's fine monograph, although highly focused on Flanders, raises points of broader significance about the German war effort, such as the lack of effective coordination between the armed services and the failure of the navy's leadership after Jutland to undertake a more offensive policy entailing the use of its destroyer forces in Flanders in addition to the submarine service. Instead, what strikes the reader most is the navy's skittish preoccupation with fending off possible British forays instead of undertaking a more assertive strategy with its smaller vessels as its capital ships lay rusting in harbor.

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JONATHAN WRIGHT. *Gustav Stresemann: Weimar's Greatest Statesman*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xvii, 569.

The book jacket of Jonathan Wright's biography of Gustav Stresemann aims to overwhelm. It features a flattering 1930 election poster of Stresemann's face overlooking a secure Rhine. The book's subtitle lauds him as "Weimar's Greatest Statesman," and the historian quoted on the back proposes that if Stresemann "had not died prematurely in 1929, Germany might just have avoided a Hitler dictatorship."

Each of the three signifiers is misleading. By the time of the poster, Stresemann had been dead for almost a year. Neither the German president nor the government saw fit to mention his contributions to the Rhineland evacuation being celebrated in 1930. Meanwhile, popular support for Stresemann's political party had plummeted while the vote for the Nazis jumped. Nor is the subtitle of "Weimar's Greatest Statesman" fully appropriate. Stresemann did serve as chancellor in 1923 and foreign minister between 1923 and 1929. He served with distinction, becoming known as "the secret Chancellor." But is the attribute "greatest" really apt for the captain or pilot of a ship of state that sank so quickly and so ignominiously? Perhaps so. But after Stresemann's early death in 1929, Germany succumbed to a detestable wave of barbarism. Whether he could have held up the deluge, as the historian quoted on the jacket suggests, is impossible to say. Speculation on developments after Stresemann's death are intriguing but counter-factual. More productive, if perhaps unanswerable as yet, are questions about his role in the German downturn of the 1920s.

Wright's large, sober, and scholarly study skirts the provocations posed on the jacket. His focus is his subject's political life; he passes over numerous private and personal details. The approach is appropriate because Stresemann's life was eminently "public." Having received a quintessentially bourgeois upbringing



ing and education, the young man entered a career as a business lobbyist. Politics quickly engaged him. In 1907 he was elected to the Reichstag, and by 1923 he had gained the chancellorship. The life of the professional politician suited him. In time, his name became a political household word. He had joined the National Liberal Party before the war and rose high in its ranks. After the imperial collapse of 1918, he helped found the small, liberal, Protestant and bourgeois German People's Party (DVP), which usually supported him. By the time of the later 1920s, he began to defend policies which domestic and foreign observers had come to identify as "Stresemann's foreign policy." Most notably he helped moderate some of the nation's traumas in 1923, especially the Franco-Belgian Ruhr invasion, hyperinflation, and domestic turmoil. Thereafter he helped to negotiate the Dawes Plan (1924), the Locarno Treaty (1925), the Berlin Treaty with Russia (1926), and Germany's entry into the League of Nations in the same year, and he contributed to the Young Plan (1929) and the Allied Rhineland evacuation (1930). It was a remarkable life's work, even though it failed to hold up the deluge. Pacific achievements such as these certainly merit attention, and Wright's careful appreciation deserves explication.

Following historiographical tradition, Wright saw it as his "central challenge" to interpret Stresemann's well-known change from bellicose wartime annexationist to pro-Weimar European statesman by the mid-1920s. Wright acknowledges the young politician's early errors, including ambivalence about democracy as late as the Kapp Putsch of 1920. But he underscores Stresemann's subsequent "process of pragmatic accommodation" to democracy. This involved Stresemann's belief that "the Republic could be brought to serve his own political goals instead of a socialist revolution" (p. 199). In domestic politics, Wright illuminates the many political "adjustments" made by Stresemann until the last week of his life. A less friendly estimate might well interpret some of these adjustments as political opportunism. In the dominant sphere of foreign policy, Wright portrays Stresemann as moving, after Locarno, toward a commitment to peaceful revision of the international status quo.

Here reservations may be voiced. Stresemann recognized the benefits of peace and the need—because of Germany's restricted power—for a peaceful revisionism. But he also saw Locarno and other arrangements instrumentally: useful to undermine and alter the post-Versailles status quo, particularly in Eastern Europe. He communicated this hope to domestic audiences and foreign leaders. Higher domestic expectations grew and impatience increased, especially as the crisis of the Depression deepened. Foreign leaders retreated from revisionist concessions that favored Germany and threatened order. Stagnation resulted. Forces that Stresemann had learned to repudiate seized the stage. The prospects of peaceful revision, along with their champion, expired tragically amid a mounting crisis.

Wright may challenge some of these reservations. But it is thanks to his impressively documented, exceptionally reliable, and judicious study that these and other interpretations on a most complex subject may be advanced.

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SHELLEY BARANOWSKI. *Strength through Joy: Consumerism and Mass Tourism in the Third Reich*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 254. \$65.00.

The size and popularity of the Nazis' leisure organization, "Strength through Joy" (*Kraft durch Freude*, or KdF), has long attracted the attention of historians, notwithstanding the lack of archival sources. Shelley Baranowski has shifted the focus from familiar themes of political history to the highly intriguing question of how the KdF mediated between consumerism and rearmament. Her book confirms that the regime rested not only on terror and ideology but also on popular consent, skillful propaganda, and mass fascination.

Chapter one argues that the Nazis rejected both the Left's concept of collective entitlement and the "Fordist" model of individualist consumption within a capitalist framework. At the same time, the Nazi Party incorporated elements of both models. The result was a confusing mixture of austerity measures and foretastes of a better life. The KdF tried to smooth and blur the resulting contradictions. Chapter two looks at the KdF's structure, stressing its relative wealth as a result of the forcible incorporation of the union's assets and compulsory dues from the Labor Front. Chapter three investigates the KdF's role within the plants, where worker's morale and productivity had to be raised. Factories were cleaned up and rationalized, and training schemes as well as sports and other leisure programs were introduced. The KdF's task was to create a productive and politically loyal workforce and to integrate it into the racial community (*Volksgemeinschaft*). The most successful strategy was to provide cheap holidays for millions of people who had hitherto not been able to afford to travel. Chapter four describes the KdF's tourism as an aspect of the general policy of combining partial austerity and promises with foretastes of future abundance. Only very few people and hardly any workers were able to afford extended vacations abroad; most KdF tourists had to confine themselves to weekend excursions to nearby destinations. Others were treated as unwanted guests in established resorts. Still, the propagandistic aim was reached, and the KdF was seen as tearing down social barriers. Chapter five, the only one based on extensive archival research, uses the surveillance reports written by undercover informers to show how large the gulf was between the propagandistic picture of a jolly *Volksgemeinschaft* and continued social disharmony. Class and privilege were omnipresent on the trips. Corrupt practices of party functionaries were as noto-

rious as alcohol excesses and unwanted sexual contacts with foreigners. Rules on the trips were strict, bordering on military discipline, but travellers found many ways to circumvent them and to engage in acts of individual hedonism.

After 1939 the KdF's tourism was curtailed and the focus shifted to providing entertainment for troops and the "home front." As the war went on, KdF was hardly capable of fulfilling this task. The number and quality of its artists simply was too low, and KdF entertainment became generally much dreaded. At the same time, the regime's racist agenda was present in all the KdF's activities. It claimed to introduce German culture into the occupied territories and to keep up visions of normalcy and a better life amid battlefields, mass murder, and bombarded cities.

This fluently written, balanced book successfully combines themes that have previously been dealt with separately. Baranowski demonstrates convincingly that KdF was more than the carrot that came along with the stick but an attempt to use consumerism as a political strategy in order to camouflage the Nazi regime's austerity measures and to create visions of a specifically German consumer society. At the same time, the KdF reinforced the racial hierarchy at home and abroad and fostered aggressive expansionism. In the book's individual chapters, however, we learn very little that is new. Sometimes one is struck by the ease with which Baranowski relies on statistics and statements of KdF propaganda material. Would it not have been necessary to compare travellers' enthusiastic testimonials in official publications with oral history interviews? The author further does not deal with the economic logic behind KdF travels, which was to divert spending power away from tangible products that required imported raw materials and scarce foreign exchange to domestic services. That is why only a minority of tours had destinations outside Germany. Finally, Baranowski tends to overrate slightly the KdF's success and significance. Activities outside tourism—many of them staged in an amateurish and even downright ludicrous fashion—were seen by many Germans as a mixed blessing. The KdF car was heavily advertised and even paid for by many savers, but it was never delivered before 1945. It is therefore misleading to write that the "Volkswagen . . . fared well" (p. 55). This is a classic example of what I call "virtual consumption." Many KdF products were either not available at all or did not live up to its promises. All too often, the cruise to the Mediterranean turned out to be a weekend bus trip to the Harz Mountains. The KdF never managed to dominate the tourist market and only provided a minority of overnight stays in German hotels. Unfortunately, the important history of the commercial travel industry is not dealt with at all. Although Baranowski is right in claiming that KdF tours did leave opportunities for individual, often wildly deviant behavior, it is certainly carrying the argument too far to claim that KdF encouraged "individual autonomy" and "self-fulfillment." Strict rules

and surveillance as well as budget constraints on the part of the tourists made the exclaves of individual choice very small indeed. Occasionally the book leaves the reader with questionable verdicts. It might be a matter of perspective to classify the German Institute for Technical Training (DINTA) as a "right-wing industrial think tank" (p. 177), but it is certainly wrong to mention "business especially" (p. 24) as one of the forces from "the right" that were dismantling the Weimar system. German business was politically diverse and by no means spearheading Weimar's anti-democratic forces.

All in all, this is a very useful book, particularly for those who seek an introductory overview. It convincingly extends the subject well beyond its classic boundaries by opening up new perspectives on the relation between consumption and National Socialism. At the same time, it demonstrates that this field requires further research.

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CHRISTOPHER S. CELENZA. *The Lost Italian Renaissance: Humanists, Historians, and Latin's Legacy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. xx, 210. \$45.00.

Christopher S. Celenza offers an intelligent, learned, and well-written historical and critical account of how we have failed over the past century to meet the challenge of fully appreciating, and making relevant to our own time, the neo-Latin culture of Renaissance Italy. At the heart of Celenza's book lies the following concern: we have failed to create the sort of "intellectual community" that would permit us to see how Renaissance humanists themselves created lively "intellectual communities" that were engaged in rigorous thinking that can be recaptured as philosophy, at least if we embrace Richard Rorty's thoughts about what constitutes doing philosophy. In any event, a blurred cognitive lens has limited our vision of what these humanists were doing, and Celenza aims to clear that lens and explain why it got blurred. There is a lot of blame to go around, but, in the end, Celenza is right in placing some of it at the doorstep of intellectual historians, beginning with three extremely influential figures: Eugenio Garin, Paul Oskar Kristeller, and Hans Baron. In this respect, Celenza's study is at once an intellectual historian's account of intellectuals in the Italian Renaissance and a critique of how intellectual historians have, despite their brilliance and acumen, partly botched the job—a matter once again, that is, of blindness and insight.

Celenza argues that Italian humanists not only openly thought about but also put into practice the notion of intellectual freedom through conversation—often agonistic conversation—and consensus. To be sure, this is not an entirely new notion. Garin's thought, while critiqued, looms large, as does Anthony Grafton's more recent work on Leon Battista Alberti.

There are also affinities here with Nancy Struever's thinking, especially her way of envisioning Petrarch's letter-writing activity as a community-building project that took on serious ethical concerns through the exchange of ideas. And Celenza draws nicely on the work of scholars interested in dialogue. What I think is new and important, however, is that Celenza squarely confronts what a number of intellectual historians, with the notable exception of Garin, have been dodging: namely, Kristeller's adamant assertion that Renaissance humanists were not doing philosophy at all. Along with that, Celenza provides us with exemplary readings of how we can recapture in the writings of different humanists (Lorenzo Valla, for instance) the kind of philosophy that they were engaged in as they often challenged orthodoxy in their debates and writings. Finally, Celenza does something new by speaking eloquently about these humanists as people doing philosophy. In the rhetorical terms Renaissance humanists loved, Celenza can persuade. This is important. Some of the intellectual historians who have been invested in the notion that Italian humanists had a cognitive edge to them have failed to make their point persuasively because they were just too entrenched in critical theory. Their language was off-putting, too opaque for the non-indoctrinated reader.

Finally, Celenza is in a good position to be able to make the argument he does, not only because he has read widely and knows his sources but because he is a gifted Latinist with a command of classical Greek and of the manuscript tradition. If there is a "lost Italian Renaissance," I fear it is not only because of the history that Celenza nicely maps out (I think he still might have stressed more the effect of the "culture wars" in the 1980s) but because the skills required to do what Celenza would have us do have been lost on many.

All considered, this is a fine book that should help frame the debate about humanism in the Renaissance, and it is a fitting tribute to Ronald Witt, to whom it is dedicated.

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LAWRIN ARMSTRONG. *Usury and Public Debt in Early Renaissance Florence: Lorenzo Ridolfi on the Monte Comune*. (Studies and Texts, number 144.) Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. 2003. Pp. xiv, 460. \$85.95.

This model edition, with detailed introduction and commentary, of those parts of Lorenzo Ridolfi's *Trattatus de usuris* (1404) that discuss the legitimacy of Florence's public debt is a much revised version of Lawrin Armstrong's doctoral dissertation. In preparing it for publication, the author has profited from a fellowship at Villa i Tatti and discussions with major students of the public debt controversy, most notably

with the doyen of Renaissance legal history, Julius Kirshner.

The volume is divided into three roughly equal parts. A lengthy introduction treats Florence's politics and governance in the late Trecento, the development of the public debt, the definition of usury as applied to the Florentine Monte in late medieval canon law, Ridolfi's career and the argument of his treatise, and the Monte's role in providing "material security for the possessing classes" (p. 101). In interpreting the development of the Monte from the viewpoint of historical materialism and class interest, Armstrong applies to the Florentine setting Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony as "rule through a combination of force and consent" (p. 106). But at the same time, much of the introduction derives from the scholarship of Marvin Becker, Gene Brucker, and John Najemy, who scarcely qualify as Marxist historians. Armstrong's Gramscian approach is most fruitful in his discussion of Ridolfi as a representative of the more conservative (and exploitative) interests of Florence's ruling class in a brief section on "Law, Politics and Public Debt." Here Armstrong concludes that "Ridolfi's vindication of the Monte, like the republican process of civic humanism, was part of" the way "the oligarchic elite of fifteenth-century Florence manufactured consent to its dominance" (p. 110).

In his discussion of the criteria for his edition, Armstrong argues convincingly for basing his text exclusively on Ridolfi's autograph as contained in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence (Fondo principale II, III, 366), rather than on a collation of the manuscript witnesses. Although the autograph does contain some scribal errors and mistakes in citations, for Armstrong the authority of Ridolfi's own version outweighs any advantage gained from basing a critical edition on all thirteen manuscripts since several witnesses are incomplete. An appreciation of the edition is enhanced by Armstrong's discussion of the autograph's orthography and format and the content of those parts of the treatise that have been omitted from this edition. The unreliable nature of the edition published in Venice in 1584 is established by a lengthy list of errors that are corrected by the reading of the autograph edited here.

The edition (pp. 131–260) provides a complete and accurate text of Ridolfi's comprehensive digest of legal opinion of those sections that treat the general definition of usury in a Florentine context and the specific discussion on the legitimacy of Florence's Monte. Armstrong provides two sets of notes. One, keyed to line numbers, identifies marginal additions and deletions and the editor's emendations to the autograph. The other, keyed to superscript numbers, identifies Ridolfi's sources, from the few biblical, classical, and patristic quotations to the numerous citations from Roman and canon law texts and the glosses, commentaries, and treatises of late medieval legal scholars. Here Armstrong displays enormous learning and industry, keying each of nearly 1,000 citations to the



section and page of a critical edition, if such exists, or to the folio of an early printed edition, or, failing these, to a reliable manuscript of the work being cited. Armstrong's mastery of Ridolfi's arguments and his sources is also evidenced in the extensive commentary (pp. 261–380), which elucidates the meaning of each question, often providing English translations of Ridolfi's text or of the authorities being discussed. Hence, a reader with less than perfect knowledge of late medieval legal Latin can readily follow the main arguments of Ridolfi's treatise. The whole endeavor is enhanced by extensive back matter: a glossary of legal and economic terms or unusual usages in Latin (which might baffle all but the most accomplished student of legal texts), an appendix containing notes on Ridolfi's authorities, an exhaustive bibliography of manuscript and printed sources and secondary works, an index of citations, and a general index for the entire book. In short, this is an exemplary edition of the major work arguing for the legitimacy of Florence's Monte at the beginning of the Quattrocento.

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SERENA LUZZI. *Stranieri in città: Presenza tedesca e società urbana a Trento (secoli XV-XVIII)*. (Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento; Monografie, number 38.) Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 2003. Pp. 522. €28.00.

This is a study of the German immigrant community in Trent, a city on the Italian side of the Alps but owing allegiance to the Holy Roman Empire. As the daughter of an Italian family that immigrated to German-speaking Switzerland, with one parent speaking German well and the other not, Serena Luzzi brings a personal understanding to this study of immigration.

The book follows the fortunes of German immigrants to Trent from the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries but concentrates on the period 1400 to 1630. The Germans comprised about ten percent of the population of Trent, which was about 5,000 in 1450 and 8,000 to 10,000 in the late sixteenth century. Although nearly one-third of the heads of German families died in the plague of 1630, new immigrants soon replaced them. Almost all immigrants settled in one quarter of the city and were baptized, married, and buried in the parish church of San Pietro. The church had two priests, one Italian-speaking and the other German-speaking. Hence, sermons and parish singing were in German, like the practice in some parishes of the American Catholic church in the nineteenth century and much of the twentieth. The German immigrants were pro-Habsburg and had no discernible sympathy for Protestantism, probably because most of them came from Catholic regions of Germany. By contrast, many of the German merchants and artisans who lived in Venice were Protestants and returned to

Germany in order to celebrate Holy Week and Easter according to Protestant rites.

The most important organization for the German immigrants was the confraternity of the Zappatori (*contadini* or farmers). This was a misnomer, because it enrolled merchants, artisans, innkeepers, butchers, and practitioners of practically every other trade in the city. The confraternity provided spiritual and social assistance and served as the focus of immigrant society, but it had only a limited political voice.

Luzzi has uncovered some detailed and fascinating information about German families, some of which prospered economically and rose socially. For example, Job Pauernfeint was a butcher whose daughters received dowries of 600 and 700 florins and mostly married Italians. His son, Ulrich or Odorico, obtained a university degree, achieved noble status, and married the daughter of an Italian-speaking noble. Three of Ulrich/Odorico's sons also obtained doctorates of law from the University of Padua and enjoyed noble status. (Although Luzzi does not mention it, a law doctorate conferred noble status in some communes.) Luzzi might also have pointed out that the upward social mobility of these German immigrants contradicts the received view that sixteenth and seventeenth-century Italian society was socially rigid. Although many north Italian communes denied noble status to anyone whose ancestors were not free of the taint of commerce or manual labor for at least three generations, it appears that Trent did not. Within a few generations the males of the Pauernfeint family had integrated so well into the Italian-speaking community that they abandoned the German confraternity in favor of Italian-speaking confraternities. Indeed, by the end of the eighteenth century, the Germans of San Pietro no longer constituted a community.

Luzzi concludes by emphasizing that immigration is a fundamental and ordinary feature of medieval and modern European cities. She argues that the story of the German immigrants to Trent demonstrates that the normal reaction to differences in language and culture is indifference rather than antagonism or xenophobia, and that indifference and tranquil pragmatism allow for considerable beneficial interaction between immigrants and hosts.

The book is based on an exhaustive examination of the city's archives, especially its notarial and parish records, and a very wide range of printed scholarship. The writing is clear if a bit repetitious. Although some of the conclusions do not seem surprising to anyone who has witnessed the extraordinary movement of peoples in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, it is useful to view the experiences of one immigrant community of the past. This is a careful and competent local study that should interest a variety of historians of immigration.

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GÉRARD PELLETIER. *Rome et la Révolution française: La théologie et la politique du Saint-Siège devant la Révolution française (1789–1799)*. (Collection de L'École française de Rome, number 319.) Rome: École française de Rome. 2004. Pp. x, 769.

The clash between the French Revolution and the Roman Catholic Church has been a staple of French history for over two centuries, but of late interest in it has been superseded by socioeconomic and other ideological concerns on the part of scholars. Some years ago, in *The Catholic Church and the French Nation, 1589–1989* (1990), I called the French church “an historical artifact,” for which I was criticized; today attendance at Mass in France has fallen perhaps below ten percent. Historians may be no more interested in the role of religion in France than ordinary citizens are in the old faith of France, but Gérard Pelletier believes that the opening of many Vatican archives justifies a new look at the problem of the Vatican and the French Revolution. His current work is heavily based on archival sources and seeks to take a fresh look at this old topic. Unfortunately the freshness may be considerably questioned.

Pelletier argues that the French Revolution from 1789 to 1799, the last ten years of the pontificate of Pope Pius VI, was viewed in Rome in the light of theological learning rather than political expediency. While some historians, anticlericals of the Left like Albert Mathiez, enjoyed finding that papal reactions to the reforms of the French Revolution were based on fear of losing the papal territory of Avignon and other material benefits from the Old Regime, Pelletier wants us to focus instead on the theology of the papacy, its conceptions of the need for papal freedom from lay control, the true Catholic conception of human liberty, and the maintenance of doctrinal orthodoxy. In my view, one can indeed take papal theology seriously without being any less skeptical of its historical or intellectual validity.

The eighteenth century was obviously not an era in which papal authority was anywhere exalted. The Society of Jesus had been dissolved in the wake of fierce opposition to its work by the Catholic monarchs of Europe, and several versions of the old Conciliarism, called variously Jansenism, Febronianism, or Josephism, were revived to grant more ecclesiastical initiative to Catholic rulers and their safely controlled bishops and less to papal pretensions. Pius VI and his theologians and congregations were also troubled by reformist circles in northern Italy that had the support of Habsburg rulers aiming at something like a Catholic Enlightenment, a movement written about with a sympathy not found here by Bernard Plongeron and others. Pius VI, struck by the audacity of the French Constituent Assembly in seeking ecclesiastical changes, believed that his attempt to defend medieval theories of the papacy had been vindicated, and he mobilized his theological armies to fight the challenge. He took Pope Gregory VII as his model and prepared

for martyrdom. The French did not disappoint him, as they embarked on an increasingly radical struggle against Catholicism, then against all Christianity, then finally against religion *tout court*. Pius VI was forcibly removed from Rome to the French city of Valence and died there.

The hoary notions of papal authority and independence for which Pius died had by then been around for more than half a millennium. They had been used to defeat the kind of religious reform desired by Habsburg and Bourbon rulers during the Reformation and were now available for battle against the new principles of liberalism, enlightenment, and democracy favored by the revolutionaries. Reissued and refurbished, they became the basis for the Syllabus of Errors and the victorious current of thought and belief of the First Vatican Council. It was this Catholic integrism that, in times of crisis, worked for authoritarianism not only within the church but in the political life of Catholics. It led to the destruction of the *Popolari* when Benito Mussolini came to power in Italy, to the destruction of the only possibly effective German Christian opposition to the Nazis, the *Zentrum*, and, finally, to support for the regimes of Philippe Pétain, Josef Tiso, and Ante Pavelić. It, in short, became the foundation of clerical fascism.

Pelletier does demonstrate a certain theological consistency in the Vatican through the upheavals of the French Revolution and puts to rest charges of papal opportunism. The church was indeed committed to an absolutism greater than that of Louis XIV, an aristocratic ideology more powerful than that of the nobility, and an opposition to liberalism and enlightenment more rigid than that of many conservative ideologues. But it was an opposition to Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity on behalf of a hierarchical church and papacy. Pelletier seems to find in the Second Vatican Council some sort of harmony between reaction and reformism, but I fear that this can be seen only with the eyes of faith. The pitiful state of Catholicism in today's Europe has been the direct result.

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EMILIO GENTILE. *The Struggle for Modernity: Nationalism, Futurism, and Fascism*. Foreword by STANLEY G. PAYNE. (Italian and Italian American Studies.) Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2003. Pp. xix, 201.

This book gathers essays and papers mainly produced over the last ten years by the Italian historian Emilio Gentile. Topics range from the rarely studied Italian reception of the Dreyfus Affair and the origins and aims of the *Fasci italiani all'estero* to the more familiar ones of fascism's ideological roots and the fascist regime's reliance on myth. Connecting the different essays, is the overarching theme of nationalism, its confrontation with modernity in post-Risorgimento

Italy, and its radicalization in the hands of the fascist movement led by Benito Mussolini. Relying on archival work and cultural interpretation, Gentile traces the evolution in the first part of the twentieth century of the nationalistic spirit that had guided the Italian patriots during the Risorgimento. Through an analysis of nationalism's several transformations and mutations in the years leading to World War I and fascism, Gentile discusses the different political and cultural currents that mobilized around the question of Italy's fate and identity in the face of impending modernity. He singles out the centrality of the myth of the nation for the young intellectuals who in the early 1900s were craving a spiritual revolution that would regenerate the Italians and create a stronger and more powerful nation. More importantly, he underlines the diminished role of liberal principles in this evolving nationalism and the spiritual nature of some of these intellectual movements' nationalistic yearnings with their emphasis on faith rather, or more, than expansion.

The centrality of a moral foundation for fascism's nationalism, itself a derivative of these early 1900s cultural currents, has become a staple of Gentile's own theory of how fascism elaborated a civil religion founded on the myth of the nation. Some of the essays gathered in this volume lay out and repropose Gentile's main thesis of fascism's sacralization of politics. In addition, they also present his characterization of fascism as an "anthropological revolution" that aimed at changing the Italians, his notion of fascism as totalitarian and pursuing the preeminence of the state, and his understanding of fascism as holding a fundamentally modern orientation, albeit a peculiar one.

Such theses on the nature of Italian fascism have recently become more accepted, but the volume demonstrates Gentile's clairvoyance in pushing through his cultural interpretation in a historiographical climate back in the 1970s and 1980s that was not conducive to such approaches (a couple of essays from the early 1980s particularly show Gentile's innovative interpretation). Gentile's aversion for an understanding of fascism as manipulation also comes across in his essays on Mussolini's charisma, on the role of the fascist party, and on the centrality of the state in the fascist regime. In these essays, Gentile argues for a more nuanced reading of a movement that, although it declared itself without ideology, was instead driven by specific ideas and beliefs, a "totalitarian logic."

Gentile's long-term interest in, and the vast amount of work he has generated on, Italian fascism certainly make him a leading scholar in this field. The flurry of publications and translations into English of his work, as well as Stanley G. Payne's glorious foreword to this volume, also testify to American historians' appreciation for his scholarship. This said, the volume suffers from the nature of its anthology format. Despite a coherent thread linking the essays together, through the triad of nationalism, modernity, and fascism, they often seem to live a life of their own. They do not engage with counter theories that over the years have,

rightly or wrongly, challenged Gentile's conclusions on the nature of fascism, and leave the reader hungry for a more updated debate over fascism's identity, its conception of modernity, its relationship to aesthetics. The author's conclusion on the status of nationalism in contemporary Italy also seems odd. The issue of today's nationalism is too complex to be liquidated in a few pages at the end of a book that specifically focuses on the fascist era. Infelicitous editorial choices aside, the volume definitely offers a good range of Gentile's insightful analysis of fascism's contentious relationship to modernity and demonstrates the value of intellectual-cultural history for understanding the fascist phenomenon.

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CLAUDIO FOGU. *The Historic Imaginary: Politics of History in Fascist Italy*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 267.

This is a book of grand ambition on a topic of manifest importance: fascist self-understanding and self-representation vis-à-vis history. Informed by the recent cultural turn in the study of fascism, it starts from the assumption that fascism, lacking a doctrinal core, is most fruitfully analyzed on the level of "ritual-and-image-politics." Claudio Fogu argues that rhetoric from French-Italian modernist thought amply compensated for ideological heterogeneity, and by probing what he calls the fascist historic imaginary—mental images between imagination and structures of collective mentalities—he claims to delineate a deep rhetorical structure underlying fascist ideology. Although he relies primarily on close readings of a series of historical exhibitions, Fogu also invokes the presentist philosophy of history of Giovanni Gentile, the regime's most important ideologue during the 1920s. Yet Fogu insists that Gentile's resonance depended upon modernist aesthetics and, more deeply, Latin Catholic rhetorical codes, needed to give the past visual presence.

"History" is, of course, a deeply overloaded category, encompassing historic and historical, past and process, and much else. So any "imaginary" concerning the human relationship with history will be complex indeed. Moreover, fascism itself encompassed quite diverse impulses, so any fascist take on "history" was bound to be conflicted. Attuned to the complexity on both levels, Fogu's argument is abstract and sometimes hard to follow. Still, a definite and seemingly symptomatic direction is clear by the book's end.

Fogu starts with Benito Mussolini's claim that fascism was a postliberal mode of history making. Although that could have meant conflict between historical and historic modes of representation, Gentile's modernist way of understanding history as present provided an intellectual tightrope adequate to sustain the revolutionary though conflicted historic imaginary

during the 1920s. But a pivot into something different was reached with the *Mostra della rivoluzione fascista* (Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution) that opened in 1932 to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the March on Rome. The exhibition's "excessive historic figuration," reflecting its different designers and purposes, yielded a new divide between "the regimentation, serialization, and museification of both past and present" and "the visionary goal to give presence to the future rather than the past" (p. 202). As Gentile was marginalized, the conservative Catholic Cesare Maria de Vecchi became the principal agent of fascist historical culture; *stile littorio* in the visual realm paralleled his effort up to a point. But Fogu denies that *stile littorio* was a mere update of imperial Roman style, for its several manifestations all entailed some hybrid of past and modernity. The outcome of the partly conflicting impulses of the 1930s was a symptomatic oscillation between the regimentation of the present in the form of the past and the projection of history into the future. This outcome found quintessential expression in the planning for the Universal Roman Exposition projected for the twentieth anniversary in 1942.

How does this direction illuminate the overall trajectory of the fascist experiment? Does the oscillation by the end suggest the inherent unrealizability of the fascist project, or did the project itself somehow change as certain obstacles to actually "making history" were encountered? Such questions cannot be answered without a better sense of what the elusive and much-contested fascist project was about in the first place.

Fogu's reference to "the visionary horizon of a regime that intended to live in a perennial historical infinitive" (p. 178) suggests that future projection, without actually doing anything, settling for commemorating commemorations or perhaps a cult of the duce, was the point all along. Sometimes he implies that a self-explanatory nationalization of the masses was more deeply at work, or that the point is simply to account for fascism's mass appeal. But the fascist claim to a novel mode of historical agency during the 1920s suggests something else. Ritual, commemoration, and exhibition may be especially infused with "historical" meaning, but fascist actions were to be historical in a new sense, and, beyond the immediate presence that Fogu emphasizes, we need to know what mode of action and what particular actions were at issue. The link of Gentile to the "Latin Catholic" dimension, based on an arbitrary conflation of present/presence with vision, keeps us from understanding how Gentile's historical presentism informed the new fascist sense of history-making collective agency.

Because the 1920s imaginary is left muddy, we are not quite clear on what was left behind by 1932. The overall direction and outcome do seem symptomatic of wider changes in self-understanding, perhaps even encompassing the repression of certain possibilities, as Fogu sometimes suggests. But only a wider frame can

make sense of how this played out historically. Fogu's explicit concern for autonomy, in the face of such categories as virility, accented by Barbara Spackman, and "the supposedly totalitarian logic sustaining the fascist sacralization of politics" (p. 14), accented by Emilio Gentile, leads him to overreact, so that he comes close to leaving us with nothing but a deployment within a self-contained structure.

By the end of the book it seems that Fogu has settled for this quasi-structuralist approach because he is less concerned to clarify the internal dynamic of fascism than to illuminate a transition from within the wider modern historic imaginary. He suggests, in fact, that by deconstructing modern historic(al) culture, the fascist trajectory with its bifurcated outcome set the stage for our own posthistoric(al) imaginaries. These speculations are not implausible, but Fogu's sense of the alternatives at issue in the wider discussion of "history" proves limited. He convinces in implying that Gentile eludes Reinhard Koselleck's influential framework—and that Gentile might be worth encompassing as we seek a deeper understanding of the modern and/or post-modern relationship to history. But Fogu simply does not do justice to the novelty of the new Italian historical thinking that led Gentile to posit the scope for a new mode of history-making collective action through a totalitarian ethical state. That venture and its disastrous outcome might indeed have implications for our sense of place in history that we have yet fully to assess.

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JEREMY KING. *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans: A Local History of Bohemian Politics, 1848–1948*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 284. \$39.50.

Jeremy King's monograph tracks the evolution of national politics in a single Bohemian town from the Revolutions of 1848 to the aftermath of World War II. This is a rich local study offering an intensive gaze on the specific ways in which politics became national in a place and time where identities were in flux. It therefore allows a unique glimpse of processes that have occurred in nation-states no less than in multi-ethnic empires, merely much less visibly.

Two major works have been important precursors to King's significant monograph, which extends rather than revises their contributions. Gary Cohen's *The Politics of Ethnic Survival: Germans in Prague, 1861–1914* (1981) traced the identity politics of the German minority in Prague, tracking the specificity of the process historians would only later come to speak of as the social construction of nationality. Cohen's book was not only pathbreaking for Habsburg studies, which before then (and more than occasionally since) had taken for granted the preexistence of naturalized and naturally competing national or ethnic identities, but was a very early historical analysis of the contingency



of ethnic identity generally. A decade and a half later, Pieter Judson's *Exclusive Revolutionaries: Liberal Politics, Social Experience, and National Identity in the Austrian Empire, 1848–1914* (1996) showed how the elite interests of liberalism were more influential in Central Europe than commonly assumed, arguing that national politics grew directly out of them rather than in opposition to them. Both works have had a substantial impact on Habsburg historiography, but their importance to European history more broadly must be said to be underappreciated.

The single greatest strength of this book, and the element that is arguably portable to the histories of other regions, is its critical use of analytic categories relating to national politics. Working off of the taxonomy of a little-known, turn-of-the-century Habsburg academic, King lays out distinct, competing, but often coextant strands of national politics: ethnic, historical, and civic. The first of these does not refer to obvious or apparent communal differences as much as arguments that were made on the basis of assertions about shared language and descent. Historical and territorial understandings of nationhood, in terms of identity or sovereignty, sometimes compete with these, and both work with and against civic models, which imagine contractual allegiances to states. These very different ways of understanding oneself in relation to national territory developed unevenly, sometimes abetting as much as challenging one another, even as the now familiar ethnic model of nationalist politics increasingly dominated.

From the liberal-national moment of the failed 1848 Revolutions, the Bohemian lands and the Habsburg state wrestled with different permutations of identity politics; both Czech and German national movements emerged as separate, nonparallel, and mutually dependent entities. If "ethnicity was only one form of nationhood among several in Habsburg Central Europe" (p. 10), by the end of the nineteenth century it had already become the most powerful one. Identities relating to locality, region, town/country, or class may not have receded but gradually became subsumed to categories of "nationality." One of the most satisfying stations of this book is the six-page description and analysis of struggles at the town's brewery, where the production and distribution of beer proves a remarkably apt microcosm for political life.

In the twentieth century, King shows, the Habsburg state was moving toward a multinational model different both from the empire of the Habsburg past and from the reigning model of nation states. This would have entailed a supranational, imperial civic identity concurrent with national identities and politics. While the nationalization of politics in proto-nation states occurs specifically, Habsburg Austria "nationalized politics generically" (p. 115). The particular example of the Budweis Compromise, in which the electorate was partitioned according to formal registers of nationality memberships (cadastres), demonstrates how Habsburg leaders conceded to the terms of the nation-

alists in creating a multinational state in such a way that it not only accommodated but actually further polarized national identity politics.

This analytical apparatus and historical background make for a fascinating interpretation of national politics in the successor state of Czechoslovakia. After World War I, the Czech national movement won its state, but it would be a multinational one. Ethnic minority identities would persist within the boundaries of a civic identity meant to include them. The existence of states outside the borders of Czechoslovakia with an interest in the Czech-German conflict "internationalized" that political tension (p. 170). King's tracking of the "reframing" of Bohemian national politics in the post-Habsburg period continues throughout the period of National Socialist rule and, finally, the postwar expulsions, which mark the end of this story of national politics in this odd corner of the odd region of Bohemia.

King's decision to focus on very specific questions of national politics in a single locality over a long period of time does have its disadvantages. Some historians of the area will note the relative lack of discussion of larger contexts. The reliance upon published sources, particularly contemporary newspapers and political tracts, serves to reinforce King's apparent suspicion that national consciousness is a product of nationality politics, rather than the reverse. The category of "culture" is surprisingly in the background in this study. From the bibliography he marshals to the activities and texts most closely examined, King betrays a preference for social formations and historical sociology. This may suit the author best intellectually, but the subject matter calls for more attention to the category of culture. The struggles among "young" and "old" Czechs, German liberals, and *völkisch* Germans in the region were consistently supported by culturalist discourses, as several recent studies in the humanities (including history) have shown. Buttressed by nineteenth-century commonplaces about civilization, progress, and technology, all parties articulated national politics in cultural terms. This was not merely an empty pose or strategy; modes of thinking about culture informed people's ways of thinking about their own place in the order of things. To be fair, however, a concentration on nationalist subjectivity, or how and why historical subjects thought about themselves in relation to collective entities, is not on King's agenda.

Some Austrianists may rue that even works of broad significance remain in other historians' peripheral vision because of the relatively minor status of the field, related in turn to the minor political status of the successor states. This surely plays a role, but the strongly idiosyncratic character of the Habsburg examples is an equally important factor. Yet it is the extreme peculiarity of an example such as King's that allows him to reveal processes that occur in some form in the development of all national politics. Whether he



has made his case in a way that other historians find applicable to their own interests remains to be seen.

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JOSHUA D. ZIMMERMAN. *Poles, Jews and the Politics of Nationality: The Bund and the Polish Socialist Party in Late Tsarist Russia, 1892–1914*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 360. \$45.00.

Since the 1960s a great deal of scholarly literature has appeared on the history of the Jewish Labor Bund in Tsarist Russia, including Jonathan Frankel's magisterial *Prophecy and Politics: Socialism, Nationalism and the Russian Jews* (1981), Henry Tobias's *The Jewish Bund in Russia from its Origins to 1905* (1972), and Yoav Peled's *Class and Ethnicity in the Pale: The Political Economy of Jewish Workers' Nationalism in Late Imperial Russia* (1989). All of these studies have made important contributions to our knowledge of the most important socialist party of East European Jewry, but their focus has been on the Bund's relations with other Jewish parties or with the Russian revolutionary movement. Joshua D. Zimmerman's important book explores and explains another important aspect of the Bund's history: the impact of Polish socialism and of Polish-Jewish relations on its organizational development and ideological self-definition.

Founded in 1892, the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) fused the Polish revolutionary tradition with socialism. It hoped to establish a new federal republic of Poles, Ukrainians, and Lithuanians on the ruins of the old Russian Empire. At first the PPS did not see the need to recognize Jews as a separate nationality: in time, the party thought, the Jews would assimilate to Polish culture. What the PPS did not foresee was that by the end of the 1890s various forms of Jewish secular nationalism would begin to make headway among the Jews of the Pale and Congress Poland. Hebrew and Yiddish literature, a new historical consciousness pioneered by Simon Dubnow, and a growing interest in Zionism all began to buttress the conviction that Jews were a nation, not just a religion. The emerging Jewish revolutionary movement also had to take a position on Jewish national identity. As many scholars have shown, in the first years after its founding in 1897, the Bund did not explicitly embrace secular Jewish nationalism, although in order to reach Jewish workers, it had to use the Yiddish language for propaganda and outreach. But by its fourth congress in 1901, the Bund had already decided, after much internal debate, that "the term nationality should also apply to the Jewish people" (p. 120). From that point on, and especially after 1905, the Bund began to play an ever greater role in the development of an infrastructure for Yiddish culture: schools, choirs, libraries, et cetera.

Zimmerman argues that the need to compete with the PPS was a key factor in the Bund's shift from "neutralism" to a more positive affirmation of Jewish national identity. As the Bund strengthened its base in

the northwest provinces and moved into Congress Poland, it clashed head on with the PPS for the loyalties of Jewish workers. While the PPS argued that Polish independence was in the Jews' interests, the Bund refused to recognize a Polish republic as a priority of the revolutionary movement. The PPS, already irritated by the Bund's activities in Lithuania, was positively outraged when the Bund moved into Warsaw and Lodz, claiming to be the sole representative of the Jewish proletariat. The last thing the PPS wanted was for Jewish workers in Warsaw or Lodz to follow a party that saw itself as an integral part of the Russian revolutionary movement and that refused to link Jewish interests to the fight for Polish independence.

The escalating rivalry between the two parties forced each to hone and define its attitude to the national claims of the other. One of Zimmerman's most important contributions is to show that, contrary to the commonly accepted belief that the PPS never recognized Jewish claims to cultural autonomy and distinctiveness, the polemic with the Bund in fact forced important segments of the party—at least for a time—to acknowledge a separate Jewish cultural identity. Concerned about losing influence among Jewish workers, Jozef Pilsudski and others demanded more propaganda in Yiddish. The PPS also set up a Jewish section in 1902.

In turn it was the need to justify a separate Jewish party in Poland and Lithuania and to counter PPS inroads among Jewish workers, Zimmerman argues, that induced important Bundists like John Mill to develop the idea of a Jewish nation with a right to extra territorial cultural autonomy. Zimmerman does a good job of showing how debates on nationality in Austria-Hungary gave the Bund the theoretical weapons it needed to justify its claims for Jewish national rights.

Continuing and refining an approach pioneered by Moshe Mishkinsky, Zimmerman demonstrates the importance of regional factors in these debates between the Bund and the PPS. In the multinational northwestern provinces of the Russian Empire—former territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth—the towns were mostly Jewish, the landowners were mostly Polish, the bureaucrats mostly Russian, while the peasants were in the main Belarussians and Lithuanians. These provinces constituted the most fertile ground for the rise of a modern secular Jewish nationalism. Uninterested in Lithuanian or in Belarussian culture, the Jewish intelligentsia had only two assimilationist options: Polish or Russian. Neither was viable in the long run. After the suppression of the 1863 revolt, official policy made Polish culture unattractive to Jewish intellectuals and merchants seeking social mobility and economic opportunities. While these elites embraced the Russian language, they did so in a region where there were few native Russians. As Poles, Lithuanians, and Belarussians began to press their own claims to these borderlands, Russian-speaking Jewish intellectuals—anxious to avoid a crossfire of compet-

ing national rivalries—began to understand the advantages of embracing a separate Jewish nationality based on Yiddish. As the PPS intensified its attack on the Bund as an agent of russification, Jewish revolutionaries had all the more reason to form a united Jewish workers party that used Yiddish rather than Russian.

By the mid 1890s, Polish socialists, who had previously regarded all parts of the former commonwealth as belonging to a future Polish state, were forced by the rise of Lithuanian, Belarussian, and Jewish national movements to ponder whether Polishness should be defined by ethnicity or by political citizenship in a multi-ethnic republic. Zimmerman's describes how Pilsudski and other PPS leaders grappled with the national claims of other peoples, including Jews. Within the PPS, Jews and non-Jews alike argued whether the party should promise the Jews "everything as individuals and nothing as a nation" or whether it should compete with the Bund and affirm the Jews' right to a separate Yiddish culture. Jewish members of the party, including Feliks Perl, played a major role in these debates. Indeed, this book is an important addition not only to the history of the Bund but also to the history of the PPS. Many of the leading historians of the PPS—Andrzej Garlicki, Jerzy Holzer, and Jan Tomicki—have given neither the problem of PPS-Bund relations nor the wider question of nationality debates the attention they deserve.

Once the PPS split in 1907 into Right and Left factions, the Jewish question became less important within the party. The Left faction began to cooperate more often with the Bund, while the Right shifted its focus to preparations for the eventual battle against Russia. Meanwhile, Polish National Democracy, strongly antisemitic, emerged as a strong competitor for influence among the Polish working class.

In the interwar years, the PPS and the Bund would enjoy a complex relationship, sometimes marked by estrangement, sometimes by close cooperation. The fact remains that in interwar Poland, the PPS was the only major Polish political movement (aside from the tiny Stronnictwo Demokratyczne) that took a stand against antisemitism. Unfortunately, by that time it had also retreated somewhat from its earlier willingness to accept Jewish cultural distinctiveness. Nonetheless, Zimmerman's excellent book reminds us that, at least for a relatively brief period, a significant Polish political movement engaged in a serious effort to understand the needs and aspirations of East European Jewry.

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VLADIMIR TISMANEANU. *Stalinism for All Seasons: A Political History of Romanian Communism*. (Societies and Cultures in East-Central Europe, number 11.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 379. \$45.00.

This book was, Vladimir Tismaneanu writes, some two decades in the making. During that time, Tismaneanu has become one of the leading scholars of East European politics, with several valuable books to his credit including *Fantasies of Salvation: Democracy, Nationalism, and Myth in Post-Communist Eastern Europe* (1998), an essential study of intellectual currents and crises since 1989. He brings, then, a formidable set of skills to this biography of Romanian communism. Tismaneanu is a scholar whose life and family have been shaped by the enthusiasms and the tragedies of true belief and its downfall. And he is a serious comparativist, who sees Romania's story within the context of the entire Soviet bloc.

These dual perspectives account for the hybrid nature of this unusual book. Although subtitled "A Political History of Romanian Communism," and though it moves roughly chronologically from the founding of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP) to the fall of Nicolae Ceaușescu, this is not history in the usual sense. Rather it is an attempt to capture the essence of Romanian Communism in all its grotesquerie. In its scope, and deft use of newly available archives, it paints a portrait of hubris and fatal flaws not unlike that in Eric Weitz's *Creating German Communism, 1890–1990: From Popular Protests to Socialist State* (1997).

Tismaneanu's thesis is that the RCP was fundamentally alien to the Romanian public from its earliest days in the 1920s, as the Romanian state struggled to cement together the pieces bequeathed to it by the settlements following World War I. While interwar Romanian politics left much to be desired in their drift toward fascism, the RCP, "indifferent to Romania's political tradition . . . contemptuous of patriotic sentiments and aspirations . . . remained an unappealing marginal group until the occupation of the country by the Red Army in 1944" (p. 59).

This marginality provides Tismaneanu with a key to unlock the riddle of Romania's famed maverick position in the Soviet bloc. The death of Joseph Stalin, and Nikita Khrushchev's thaw, presented challenges to all the satellite states. While Poland and Hungary (in quite different ways) succeeded in refashioning a kind of legitimacy through (limited) liberalization and appeals to national traditions, Romanian leader Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej could afford no such moves, because his party had never enjoyed any popularity. The only solution, then, was to move counter to the course set in Moscow: toward Stalinism, not away. Thus, "national Stalinism" was born: increasingly centralized power masked by defiance of the Kremlin, at first subtle but then, under Ceaușescu, raised to a fine art of duplicity.

This direction, simultaneously anti-Soviet yet defiantly Stalinist, is not unique to Romania, of course. One could draw some parallels to Mao Zedong's China, for example. Perhaps Ceaușescu would have followed China and Albania out of the Soviet orbit, if only he could have laid claim to the same legitimacy as

Mao. And that (although such comparisons unfortunately remain largely unstated) is Tismaneanu's point: "Ceaușescu's personal tragedy was determined by the tragedy of his party, a political movement totally bereft of historical legitimacy" (p. 189). Given this illegitimacy, a "'reformist' heresy" (p. 191) was impossible in Romania. Perhaps the only alternative to total subservience to Moscow was the path Ceaușescu chose: an awesomely brazen cult of personality, self-destructive autarky, resistance to any modernization, and repression of even the mildest dissent. All this was made feasible in part by gullible Western politicians, who mistook Romania's fake neutrality for progress.

There are points in this book when the reader can get lost in the thickets of the RCP. It is not uncommon, for example, to encounter on one page (as on p. 79) no fewer than thirty-one names (some repeated) plus six pseudonyms; most of these people are never really introduced, though an appendix of some two dozen biographies helps a great deal. Some readers will also be frustrated by the nonlinear nature of the text, but in the post-Cold War era, Tismaneanu's approach may be of greater use than a straightforward narrative.

Is Ceaușescu really dead? Tismaneanu does not doubt that 1989 brought a genuine end to Romanian communism, even as he shows, in an epilogue, how its legacy continues to poison Romanian democracy. As versatile as Stalinism proved to be, it has passed away in Romania; Tismaneanu has written a fine autopsy.

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KAREL C. BERKHOFF. *Harvest of Despair: Life and Death in Ukraine under Nazi Rule*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 463. \$29.95.

Ukraine under German rule: during World War II this meant cities destroyed, impoverishment and shortages, radical oppression and exploitation, probably 1.7 million Jews and a million Soviet POWs killed, almost ten percent of the population deported to Germany for forced labor, and immense human suffering. The occupation also meant internal conflicts, the existence of three different guerilla movements, a civil war between Ukrainians and Poles, a revival of religiosity and nationalism, as well as moral degradation and increased alcoholism.

It is less a history of the occupation that Karel C. Berkhoff presents in his important and accessibly written book than the story of the experience of the seventeen million inhabitants of the German Reichskommissariat Ukraine from 1941 to 1944. This territory did not include large parts of western and eastern Ukraine according to the pre-1941 borders. Intended to be a "multiethnic history" of the people in the area (p. xii), the narrative concentrates on ethnic Ukrainians and Russians while neglecting Poles, treating Jews mostly in a separate chapter and the Roma only on one page, and virtually omitting a million Byelorussians. In his thematic approach, Berkhoff deals with persecu-

tion and exploitation and living conditions in the cities and countryside, as well as mentalities, including religion ethnic, and political identities, and popular culture. His task is enormous, given the gaps in the existing research and the contradictory experiences of different groups.

According to Berkhoff, the German invaders were welcome for most of the population in 1941 (portrayed as overwhelmingly anticommunist) but lost this position later because of their brutal quasi-colonial policies. While most German violence targeted specific groups, beatings and forced labor could affect almost everybody. Personal survival and (relative) well-being determined the actions of the inhabitants of Ukraine more than radical ideologies of Nazism or communism. While Berkhoff rejects the idea of a total atomization of society under the Nazi Germans, he finds much political apathy and stresses regional more than national identities. "Social disunity" (p. 309) is blamed largely on the Soviets.

In his rich footnotes, Berkhoff often provides more than one piece of evidence. Yet the scope of his undertaking is too wide to allow a dense description of the subject throughout the book. The chapters on the occupation system and on the Holocaust (pp. 35–88) appear sketchy, with the former including several errors and the latter including little that is new, despite a deficient state of research. The chapter on the destruction of Soviet POWs, by contrast, is excellent.

Sometimes it would also seem that the author takes his material too much at face value. Some of the autobiographical texts that are extensively used would have required more comments or analysis as (recollected) personal views and rumors tend to replace actual events. There is a lack of hard data: for example, the reader finds no overall estimates of the number of the Jews and POWs killed, of the deaths in the Kiev famine, and the total number of victims given ("at least one million civilians and prisoners of war," p. 307) is overly cautious. Furthermore, Berkhoff relies heavily on memoirs or secondary sources of exiled Ukrainians. In part, post-Soviet revisionism also affects his narrative: from the book it would appear that the fighting of Ukrainians in the Red Army in 1941 was mainly characterized by mass desertions (pp. 12–13, 91, 103, 207), and that the flight and evacuation of millions to the east after the German attack was largely restricted to favorites of the Bolshevik regime (pp. 25–26, 61, 152–53). Neither fighting the Germans militarily nor escape is adequately mirrored in Berkhoff's account as part of the complex Ukrainian experience.

True, the author carefully criticizes the role of Ukrainians in the Holocaust and the systematic massacres of Poles by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in 1943. His treatment of nationalism, however, is neither consistent nor comprehensive. While Berkhoff laudably rejects the term "collaboration" (in Europe the word has a strong taste of "treason"; pp. 4–5), nationalism's significance for the actions and identity of Ukrainians during the occupation is generally, though



not always, downplayed. Nonetheless, Berkhoff has written the best book on the subject so far and contributes greatly to the research on Ukraine during the German occupation.

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LISA KIRSCHENBAUM. *Small Comrades: Revolutionizing Childhood in Soviet Russia, 1917–1932*. (Routledge-Falmer Studies in the History of Education.) Paperback edition. New York: Routledge. 2001. Pp. 232. \$26.95.

This book explores Soviet pedagogical discourses about early childhood education with particular focus on policy making, curricula, and teaching for kindergarten-aged children. Lisa Kirschenbaum describes efforts to address the practical needs of children, but she is particularly interested in early childhood as a site of revolutionary imagining about cultural transformation and generational potential. She explores educational policy as a way to better understand “the promises, plans, and visions of the Bolshevik Revolution” (p. 4).

Kirschenbaum’s focus on the ideology of education is interesting and important. It is also necessitated by her sources, as despite the very great practical needs of Soviet children following years of war and revolution, Soviet preschool education might best be understood as an example of socialist realism rather than as reality. From 1917 to 1932, according to Kirschenbaum, educating young children was unfortunately “a high ideological and low budgetary priority” (p. 37). She describes how policies about education changed in line with larger political and economic shifts. During the Civil War, revolutionary pedagogues imagined a form of early childhood education that would “save” children from their parents’ backwardness and raise them as “healthy, happy, and rational communists” (p. 49). But in 1919 even the model kindergarten in Moscow lacked basic teaching materials, furniture, and toys, while most others were poorly staffed and badly underfunded, the children often poorly clothed and ill. In the 1920s, the economic constraints (and political priorities?) of the New Economic Policy (NEP) meant that most of the preschool institutions that had opened during the Civil War were closed as almost all state funding was cut. Faced with the disappearance of most of their programs, preschool policy makers resolved that NEP would affect the “organization, but not the ideology” of early childhood education (p. 93). But in contrast to Civil War programs that had been based on the premise that freeing children from bad influences would naturally produce young socialists, the pedagogues of NEP now argued that children had to be taught to behave like communists. Kirschenbaum describes some of these indoctrinating methods, including stories about V. I. Lenin for preschoolers, the celebration of socialist holidays, and the top-down creation of children’s collectives. In the period of the

First Five Year Plan, the number of kindergartens increased (although they remained poorly funded), but most importantly for Kirschenbaum the rhetoric about them changed yet again. In line with efforts to move even more women into the workforce, kindergartens were now primarily envisioned by the state as a form of child care for the working mother rather than a space of children’s cultural transformation.

The book reveals a regime “in process” throughout the 1920s with all of the attendant debates, disagreements, and ideological shifts this process of construction entails. A real strength is Kirschenbaum’s attentiveness to the complexities of Bolshevik ideology. As an example, she repeatedly resists what she considers an oversimplified categorization of Bolshevik policies into “practical” or “visionary.” Policy makers in every period are shown to disagree, as “changing circumstances and priorities produced complex and shifting amalgams of policies” (p. 87).

Another major theme of the book is the importance of “science” to Bolshevik educational approaches: the “scientific” training of teachers made them better educators of children than were their uneducated parents, and “scientific” pedagogy ensured that children learned habits of cleanliness and rationality. As Kirschenbaum rightly notes, reliance on science was not particular to socialists. Indeed, early Bolshevik educational theorists eagerly borrowed from American methods that, although “bourgeois,” were acceptable because they were “modern.” By placing Russian and Soviet educational efforts within a larger pan-European framework of modernity, with its emphasis on the rational reordering of society along scientific lines, this book fits well with other recent works challenging Soviet exceptionalism. A more explicit engagement with this wider theoretical literature on modernity and socialism, some of which had appeared when this book was written, would have made the study of even broader interest.

Kirschenbaum argues that it is very difficult to say much about the lived experience of early Soviet childhood, in part because young children are always among the most silent of historical actors, and in part because of the nature of the available archival and print materials. Indeed, where the book does examine experience it is almost entirely as described by authorities, be they teachers or policy makers. In a “postscript” the author does analyze three memoirs of childhood as part of what she calls a tentative exploration of children’s experience. Her thoughtful reading of these texts suggests that she might have profitably expanded her range of memoir materials as the three prominent figures chosen, while interesting, are hardly representative. Visual and literary sources might also have helped flesh out the human dimension.

This is a very good book that will be of significant interest to historians of education, childhood, and the family.

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JULIE HESSLER. *A Social History of Soviet Trade: Trade Policy, Retail Practices, and Consumption, 1917–1953*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 366. \$39.50.

Soviet economic history holds a prominent place in the field of Russian studies, and deservedly so, because noncapitalist production and distribution were defining features of the Soviet system. Most important research done on the Soviet economy has been carried out by Russian and British scholars. Robert W. Davies, for one, has made an enormous contribution to our understanding of the Soviet planned economy and the economic dimensions of collectivization and industrialization. Building on this scholarly tradition, American scholar Julie Hessler adds considerably to our knowledge of Soviet history with her new book on Soviet trade from the 1917 Revolution until Joseph Stalin's death in 1953. Hessler's focus is on retail trade and popular consumption, and she examines these topics to show how Soviet economic distribution took shape. She finds the following common elements for the period of her study: Soviet leaders' reliance on repression in economic management; a large though not exclusive state role in the production and distribution of goods; and a state monopoly on railroads, river transport, and foreign trade. Under this overall rubric, Hessler identifies two distinct modes in which the Soviet economy operated. A crisis mode governed the distribution of food and consumer goods during the periods 1917–1922, 1928–1933, and 1939–1947, while a normalization mode functioned the rest of the time. During the crisis periods, the first and last of which were precipitated by war, Soviet officials responded to extreme shortages by centralizing supplies, repressing private vendors, and rationing food and consumer goods.

Hessler argues that, despite their reflexive tightening of control in times of crisis, Stalin and his fellow leaders genuinely opposed the bureaucratism inherent in rationing. In the mid-1930s they abolished rationing and placed new emphasis on cultured trade and popular consumption. To bolster her argument, Hessler might have cited Stalin's speech at the Seventeenth Party Congress in 1934, where he denounced officials who denigrated trade in favor of direct exchange and the abolition of money. Stalin declared that money would continue for a long time, and he stressed that Soviet socialism should mean consumption and prosperity rather than deprivation and poverty.

Of course, as Hessler shows, Soviet living standards were far from prosperous. Even after the horrendous famine of 1932–1933 abated, shortages were widespread and living standards low. Peasants in particular had to struggle for basic necessities, while queues remained a fact of everyday life for urban and rural dwellers alike. Citing letters to Soviet authorities, Hessler describes the popular discontent sparked by these conditions and by the disparity of wealth between party elites and everyone else. In the conclusion

of her book, Hessler draws some fruitful comparisons between the Soviet Union and Western countries. She notes that early Soviet economic policies derived from the experiences of World War I and points out that the war prompted market interventions in other European countries as well. The British and German wartime governments planned production, drafted civilian labor, and rationed food—techniques continued by the Soviet government after the war. She also finds similarities in broader retail trends. Soviet stores, like their Western counterparts, became bigger and most cost efficient; retailers introduced novel wares for mass consumption; and consumer tastes became increasingly homogenized across class, ethnic, and regional divisions. Placing Soviet trade in comparative perspective also allows Hessler to highlight its distinctive features: the dominant role of the state in organizing distribution, severe restrictions on private trade, chronic shortages, and bureaucratic pricing. Partly due to the inefficiencies of Soviet official trade, bazaars continued to play a crucial role providing food and goods, thus preserving a traditional culture of exchange alongside the bureaucratized modernity of Soviet stores.

Of particular value in Hessler's study is the long time span she covers. Such an approach, while clearly more labor intensive, allows her to detect overall patterns in the development of the Soviet economy. It also provides a basis for her conclusion that the Stalin era did not represent a separate phase in Soviet history. She instead views the 1917–1953 period as one of significant continuities in official ideology and policies amid recurring economic crises. In sum, this book is a well-researched study that will be of interest to all scholars of Soviet history. It deserves a wide and appreciative audience.

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#### MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

J. G. MANNING. *Land and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt: The Structure of Land Tenure*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xx, 335. \$70.00.

This study by J. G. Manning offers a new interpretation of the political and economic structure of the Ptolemaic state in Egypt (332 B.C.E.–30 B.C.E.). Largely based on an analysis of the landholding and tenure traditions, it traces the ways in which these continued, changed, and evolved from pharaonic to Ptolemaic times. It is not a comprehensive survey of land tenure throughout Egypt, but, by using a selection of ancient documentary and other evidence, combined with theories of state structure drawn from the social sciences, it provides new insights to explain some of the historical changes that emerged in Ptolemaic Egypt.

Earlier studies of this period have used the Greek papyri as their major source, but, for the first time, this

book also draws on Egyptian demotic papyri as well as hieroglyphic inscriptions. The result is a more complex analysis of the structure of the Ptolemaic state, and its economic, cultural, and religious associations with earlier pharaonic traditions. It effectively highlights the previously unacknowledged contribution that Egyptian demotic documents can make to any discussion of the Ptolemaic state and its economy.

Previous historical studies of Ptolemaic agriculture have primarily focused on the Fayoum, which, as an area of intensive land reclamation and resettlement by Macedonian and other army veterans under the Ptolemies, was hardly representative of the whole country. In contrast, this study includes evidence about land tenure from two very different regions: the Fayoum, representing the new Ptolemaic model, and the Thebaid, where a quasi-independent agricultural economy, mainly managed through the Egyptian temples, survived from pharaonic times.

The Archive of Zenon (third century B.C.E.) belonged to an immigrant from Caria who became the manager and agent for a large estate in the Fayoum. Consisting mainly of Greek papyri, the archive includes important information about the Ptolemaic development of the Fayoum and the relationship between high state officials and local agricultural production. The second source—the Archive of Menches from the village of Kerkeosiris in the Thebaid (end of the second century B.C.E.)—is a record of land registers kept by the village scribe. Written in Egyptian demotic, this archive is almost the only available source that provides evidence regarding the administration of land at village level in Ptolemaic Egypt. This demotic documentation provides the evidence for the author to propose a fundamental reassessment of the earlier concepts of the Ptolemaic state presented by other scholars. Michael Rostovtzeff (*The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* [1941]) proposed that documentary evidence from the Fayoum was representative of structures and institutions throughout the whole country, but Manning argues that the estate described in Zenon's archive was located in an exceptional area and existed for a relatively short period of time.

Also, he demonstrates that the old view of the Ptolemaic kingdom as a highly centralized "despotic state" (Karl Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism: A Comparative Study in Total Power* [1957]) is now untenable. Wittfogel argued that Ptolemaic Egypt was a centralized despotic state ruled by an elite of Greek settlers, and that the king, through his state bureaucracy and official agents, exercised total control over the administration and economy of the whole country. Manning's study of the demotic evidence, however, offers a different perspective. He shows the complexity and regional variation of land tenure: for example, there is clear evidence of private land ownership in the Thebaid, and in some areas, an ancient, locally organized social and economic structure continued to exist. In these instances, the government worked through the

local elite and long established traditions, to achieve its aims.

This book also sets the Ptolemaic Period into its historical context. It analyzes which aspects were innovative and which traditions (state administration, land inheritance and the economic role of the temples) continued from pharaonic times, and it outlines how the Ptolemaic structures ultimately influenced social and economic developments in Roman Egypt.

The author is aware of the limitations of his source material, including the notable gaps in the evidence for Ptolemaic Egypt, particularly the lack of demographic data and the dearth of archaeological surveys or excavations of sites outside the Fayoum. He notes that Greek and demotic archives were produced for different purposes, and therefore any comparisons between them should be drawn with caution. He also comments that some papyrologists may regard the basic concept of this book—to use the widest documentary evidence to attempt a synthetic history of Ptolemaic Egypt—as too general and abstract. Nevertheless, despite such reservations, this work provides a vigorous analysis of the existing evidence, and makes a significant contribution to studies on Ptolemaic Egypt.

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ELIEZER DIAMOND. *Holy Men and Hunger Artists: Fasting and Asceticism in Rabbinic Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 228. \$45.00.

That asceticism plays an important role in rabbinic Judaism is a truism, but what has been insufficiently studied is its extent. Eliezer Diamond's book is dedicated to the exploration of this question. Insofar as possible, the book deftly channels rabbinic Judaism's manifold ascetic streams and eddies into five pools, each comprising a chapter of his book: the ascetic discipline of Torah study; delayed gratification and avoidance of pleasure; the language of rabbinic asceticism; the asceticism of fasting; and rabbinic attitudes toward fasting in Palestine and Babylonia. In the divisions within chapters, Diamond quotes, paraphrases, or cites the pertinent rabbinic texts and analyzes them in their own context by the light of contemporary scholarship. Written with eminent readability, his book reveals a mastery of rabbinic literature and opens vistas beyond the ascetic into the rich tapestry of rabbinic thought. In addition, by comparison, Diamond adduces references to, and occasionally excerpts from the Jewish Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, Josephus, the Dead Sea Scrolls, the New Testament and other Christian literature, and, when dealing with Babylonia, the Zoroastrian Vendidad.

His detailed study enables Diamond to conclude, in consonance with contemporary sociopolitical theory, that "asceticism . . . is part of the fabric of rabbinic Judaism" (p. 133), and to find its roots in perceptions or realities of Jewish personal and group alienation. Diamond correctly recognizes that beyond the context

and ideology reflected in the ultimate redaction of rabbinic documents, one can reasonably reconstruct the contexts of earlier strata, though not necessarily the accuracy of attributions to individual teachers. This process of what might be called textual archaeology, relying on a source-critical approach, becomes an invaluable tool in the reconstruction of historical development. It induces an appreciation of the role of contextual adaptation in rabbinic Judaism and of the fact that neither Palestinian nor Babylonian rabbinic Judaism was ever monolithic. The latter principle, enunciated by Diamond, is sociopolitically self-evident but all too often neglected for doctrinal reasons. The surviving literary legacy of any tradition, the rabbinic tradition among them, is thus a legacy of successive centrist groups that have, to the extent possible, mainstreamed their inherited ideology and suppressed or minimized the non-centrist positions on their contemporary spectrum. In other words, we cannot expect to have all the available positions, let alone their possible texts, for any tradition at any given time. At the same time, we can expect to know progressively fewer positions as we retrospect through its earlier layers.

The importance of this fact for an understanding of Diamond's thesis in particular cannot be overstated. The presence of strong ascetic elements in the trajectory of rabbinic Judaism testifies to their sociopolitical rootedness and ideological importance in the successive periods of its redaction. It is instructive, in this regard, to compare the similarities and differences regarding asceticism in the respective trajectories of Judaism and Christianity.

Diamond recognizes that his work, thorough and full, is in some ways pioneering, and that further work along specific lines is desirable. But it must be stated that any such work must begin with Diamond's. With the scope and depth of its research, masterly panoramic presentations, invaluable insights, splendid notes, and judiciously selected bibliography, his book sets a standard that transcends the label of an excellent introduction. It is a comprehensive education in a specific dimension of rabbinic Judaism, and more than that, in rabbinic Judaism as a totality.

A word needs to be said about the section in Diamond's introduction where he presents a moving recollection of his early years in the strict setting of a yeshiva high school, "in effect a Jewish monastery" (p. 3) with its ascetic regimen and its efforts at exclusion of the world outside, and the impact of this world upon his interests leading to this book. His personal experience itself testifies to the continuation into the spectrum of contemporary Judaism of an age-old ascetic dimension with its own distinctiveness, and one must acknowledge, its own internal beauty.

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LESLIE PEIRCE. *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab*. Berkeley and Los Angeles:

University of California Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 460. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$29.95.

The history of the early modern Middle East is being rewritten, not only through bottom-up social history but from the outside in, through local studies of the Ottoman Empire's many provinces. Leslie Peirce's exploration of the judicial court and legal culture of sixteenth-century Aintab (modern-day Gaziantep, Turkey, on the Syrian border) focuses on Ottoman Islamic space outside Istanbul and, often, beyond its initiatives. Like other breakthrough studies in recent years, this book makes use of Islamic court records (Turkish *sicil*; Arabic *sijil*), in this instance the 3,000 civil and criminal cases heard in the court of Aintab in the twelve months from September 1540 to October 1541. Peirce differs from other scholars, however, in having consulted virtually every other major archive and document collection to inform her study. The result is a prodigious work about the lived law and its importance to a newly incorporated (from the Mamluk Empire) Ottoman province. As a local history in imperial context, it differs from the dynastic concerns of Peirce's first book, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (1993), but is every bit its equal in meticulous scholarship.

The book employs micro- and macro-historical analysis to uncover the complexities, ambiguities, and, above all, the contestations underlying Aintabans' legal exchanges and relations with the new imperial regime. Peirce approaches these themes principally through cases involving women. The book has much to say about prescription versus practice in gender relations, and the dubious equities of the legal system. Its central concern, however, is the shifting relationship between the local and the imperial in the experience of a diverse, crossroads province. Peirce argues that the new Ottoman legal framework created a venue and tentative script for a dialogue between province and center, indeed between sovereign and subject. According to Peirce, local people were not just recipients of Suleyman the Magnificent's famous legal codes but actors whose engagement with the legal system produced a locally inflected imperial law. Peirce lays out a persuasive argument for the operation of this kind of mutuality, but questions remain as to whether "negotiation" was a contingent rather than an institutional effect, especially as central government interests, with and without coopted elites, became increasingly more dominant.

The book begins with a *longue durée* discussion of the geography, historical demography, and legal machinery of the district of Aintab. The heart of the book comprises the remaining three sections on "Gender and the Terrain of Local Justice," "Law, Community, and the State," and "Making Justice at the Court of Aintab." Complex cases in which women are the principal parties introduce each section: a child bride's charge of rape, accusations of immorality and heresy against a female teacher, and inquiries into an illicit



pregnancy. Peirce's informed speculation about the litigants and their world compensates for the spare formalism of the court narratives. The resulting interpretations, given the limitations of the sources, do not yield answers so much as possibilities. We come to understand the meaning of rape and heresy in the Ottoman-Islamic-Aintaban setting, but, as Peirce points out, we are not sure to what extent the individual legal records mirror reality. The records, in fact, do not specify the final disposition of the cases. Still, it is the individual, personal dimensions of the disputes—motivations, aims, and prior relationships—that are most missed. There is less strain in the discussion of the larger issues raised by the cases: social cleavages and transitional urbanism; the importance of gender to violence and punishment; the relationship between morality and identity; the competing logics of property relations; justice and the nature of empire. Peirce's commentaries on these are mini-primers on the period and its historiography.

The main contribution of the book is its engagement with the meaning of empire at the grass roots. The history of Aintab and its court does not overturn the received wisdom on the great sixteenth-century Middle Eastern themes of Ottoman expansionism, the Sunni-Shi'ite conflict, and the ebbs and flows of tribal nomadism. It does, however, modify and complicate our understanding of all of these and much else. And, in "centralizing" provincial history, the book pries open the unidirectional Ottoman master narrative. Peirce's lucid style cannot overcome the often tenuous links between the book's several narratives. Readers may also wish that some discussions were less finely ground, so as to accommodate a bibliography and glossary and to streamline the layers of argument. Nonetheless, this is a landmark work, one that could be attempted only by an accomplished scholar of wide vision.

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GABRIEL PITERBERG. *An Ottoman Tragedy: History and Historiography at Play*. (Studies on the History of Society and Culture, number 50.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 256. \$60.00.

For far too long the Ottomans of the seventeenth century have been viewed as a society in "decline." Seen as increasingly unable to "compete" with a rapidly developing Western Europe, the post-sixteenth century Ottoman Empire is still portrayed as "the sick man of Europe," even in new editions of European and world history texts. Despite the fact that virtually no historians of the Ottoman Empire view "decline" as an adequate descriptor for the empire's last 300 years and the shelves of monographs on Ottoman economics, society, and politics that portray the Ottomans in very different ways, Ottomanists have had, apparently, little

impact on the rest of the historical profession. In this book, Gabriel Piterberg argues that Ottomanists, in turn, have not been influenced nearly enough by the new historical approaches and theories.

Piterberg has written a book that deserves a wide readership—among other Ottomanists but also and especially among historians of Europe and Asia. Piterberg, too, dislikes the term "decline" and offers a much richer and more varied set of viewpoints from which to understand post-Suleyman Ottoman society. He takes a six-year period (1617–1623) through which to examine and dissect Ottoman historiography and the changing nature of the Ottoman world. During that short period, several connected events at the Ottoman center came to be known collectively as the *Haile-i Osmaniye*, or as Piterberg translates, the Ottoman tragedy. The author uses these events—the brief rule of the mentally disturbed Mustafa I, his removal and replacement by his young nephew Osman II, Osman's assassination and Mustafa's re-enthronement, and Mustafa's abdication—as a "laboratory" to examine the development of Ottoman history writing and the changing nature of the Ottoman state.

These events coincided with a rich period of Ottoman historiography. Piterberg examines the accounts of four Ottoman historians who were contemporaries of the events (Tuğî Çelebi, Hasanbeyzade, Ibrahim Peçevi and Kâtip Çelebi) along with a late seventeenth-century historian (Mustafa Naima) whose account became the official state history of the time. In his thorough reading and analysis of these histories, the author reexamines the changes taking place in the Ottoman state and its society, focusing on what he calls the redrawn "socio-political boundaries" separating those included in and those excluded from the "state," as well as the emergence of new social groups that accomplished the including and excluding.

Piterberg's tone is as much didactic as informative. It is clear that he is writing for two audiences: historians of the Ottomans primarily and, to a lesser extent, other historians more generally. He argues that Ottomanists need to join the rest of the historical profession by becoming part of "the new cultural history" of Lynn Hunt, Dominick LaCapra, and Hayden White. He complains that Ottoman historians have focused far too much on archival and "documentary" evidence. "Ottoman history has been overwhelmed for a long time period by, metaphorically speaking, the fetish of the *defter*—literally the register, figuratively the ultimate document" (p. 6). Ottoman history writing has been subject to the "tyranny of the documentary paradigm of historical knowledge" (p. 5). He concludes that Ottoman scholarship now needs, and is ready for, a new approach to the sources, using the tools of cultural history and the "literary turn." The Ottomans "must have amounted to more than levying taxes and waging wars."

Throughout the book Piterberg conducts a "dialogue" with a number of Ottomanists, especially Cemal Kafadar, Cornell Fleischer, Rhoads Murphey, Jr.,



Rudi Lindner, Rifaat Ali Abou-El-Hajj, Jane Hathaway, and Leslie Peirce (though for some reason not with Heath Lowry, Colin Heywood, Kemal Silay, and Gottfried Hagen).

It is refreshing to read a genuinely new approach to a subject which forces the reader into a dialogue, even silent argument. Some questions that come to mind emerge from the fact that the Ottoman historians he discusses were themselves not without broader intent. They not only recounted past and present events but tried to persuade their readers to view the Ottoman state in certain ways. Who were the readers of these histories? How many readers were necessary to make the works "influential"? How many copies of a history would have been produced at the time, and under what circumstances would the work then have been circulated? One colleague of mine remarked that it may have been as many as a dozen or two scholars and officials then, and recently a few dozen late twentieth-century history graduate students.

It is my hope that a great many more Ottomanists and other historians will read this book and respond to Piterberg's challenges. His work certainly deserves such wide attention.

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STEPHANIE BESWICK. *Sudan's Blood Memory: The Legacy of War, Ethnicity, and Slavery in Early South Sudan*. (Rochester Studies in African History and the Diaspora.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2004. Pp. xxx, 277. \$75.00.

This book is a history of the Dinka of the southern Sudan during the precolonial centuries before 1821. There has been a great deal written about the Dinka, mostly anthropological and linguistic. They are a unique and distinctive people: tall, blue-black, eloquent, confident, fiercely independent, living in stateless societies with complex social customs and religious traditions—a combination that Western scholars have found irresistible, although their work has brought little clarity to the Dinka's complex historical past. By the sophisticated and sensitive use of over 300 oral traditions and comparisons with the written and linguistic record, Stephanie Beswick guides us through this confusion to a clear and convincing history of the precolonial Dinka.

This book is a revision of Beswick's dissertation. The old-fashioned view is that a dissertation should make "an original contribution to learning." Has the author passed that defining test? To date there has been considerable speculation, nothing more, by archaeologists and linguists that the origins of the Dinka are to be found in the Gezira (*Arabic* for "island"), that fertile plain lying south from Khartoum between the Blue Nile and the White. The massive evidence from virtually every Dinka oral tradition enables Beswick to make a compelling case that the Dinka indeed originated in the Gezira and were the last wave of Nilotic

people to leave, driven out in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by Muslim slave raiders from the north (chapters one through three). This is original contribution number one.

The next five chapters (four through eight) describe the relentless southward movement of the Dinka, their wanderings through the southern Sudan, and the defeat and absorption of the indigenous peoples, particularly the Luel and Luo. In the past, the story of Dinka ethnic expansion and formation has been little more than a muddle. The principal Dinka lineage groups have been presented in a hopeless kaleidoscope of confusion as to location, names, spellings, relationships between rival Dinka groups, wars among themselves, and wars with the indigenous non-Dinka they sought to displace. For the first time, Beswick has been able to bring clarity as to who was who, their migrations, who they fought, where they settled, and to standardize the nomenclature. No small achievement, this is original contribution number two.

Chapters nine through fourteen describe the ascendancy of the Dinka in the southern Sudan. Here the author lays to rest several canards. There was much warfare, "Blood Memories," but in fact the dynamic expansion of the Dinka was by marriage with non-Dinka women. Then there is the much-believed expression "the Dinka hate the hoe." Not so. Eighty-seven percent of Dinka calories and seventy-six percent of their protein came from crop cultivation, not from their beloved cattle. The success of agriculture was dependent on the fertility of the soil, which varied widely in the southern Sudan, and on drought, which did more than the infertility of the land to precipitate wanderings and warfare in search of well-watered grasslands. This is Beswick's original contribution number three.

Chapters fifteen through nineteen deal with foreign intrusion, particularly the appearance of the Muslim Baggara on the northern frontier of the Dinka in the eighteenth century and the beginning of their slave raiding. This is not a revelation, but the description of Baggara/Dinka relations firmly establishes the theme of "Arab" slaving that began 400 years before in the Gezira and continues in the southern Sudan to this day. Then the author demolishes that old stereotype of the egalitarian structure of Dinka society; in fact, it was rigidly stratified between aristocrats and commoners. Here is original contribution number four.

This book is a remarkable achievement that establishes a definitive standard for all future Dinka studies, a foundation of clarity, comprehension, and creativity. It should be required reading in all government, nongovernment, and humanitarian agencies whose employees work with the Dinka. My only caveat is that a book of this quality deserves an exceptional map to show the location of the major lineage groups and

perhaps their sections; to the knowledge of this reviewer, an accurate one does not exist.

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**SEARCH FOR FREEDOM.** Directed by Munizae Jahangir. English subtitles. 2003; color and black and white; 54 minutes. Distributed by Women Make Movies.

In the year preceding the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, feminist organizations in the United States and Europe focused attention on the plight of women under the Taliban. Much of this attention was undertaken in coordination with the progressive Afghan women's organization, the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA). These efforts led to congressional hearings and declarations by important policy makers, including then Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, condemning Taliban treatment of women. The climax of the campaign, however, came after September 11, when the Bush administration cited concern for Afghan women as one of the reasons for its decision to overthrow the Taliban regime and install a new regime in Kabul.

It can be argued that, in the end, RAWA and its allies were as much manipulated as manipulators, but there is still little doubt that feminist organizations changed the nature of the debate on Afghanistan and the way the world perceived the country. In 2001, the blue burqa became as ubiquitous and powerful a symbol of injustice as the coat hanger had in the context of the abortion debate or the whites-only lunch counter for the civil rights movement.

While occasional news stories come out of Afghanistan, media attention has shifted elsewhere since the fall of the Taliban. Iraq has taken center stage, and reporters no longer clamor to find human interest stories that will tell their readers what Afghanistan is "really like." Nevertheless, there continues a steady stream of films, many of them having been first undertaken at the peak of Western interest in Afghanistan, that attempt to put recent and current struggles in Afghanistan into a larger perspective than mainstream media was able to do during its brief romance with Afghanistan.

Like many other films that took up the plight of Afghan women, after September 11, *Search for Freedom* endeavors to highlight the struggle for women's equality in Afghanistan, and, like other films in this genre, the approach it takes is biographical, using life histories as a vehicle for telling the larger story of Afghanistan's halting progress toward modernization. The four women profiled include two older women who tell the story of the early history of women's rights in Afghanistan; a middle-aged Hazara widow raising her children in a refugee camp, who represents the effects of three decades of war on the women of Afghanistan; and a young Afghan refugee and medical

student who speaks to the future and the ways women's potential contributions are being impeded by existing political and social realities. All of the women profiled in the film were refugees in Pakistan at the time the film was shot, and the film cuts back and forth between interviews with the four women and archival photos and films that trace the history of the country from the first reform movement in the 1920s through early 2002.

The women interviewed are articulate and their stories are interesting—sometimes even gripping—but perhaps inevitably the choice of which women to profile is open to question. Thus, one could argue that, for the purposes of the viewer who is unaware of Afghanistan, the stories of the two older women, both of whom claim descent from the Afghan royal family, are somewhat redundant and misrepresentative of the overall population of Afghan women (not that any four women could be representative of a population of perhaps twelve million, but why two women from the old royal family?). At the same time, more knowledgeable viewers might prefer to have the nuances of these two stories fleshed out: what, for example, were the family circumstances that accounted for the second of the two women being compelled to marry an eighty-five-year-old man when she was only fourteen, and why did she subsequently decide to become a radio singer, a vocation that Afghans of her generation and social class would have considered shameful?

An uninformed viewer (particularly one who has seen the powerful feature film *Osama*) might assume marriage between a teenage girl and an old man to be common in Afghanistan, when it is actually quite unusual and most often arises because of dire family circumstances. In the case of the woman profiled in *Search for Freedom*, we never get an explanation for either her early and unfortunate marriage or for her becoming a radio singer. Such explanation would, of course, require a much longer and very different kind of film, and I am not suggesting that it would have been a wise choice in this instance. However, it does raise the issue of representativeness that inevitably comes up in scholarly or artistic works that seek to use particular cases to reflect more general realities. Nevertheless, for all the limits of this approach, biographical films do provide a vehicle for illustrating within the constraints of documentary film at least some of the diversity of a particular population, and given the tendency of the mainstream media to portray Afghan women uniformly and monochromatically as victims, the opportunity to see and hear the stories of these four women is a pleasure.

Indeed, the primary virtue of *Search for Freedom* is that it chooses dynamic, articulate women as its subject and lets them talk at some length. Even the war widow, who most obviously fills the role of victim, defies other stereotypes about Afghan women, for it is also clear from her interview that she was very much in love with her husband and misses him deeply. Likewise, the fourth interview subject, the young medical student,

impresses the viewer with her quick intelligence and sharp political opinions. This young woman is no one's victim, and we gain the powerful impression listening to and watching her that she would also resist becoming anyone's pawn as well. Thus, while she admits somewhat begrudgingly the positive aspects of being liberated from the Taliban, she forcefully expresses her skepticism of the motivation behind the Bush administration's decision to help Afghanistan, and she also deviates from the popular notion that veiling is the root of all evil to argue forcefully that the biggest problem for Afghan women is poverty.

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#### SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

MAHIR ŞAUL and PATRICK ROYER. *West African Challenge to Empire: Culture and History in the Volta-Bani Anti-Colonial War*. (Western African Studies.) Athens: Ohio University Press and Oxford: James Currey. 2001. Pp. xii, 404. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$26.95.

According to the authors, the Volta-Bani uprising of 1915–1916 was the largest armed movement of resistance to French colonial expansion in Africa. Yet it has been virtually ignored by historians. The first achievement of Mahir Şaul and Patrick Royer's meticulously researched book is therefore to fill a significant gap in our knowledge of resistance to colonial rule.

The Volta-Bani war started in late 1915 and lasted about a year. The war was not actually a single united campaign but played itself out in four separate arenas in the western Volta region of what was then French West Africa (FWA). Some eight hundred to nine hundred thousand Africans in a thousand villages (approximately eight percent of the population of FWA) were involved in the war, with the African side mustering armies of between fifteen and twenty thousand men at its height. The resistance movement was ultimately beaten by superior French firepower and its leaders executed.

The scale of the war prompts the authors to ask two key questions. First, "how were the resisters able to marshal such tremendous resources" (p. 3) and sustain a series of military campaigns on such a scale over such a long period? This is especially pertinent, given that the political organization of western Volta society has traditionally been seen as conforming to the segmentary model of African societies. However, as the authors point out, it is not enough simply to recognize that such "noncentralized societies, too, can offer serious resistance" (p. 11). The phenomenon requires explanation: what kind of society was it that made this mobilization possible? And how did it articulate with the occupying colonial forces? Second, how is it that such a large-scale war has been ignored by historians for so long?

The first five chapters of the book address the first of these questions by examining the structures, customs,

and practices of West Volta society in the nineteenth century and then showing how the French colonial occupation of the region remained incomplete before World War I. This proves to be an important element in understanding the context within which the uprising started and interpreting the purposes and resources of the anticolonial movement. A complex picture emerges, in which traditional linkages and alliances between the villages of the region played an important role in laying the foundation for the organizational capacity that was to make the sustained campaigns of 1915–1916 possible. Chapters six to ten then go on to chart the course of the war by examining the specific contexts within which anticolonial opposition emerged and providing a meticulously detailed narrative of the war itself in each of the arenas in which it took place. The authors suggest that their detailed analysis enhances our understanding of the type of society that produced this war effort, although they do not actually summarize in their conclusion the ways in which it is supposed to do this. This perhaps reflects the fact that the complexity of the picture they have painted defies synthesis and the drawing of "broad brush" conclusions.

In addressing their second question about why the war has been ignored for so long, the authors suggest some interesting explanations, including the "invisible language barrier between French and English that still divides postcolonial Africa" and "the attitudes of successive governments that ruled over these territories" (p. 24). In the latter case, it was not only France that had a vested interest in drawing a veil over the murderous events of 1915–1916 but also the governments of newly independent Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso) and Mali, for both of which "the Volta-Bani anticolonial war concerned areas that were marginal in terms of the symbols mobilized to forge a national identity" (p. 25).

The authors criticize as unhelpful some of the habitual distinctions made in colonial history between "resistance" and "rebellion," "conquest," and "pacification." They are also, however, careful to distance themselves from some of the recent literature that falls within the domain of postcolonial studies, notably that produced by the subaltern school. In particular, they suggest that the term subaltern is not useful for describing West African opposition to Europeans in the first decades of colonial occupation. They also point out that the recent preoccupation with colonial discourse has led to a lack of interest in analyzing actual confrontation and organization, thereby taking us further away from filling the gaps in our understanding of the latter. They clearly see their study as a contribution to righting this imbalance in the literature, and in this they succeed admirably.

Şaul and Royer, respectively an anthropologist and a historian, have produced a book that is an excellent example of the value of cross-disciplinary work in the field of African history. It uses an extensive range of oral and archival sources effectively to produce a rich



account of anticolonial resistance that challenges historians to rethink and refine the terms and theories that they have used hitherto to analyze such movements.

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NINA BERMAN. *Impossible Missions? German Economic, Military, and Humanitarian Efforts in Africa*. (Texts and Contexts.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2004. Pp. x, 271.

Germans have had a complex relationship with Africa in modern times. Germany's African colonies constituted the largest part of its colonial empire before World War I, and even afterward, the idea of a particular German mission in Africa played a not insignificant part in public discourse and popular imagination. Nina Berman explores aspects of this relationship by examining five instances of Germans living in or visiting Africa and, in various forms, articulating views of a "mission" there between the mid-nineteenth century and the present. Four of the instances involve individuals who left a written or (in one case) a cinematic record: Max Eyth, an engineer who worked in Egypt in the 1860s; Albert Schweitzer; the aviator Ernst Udet, who made a movie in East Africa in the early 1930s; and Bodo Kirchhoff, a writer who visited the German army contingent in Somalia in 1993 and published a diary of the visit. In each case, Berman attempts to place the individual and his relationship with Africa in a historical context and then analyzes the resulting texts. The fifth instance is comprised of the experiences of contemporary German tourists in Kenya who have developed long-term connections with that country and have provided support to Kenyans. The experiences of the tourists were obtained through a survey conducted by the author.

Berman assigns each of the first three cases she examines to a category of mission. Eyth's views of his relationship to the Egyptians with whom he works exemplify the "modernizing mission": the idea that successfully introducing new technologies anywhere, whether in Europe or in Africa, will improve the conditions of material and social life. Berman places Eyth's attitudes in the context of nineteenth-century industrialization and modernization and the emergence of the engineering profession. Schweitzer is, of course, an example of someone committed to the "civilizing mission," the raising of people of "inferior" culture to the "higher" levels attained by Europeans, using the techniques of medicine as an instrument for moral advancement. Berman joins the growing chorus of critics of Schweitzer, emphasizing his narrow construction of Africa, Africans, and his mission around the framework of his theology and his elitist cultural outlook. Udet is something of a figurehead, the star of a movie that projects what Berman calls the "globalizing mission." As this mission must be inferred from the surviving fragments of the film and from reports of

differences between the director and the producers, it is the most difficult to summarize. It could be described, perhaps, as the notion that technologies of transportation and communication, exemplified by the airplane, radio, and film, offer the possibility of bringing together people who, although different in appearance and culture, are fundamentally the same and can therefore cooperate in organized global enterprises—such as a revived German colonial empire. The two remaining cases are not categorized, but the chapter on Kirchhoff's visit to Somalia focuses on a "humanitarian" military mission to bring order to a chaotic country and so stands for a genre of European interventions. Kirchhoff, however, ends up denying the utility and even the possibility of the mission on the grounds of irreconcilable cultural differences. The chapter on German visitors to Kenya suggests that contemporary tourism may provide the basis for a new kind of mission.

The strongest theme running through the book is the consistent failure of Germans who perceive missions in Africa to take account of the complexities (and sometimes even the existence) of the historical and contemporary contexts of the African societies with which they are dealing. Berman is harshest in her criticisms of Schweitzer and Kirchhoff on this account, but the problem is presented as a general one. Historians might complain that the author's own presentations of historical contexts (especially that of German modernization in which she places Eyth and her summary of Somali history, which omits the resistance to imperial takeover in the early twentieth century) leave something to be desired. The book does not, however, pretend to be detailed or comprehensive. Rather, it provides a series of highly suggestive analyses of texts that supports the contention that without a thorough understanding of historical background, intercultural interventions can go very wrong.

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LYNN M. THOMAS. *Politics of the Womb: Women, Reproduction, and the State in Kenya*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 300. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

Lynn M. Thomas presents an interpretation of the colonial history of the Meru of central Kenya as an ongoing struggle among British officials, African male members of the Local Native Council, and senior women (primarily older midwives) to control the sexuality and fertility of young women. The book is brilliantly conceived, organized, and argued. The sophistication of its overall conception and its thoughtful engagement with contemporary literature suggest a work that has been refined over a number of years.

Based on both archival research and oral interviews, five substantive chapters analyze a series of "critical events" that illustrate these broad themes: the at-



tempts of colonial officials in the 1930s to lower the age of female excision and to reduce the severity of the procedure; the efforts of officials and missionaries in the 1930s and 1940s to train young, literate African women as nurses and midwives, primarily to bring childbirth into the hospital realm and out of the hands of senior women; the official banning of female excision altogether during the Mau Mau years of the 1950s, and the widespread response of groups of Meru girls who excised each other in secret in order to become "proper women"; the increased use of the colonial court system in the 1950s and 1960s by unmarried women to seek pregnancy compensation from their lovers; and the 1959 enactment of the Affiliation Act, which gave women the right to sue their lovers for child support, and the widespread opposition that led to its repeal a decade later. Chapters four and five gradually shift the focus of discussion to the broader context of Kenyan society as a whole.

Taking off from the influential work of Jean-François Bayart (*The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly* [1993]), which refers to greed and corruption in African politics—the power of the big man depends to some extent on his ability to "feed" his supporters—Thomas's work highlights the politics of the womb, the centrality of reproductive strategies to African history. The publication of her monograph should mark a turning point in the literature of African social history, just as Claire C. Robertson and Martin A. Klein's *Women and Slavery in Africa* (1983) broke new ground in our understanding of the centrality of women slaves in African societies. One of Thomas's great accomplishments is her demonstration of the complicated extent to which indigenous and colonial concerns about reproduction were profoundly entangled.

Fully acknowledging the interest and originality of Thomas's approach, I miss the thick description, the evocation of specific times and places that characterize some of the most memorable works of African history. This book focuses so effectively on the concerns and interactions of British officials and African Council members that we never fully develop much of a sense about Meru society itself—the landscape, the basis of the local economy, the extent of labor migration, the normative roles of men and women, missionary activity, and the spread of Western education—and how all the aspects of this broader environment changed during the five decades examined here.

The decision to frame each chapter in terms of a dominant issue rather than a chronological period allows the author to cast a broad net and to make her arguments clear and persuasive. At the same time, this ensures a certain amount of repetition, including brief but tantalizing references in several chapters to issues that are never explored in depth (for example, the intergenerational struggles of older Meru women and men to reclaim some of the power and status they had once enjoyed). Because Thomas keeps her focus on the entanglements and interactions of colonial and local political agendas, we lose a sense of Meru men

and women moving through time and the changing interactions of generations and genders. Perhaps that is another book that will make its way onto the author's agenda. We can only hope that this is the case.

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TIMOTHY H. PARSONS. *The 1964 Army Mutinies and the Making of Modern East Africa*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2003. Pp. xiv, 231. \$69.95.

During the early morning of January 20, 1964, the First Battalion of the Tanganyikan Rifles mutinied against its commanders and seized Colito barracks in Dar es Salaam. Calling for the removal of British officers on loan to the recently independent Tanganyikan Army, as well as for increased pay and more rapid promotion, the soldiers' rebellion spread within forty-eight hours to units in the armies of the other newly independent bordering states of Uganda and Kenya. By week's end the military insurrections in all three countries had been quelled with the aid of intervening British troops, but, as Timothy H. Parsons argues, these military challenges to civilian authority carried far-ranging social and political implications that long affected the East African countries in question. They also serve as instructive case studies highlighting particular patterns of interaction between military and civilian leaders that have often characterized relations in the rest of Africa during the post-independence era.

Parsons adopts a broad historical perspective in assessing the significance of the 1964 mutinies. An authority on the King's African Rifles (KAR), he observes that prior to 1964 the units in these newly created national armies had served under a unitary British command. Parsons argues that recruits were drawn disproportionately from among so-called "martial races," groups whose very marginality in colonial society served British interests, aimed at keeping the soldiers isolated, compliant to British discipline, and useful tools for performing the KAR's primary function: the maintenance of internal security and British domination.

The author next takes a closer look at the immediate causes of the mutinies. Parsons persuasively argues that the mutinies arose from the exaggerated expectations of the rank and file about the enhanced material and social benefits that would accompany independence. These were shared—irrespective of the new nations to which the troops belonged—by the soldiers who had, until very recently, all served in the KAR before being subdivided into smaller national armies. This, in turn, accounts for the transnational scope of the mutinies. All three governments ignored earlier signs of dissatisfaction among the troops, as well as the similarity of grievances voiced by the soldiers that were rooted in the peculiarities (and especially their social isolation) associated with the organization of the old KAR.

Parsons concludes by assessing the varying re-

sponses of East African officials to the 1964 crisis. Although all three governments strove to downplay the severity of the soldiers' mutiny, their responses to the problems they confronted diverged. Subordinating military efficiency to loyalty, Julius Nyerere created the Tanzania People's Defense Force, reducing the length of enlistments from nine to three years and drawing on a broad cross section of the population for recruits. Conversely, Jomo Kenyatta, assisted by lavish British financial support, maintained a highly professional army that retained many of the checks and balance of the old KAR. Milton Obote, whose political standing among his compatriots was less secure than either Nyerere's or Kenyatta's, declined to prosecute the mutineers and, indeed, attempted to entice the army into supporting his political faction with lavish financial inducements to obtain its loyalty. Parsons concludes that this dangerous "Praetorian" precedent laid the groundwork for the "military instability that would tear [Uganda] apart in the 1970's" (p. 26).

Parsons's analysis is perceptive in assessing the motivations underlying the mutinies, as well as in placing these events within their broader historical context. There are, however, a couple of ways in which this work might have been improved. The rendering of the soldiers' viewpoint would have profited from greater use of oral histories. Instead of relying on interviews conducted in the early 1990s for his first book, *The African Rank and File: Social Implications of Colonial Military Service in the King's African Rifles, 1902-1964* (1999), this work would have benefited from a second set of more recent interviews focusing on the events of 1964. Also, although Parsons's "martial races" schema appears to explain British recruiting procedures for the KAR, these were not universally applicable in colonial Africa. Among the Tirailleur Sénégalais, for instance, soldiers recruited from the so-called "warrior races" were seldom pastoralists and normally came from the most integrated areas of the French West African Federation.

These observations, however, address comparatively minor concerns. In focusing on the centrality of the military as an institution within three specific African countries ranging from their colonial past to their post-independence present, Parsons has conducted a path-breaking analysis about an important subject. As such, his work represents a unique and commendable contribution to our understanding of the various roles played by the military in African societies.

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J. M. BURNS. *Flickering Shadows: Cinema and Identity in Colonial Zimbabwe*. Foreword by PETER DAVIS. (Research in International Studies, Africa Series, number 77.) Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Center for International Studies. 2002. Pp. xxv, 278. \$28.00.

At long last, J. M. Burns has given the readers a text that examines the broad scope of the British use of cinema as a weapon of colonization in Africa. As this revealing aspect of African history has previously been but scantily documented, it is both worthwhile and gratifying to come upon a work that scrutinizes it with utmost intensity and such penetrating scholarship. As stated by the author, the book is "a study of the relationship between cinema and society in colonial Africa" (p. xiv). Focusing on the former colonial settler-state of Southern Rhodesia (which became Rhodesia after gaining independence from Britain in 1980, and is now known as Zimbabwe), the study examines aspects of the film industry in colonial Africa such as production, distribution and exhibition, censorship and audience reception. It also looks at the seventy years of contentious public discussion of the role of cinema in colonial African societies, and Burns's research here reveals the ways in which this discourse was rooted in what he terms "racist assumptions of African 'difference'" (p. xv).

During colonial days, the two most powerful state-sponsored film production units in Africa were based in Southern Rhodesia: the Central African Film Unit (CAFU), and Rhodesian Information Service's Film Unit (RIS). Film production in these units lasted over three decades, producing hundreds of films shown to millions of people, primarily in rural areas throughout colonial Africa. On the whole, the book shows how the Rhodesian film policy toward production, distribution, and censorship reflected "the blend of anxiety and condescension that characterized settler views of Africans" (p. xix). For most Africans, the films made by the colonialists were their first contact with motion pictures; unfortunately, the images that they saw of themselves were to make them feel intellectually different from and, inferior to, white people.

To a large extent, the study shows how cinema came to Africa as a potent tool of colonialism, an instrument of social-cultural hegemony and transformation through assimilation. Because the motion picture is a powerful visual medium believed to have an extraordinary ability to influence the thoughts and behavior of its viewers, Europeans hoped to use it to propagate values that would assimilate the African natives to the former's advantage. However, when the motion picture was brought to British Central Africa, the medium caused unprecedented anxiety in the settler communities. Fearing that the medium would inspire antisocial behavior among Africans, they called on the governments to restrict African exposure to films. In Southern Rhodesia, the state heeded this call and instituted a strict censorship program while, at the same time, beginning to consider the intriguing potential of producing films exclusively for Africans. This book pays meticulous attention to the latter activities of the state-sponsored cinema in the region, detailing the ideological ramifications, as well as the problems, aspirations, and frustrations involved in producing films exclusively for blacks, with the purpose of instill-

ing unquestionable assimilation on the psyche of the colonized.

In the 1920s and 1930s, the British colonialists, having concluded that the African was incapable of comprehending the motion picture images "as quickly and thoroughly" as European or North American audiences, opted to develop film narratives that were oversimplified and in direct opposition to the narrative style of commercial films. Herein Burns shows how the governments of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland appropriated the earlier British colonial film experiment known as the Bantu Educational Kinema Experiment (BEKE), which produced mainly instructional films, especially health films and those that glorified the British ways of life, for Africans between 1935 and 1937. Special films designated as being "for Africans only" were produced or screened for the natives, and films imported from overseas were censored and reedited to suit the colonizer's purpose. The reason for the latter practice, particularly in regard to films from Europe and America, was not only that the British authorities believed that African psychology was particularly vulnerable to any wrong impression presented in film, but also that they feared that imported films might teach Africans to agitate for independence through self-determination.

Through Burns's analysis, we learn that the structure of the colonial films was one where mediocrity was absolute. As the study shows, the colonial film style produced amateurish and uncineematic, "dull, unconvincing, and ultimately ineffective" films (p. xvi). Through interviews with past audience members and practitioners (including producers and African projectionists who most often heard the complaints of the audience), and through "alternate reading of films," we see that Africans were capable of responding critically to the content and manner of films, to a degree well beyond the superficial intentions of colonialist imagery. Thus, as there was an increased divergence from reality in the colonial film practice, the book also lays bare the colonial administrators' underestimation of African audiences.

As Burns points out, film production, exhibition, and distribution were in the hands of the colonial powers, and Western aesthetic and ideological concepts prevailed. African influence was only superficial, limited to the utilization of African villages as background, sometimes exotic and with action stage-managed so as to starkly demean or stereotype African ways of doing things. He convincingly argues that such misrepresentation contributed to the reasons why African audiences began to lose interest in colonial motion pictures, films that debased their race and dignity or had nothing to do with the struggle against domination. It is from this perspective that one appreciates the struggles of contemporary African filmmakers. It is true, as Burns contends, that African filmmakers today suffer from many of the problems that plagued their colonial predecessors: poor financing and rigid didactic structure among them. But to say that their films

"play to empty theaters in their country of origin" (p. 210) is rather simplistic, since this argument negates the phenomenal video revolution that has propelled Ghanaian and Nigerian filmmaking into economically viable industries over the past fifteen years.

Vividly pointing out the contentiousness of discourse on the nature of cinema in Africa, film aesthetics, methods of distribution, exhibition, representation and interpretation, as well as the industrial nature of film production, this book is an example of how to confront the continuation of the political, cultural, and economic domination that colonialist media helped establish. While up to this very day African cinema has been unable to neutralize the damage done by colonial cinema, whose negative effects still spread like cankerworm, perhaps such a frank and detailed book can help to move the method of imaging Africa closer to reality.

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JOHN EDWIN MASON. *Social Death and Resurrection: Slavery and Emancipation in South Africa*. (Reconsiderations in Southern African History.) Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 334. Cloth \$59.50, paper \$19.50.

This book is a long-awaited and eminently readable study of slavery and apprenticeship in the Cape Colony during the era of amelioration, roughly 1823 to 1838. It is largely based on the documents produced by British institutions of slavery reform, particularly the daybook and reports of the protectors of slaves at Cape Town. Because the records of the office of the protector of slaves were usually generated by the complaints of those who turned up with grievances against their masters, the perspective developed is one of slaves as actors in tight circumstances. John Edwin Mason takes as his starting point Orlando Patterson's notion that, in theory, slaves are socially dead and totally subject to the wills of their masters. He also borrows Nell Irvin Painter's suggestion that the relations of slavery are a form of soul murder, crushing the humanity of enslaved individuals. In this light, in creating openings for slaves to contest their masters' actions and assert their humanity in a public way, the slavery amelioration laws that Mason sets out in the second chapter of the book allowed bondmen to take some matters into their own hands and thereby set afoot a process of social resurrection with a potential to reverse soul murder. A subtle reader might see in social death and soul murder the heuristic foils of a passive slavery against which Mason sets out to demonstrate the resilience of the enslaved and the triumph of the human spirit under even the most difficult of circumstances. At the core of Mason's book is a constant struggle between masters and slaves over the terms of life and labor. This is a social drama, as much a study of social birth and the search for soul as a general history of slavery in the last decade and a half of the institution.

After a short introduction setting out the scope and intellectual terms of the study, Mason commences with a chapter on the state of slavery at the Cape during the early nineteenth century. It is a particularly lucid and succinct portrait of a mature slave society in its several variations (slavery in the urban landscape of Cape Town, on the grain and wine plantations of the hinterland, and in the livestock sector still further afield). Here one finds the geography and economy of slavery at the Cape set out clearly and in terms that might allow for comparison with other slave societies. Chapter two lays out the legal framework of the successive British and Cape slavery amelioration acts that provided the tools for slaves and their protectors to press certain claims with masters.

Following these introductory essays are six thematic studies (chapters three through eight) focusing on different dimensions of the lives of the various categories of slaves at the Cape. There are essays on living in the master's household, skilled and urban slaves, slavery on the farms, violence and resistance, religion, and slave families. The chapters are written with considerable skill and sprinkled with the illustrative stories of the men, women, and children who contested some dimension of their servitude or were caught up in the dramas of life in a slave society. Because average slave holdings in the districts of the Cape varied from just under four to nearly eight, life and labor in the master's domain tended to be intimate. There are many echoes here of slavery on the small and medium slave holdings of North America. Mason sees the rural slaves as most bound in close relations with masters with the least autonomy, while those in the city were among the more fortunate in the variety of opportunities for making a life of their own beyond the watchful eyes of their masters. These, especially, were "cheating social death" by carving out for themselves the kind of autonomy from masters that slaves on the farms could only dream about. The chapter on religion

is of especial interest, for it contains an extended essay on the entry of slaves and apprentices into the Cape Muslim community. Americanists will find Mason's work on slave families to be of particular comparative usefulness. It is a pity not to be able to expand on the contents of individual chapters at greater length.

The genius of this book lies in Mason's superb ability to tell a story, resurrect the lives of slaves at the Cape in all their detail and subtlety, and provide a new interpretation of slavery and apprenticeship there during the last years before emancipation. As an interpretation of the struggles between masters and slaves in the broad spectrum of Cape life and economy, the book takes its place in the historiography of slavery in South Africa. The vision is broad rather than focused on a single dimension of the slave experience. It is undoubtedly the best single work with which to begin to understand the peculiar institution in South Africa. But, more than that, Mason's achievement will stand as a classic study of subaltern lives and struggles on the order of those of Eugene Genovese and Jonathon Glassman. It is one of those rare classics that will find a place in the graduate and undergraduate classroom, as well as on the shelves of specialists and general readers.

There are costs. The book omits explicit discussion of how slavery at the Cape compared with that in various parts of the Atlantic world, Indian Ocean, or Africa—important zones of slavery that South Africa straddles. And because the focus is more on slaves as cultural and social persons than workers, Mason is thin on the organization of work and the economic lives of bondsmen. There is neither bibliography nor list of archival sources, curious omissions for a monograph issued by a university press. But these secondary quibbles in no way detract from the fine work the author crafted his book to be.

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## Collected Essays

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These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

### COMPARATIVE/WORLD

EUGENIO SONNINO, editor. *Living in the City (Fourteenth–Twentieth Centuries)*. (Collana Convegni, number 4). Rome: Casa Editrice Università degli Studi di Roma La Sapienza. 2004. Pp. xvi, 661. €36.00.

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# Communications

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*A communication will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication is solely at the editor's discretion. The AHA disclaims responsibility for statements, either of fact or opinion, made by the writers. Letters may not exceed seven hundred words for reviews and one thousand words for articles. They should be submitted in duplicate, typed double-spaced with wide margins, and headed "To the Editor."*

## ARTICLES

### TO THE EDITOR:

Since Jonathon Glassman's "Slower Than a Massacre: The Multiple Sources of Racial Thought in Colonial Africa" (June 2004) is part of a "book-length project on the racialization of political thought in colonial Zanzibar," I shall suspend any judgment about the overall work until it is finished.

However, I would point out that—with regard to recent history—the argument of page 724 and footnote 18 may need to be revised or at least extended. The idea that racism's dominant theme may not be biological heredity but the insurmountability of cultural differences did not, as Glassman claims, "first [arise in literature] in response to the arguments of Banton and other British sociologists that the anti-immigrant rhetoric of Tory politicians in the postcolonial UK could not properly be deemed 'racism.'"

Racial rhetoric is not merely anti-immigrant, nor Tory, nor postcolonial, even if one considers only the UK. The argument that racism must be biological was not only made by Banton and British sociologists. Likewise, the contention that racial thinking could be culturalological, as well as hereditarian or biological, preceded the alleged "first" response and Martin Barker's 1981 *The New Racism* (1981). See, for example, Joan Leopold, "The Aryan Theory of Race in India 1870–1920," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* VII (1970): 271–97 (produced in the U.S.); Léon Poliakov, *Le mythe aryen* (1971) (produced in France); Joan Leopold, "British Applications of the Aryan Theory of Race to India 1850–70," *The English*

*Historical Review* LXXXIX (1974): 578–603 (produced in the UK). The last article, which might possibly be construed in its import to respond to the "British" arguments above described by Glassman, was not the "first" response nor did it "arise" in response to those arguments, although it can count as a response to them.

Thus even recent history requires considerable analysis!

JOAN LEOPOLD

*London and Los Angeles*

### TO THE EDITOR:

I am grateful to Joan Leopold for refraining to assess my broader work until she has had a chance to read it. I wish she had extended the same consideration to the article on which she comments.

The paragraph in question begins with the widely recognized fact that biological definitions of race only attained scholarly respectability after the mid-nineteenth century. Then, for reasons of argument that seem to elude Leopold, I refer to a recent literature that focuses on the "post-scientific forms [of racial thought] that have flourished in the wake of raciology's postwar academic demise," that is, the so-called "new racism" of the contemporary U.K. as well as what sometimes passes as "multiculturalism" in the U.S.

This prominent literature is plainly the subject of the offending footnote, which reads, "*This literature* [emph. added] first arose in response to the arguments of Banton" *et al.*; it then cites Martin Barker, to whom many of these authors explicitly trace their intellectual debts. Leopold misquotes the footnote, supplying the main verb with a new subject ("the idea..."), and, in her bracketed insertion, transforming the verb's original subject into its indirect object. Given the context in which the footnote appears, it would have been as absurd for me to claim that Barker was the first to recognize culturalist notions of race (which after all had predated biological doctrines) as it would have been to claim that Banton was the first to suggest that racial thought is rooted in biology. On the contrary, in the following paragraphs I note that the "new racism" literature "is mistaken both in its depiction of the



supposed newness of culturalist racial thought and in its depiction of the older forms, which in fact... [had never been] invariably built around a core of biological theory." The older forms, "including colonial racisms," were based on "a wide variety of ideologies," including "the anthropological concept of clearly bounded 'cultural monads,'" a concept, I later observe, that was among the targets of Franz Boas's early critiques of racial thought. Moreover, "the historical literature on racial science itself . . . charts the latter's own varied and multiple sources," including, *inter alia*, the non-biological notions of civilization and barbarism. I summarize much of this argument by quoting Etienne

Balibar's observation, regarding the "new racism" literature, that "the idea of 'racism without races' [his coinage for culturalist racial thought] is far from revolutionary."

I could go on; the whole thrust of this section of the article is to argue that definitions of racial thought that restrict it to biological doctrines misrepresent both the historical reality and the historical literature. Joan Leopold apparently agrees with me; that must explain why she felt no need to actually read what I wrote.

JONATHAN GLASSMAN  
*Northwestern University*

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# American Historical Association

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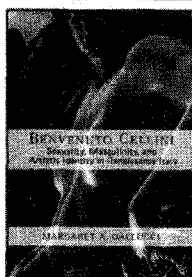
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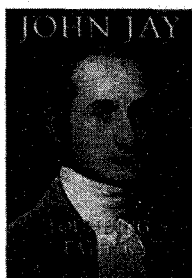


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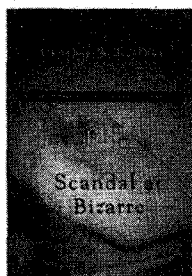
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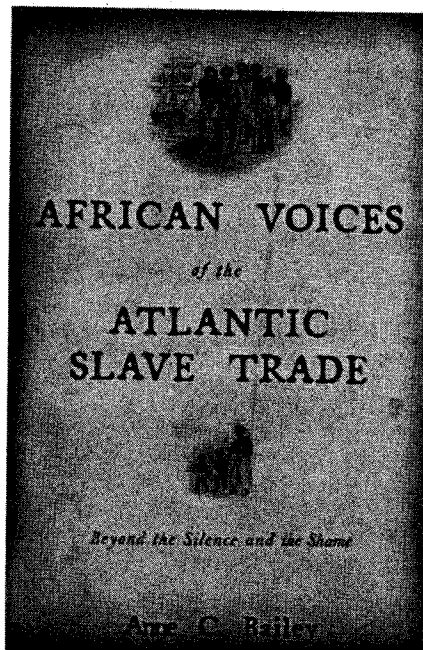
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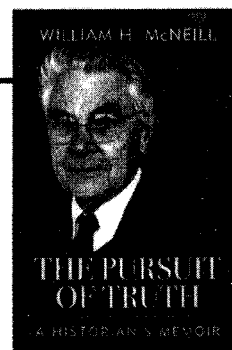
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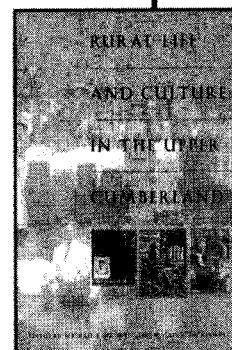


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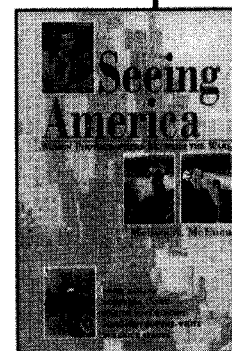
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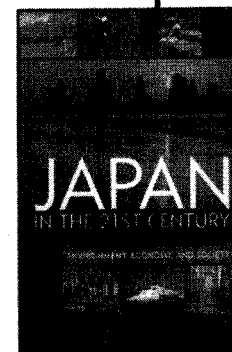
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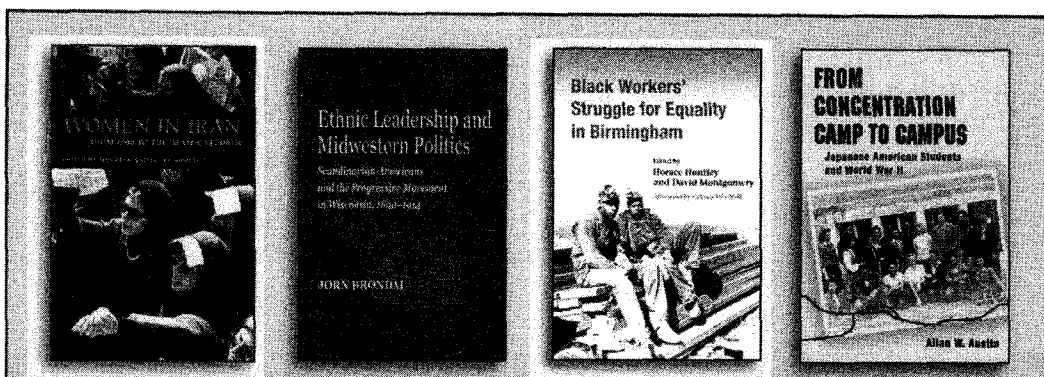
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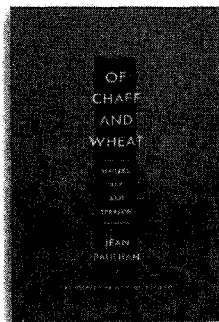
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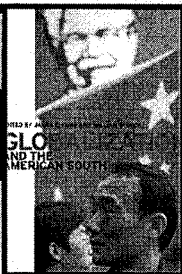
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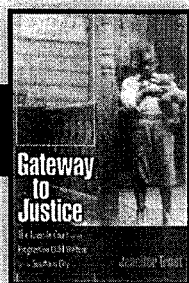


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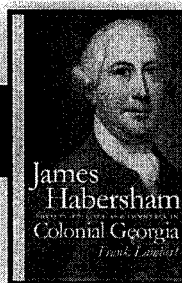


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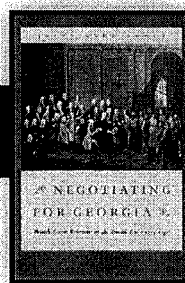


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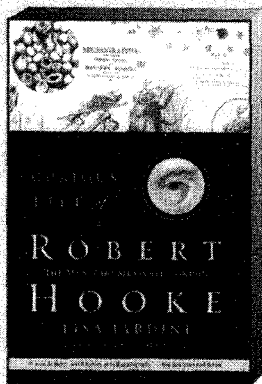
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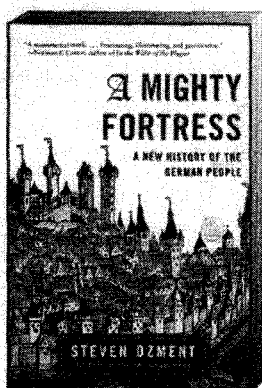


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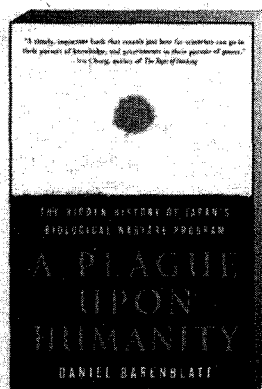
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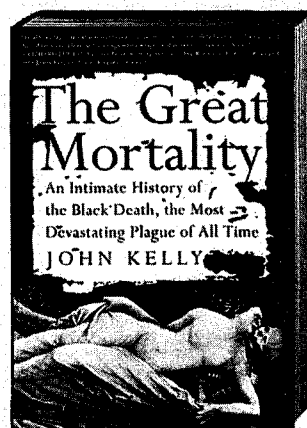
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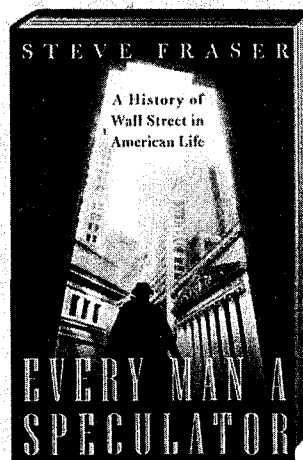
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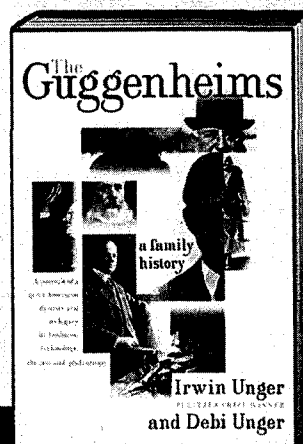
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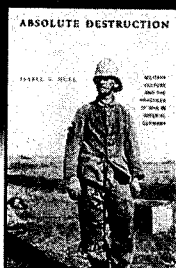
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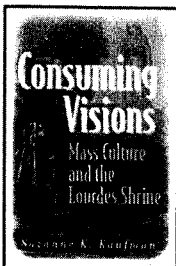
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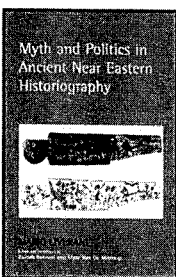
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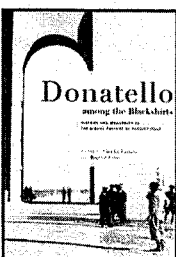


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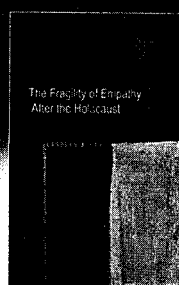
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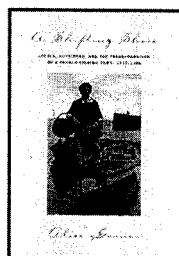
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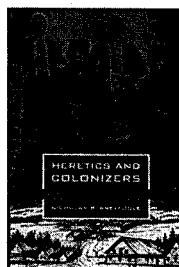
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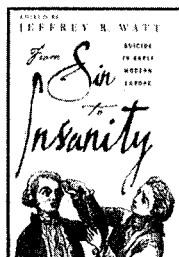
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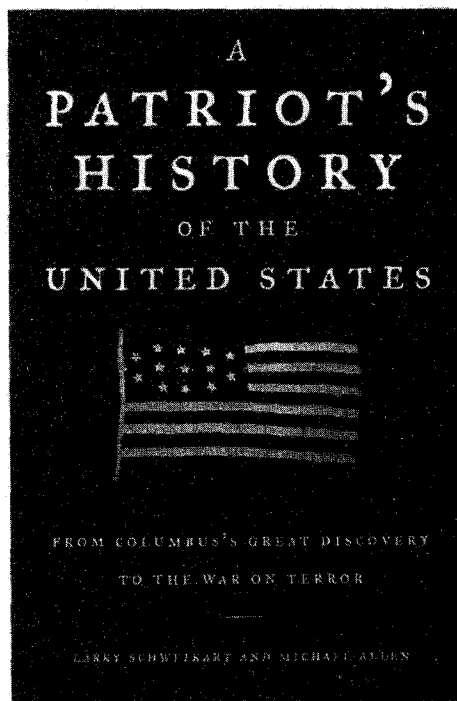
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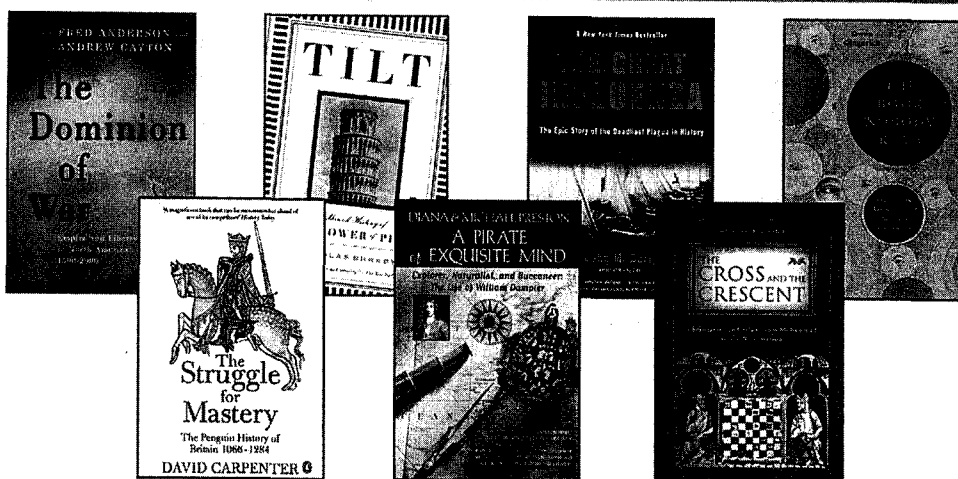


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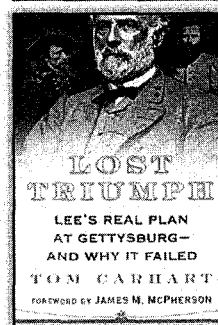
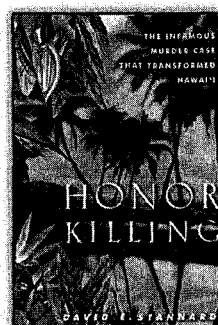
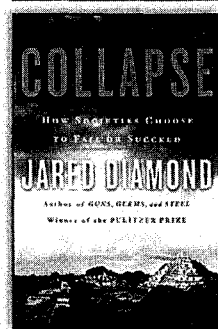
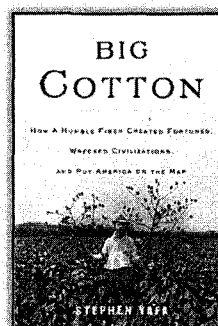
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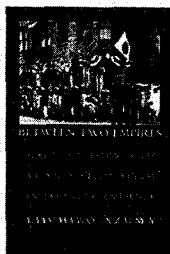
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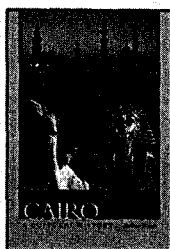
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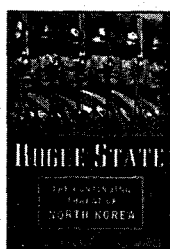
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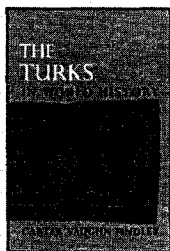
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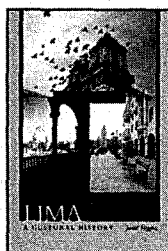
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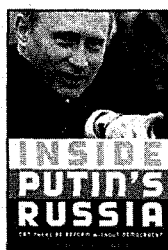
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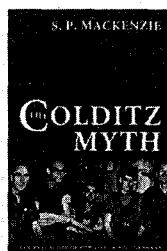
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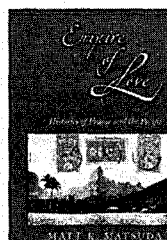
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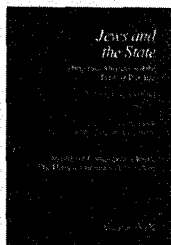
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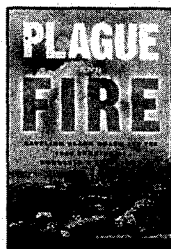
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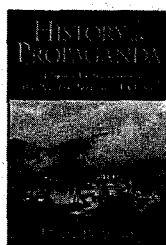
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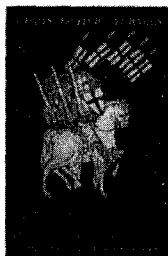
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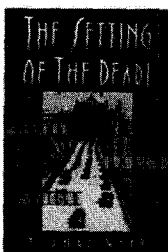


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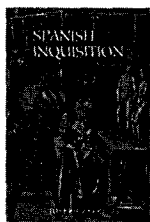
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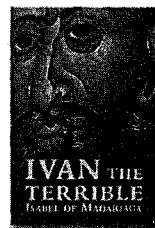
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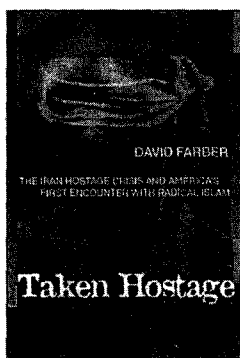
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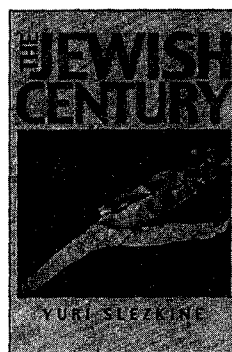
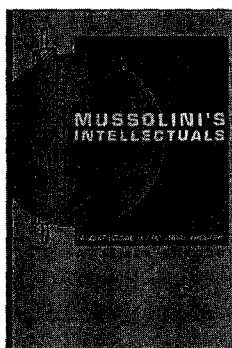
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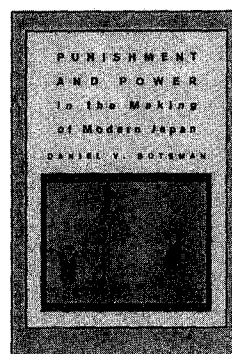
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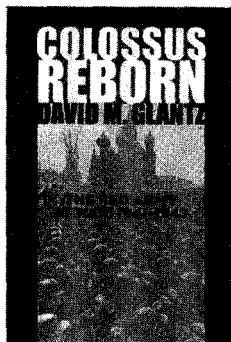
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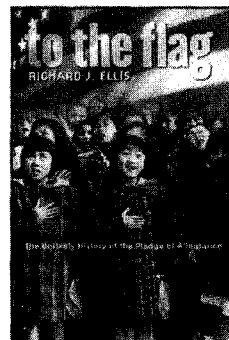
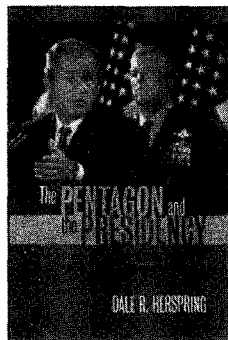
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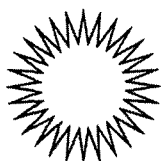
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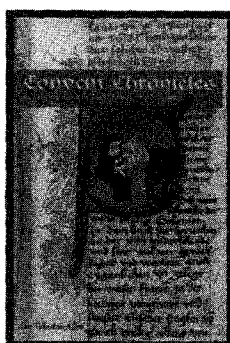
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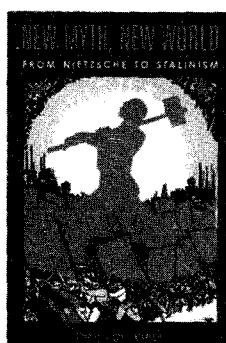
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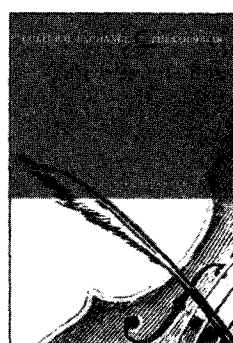
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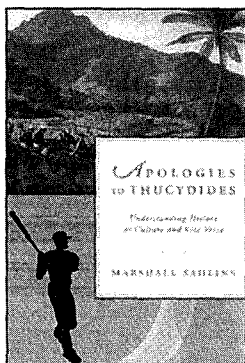
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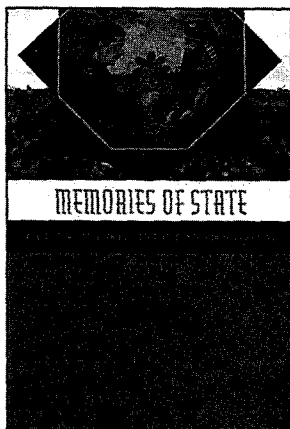


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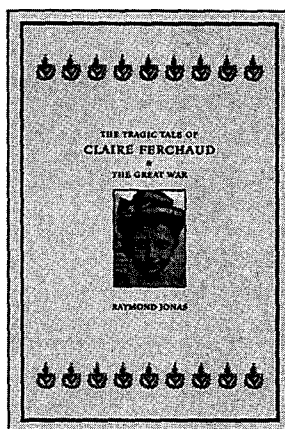
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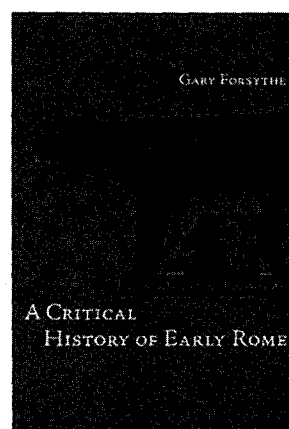


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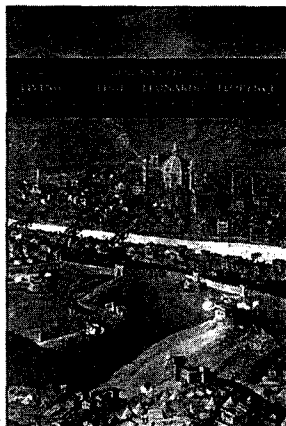
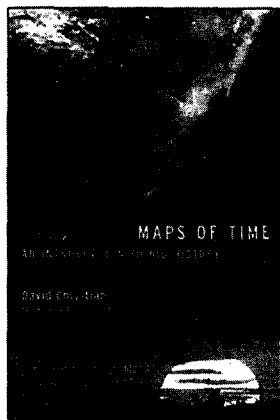
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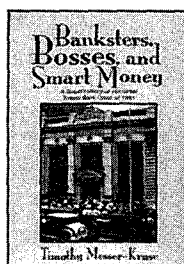
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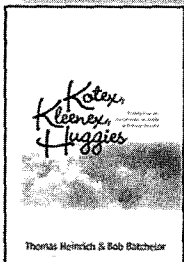
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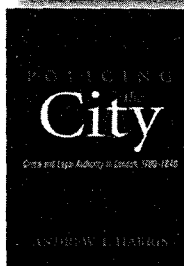
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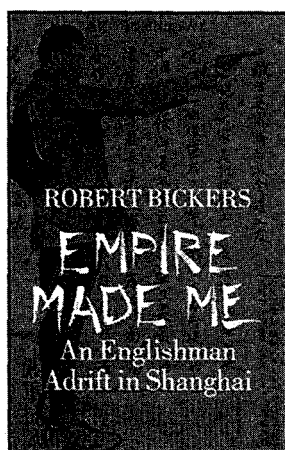
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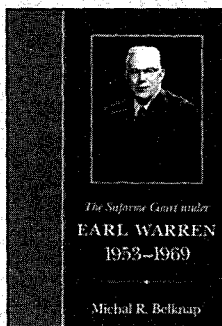
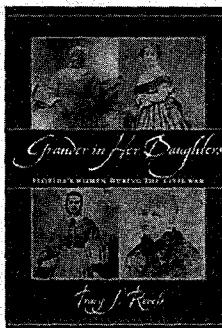
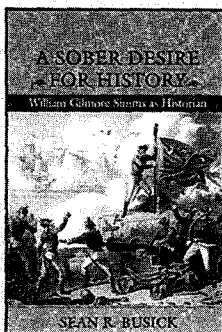
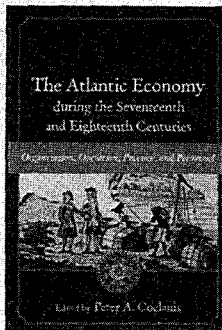
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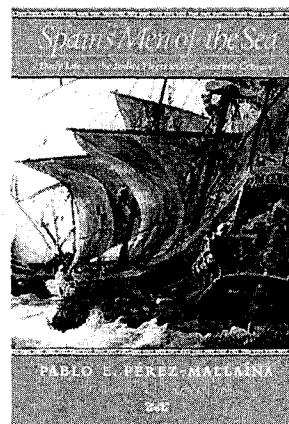
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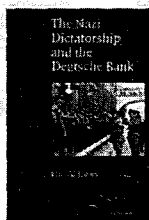
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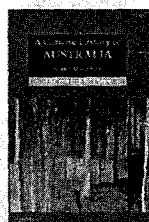
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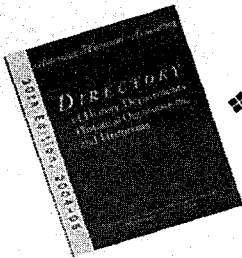


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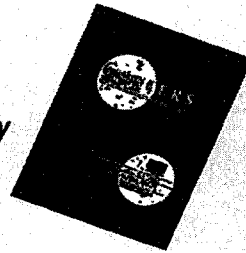
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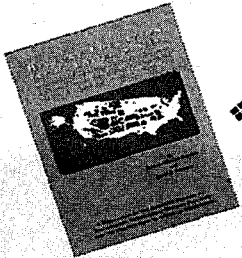
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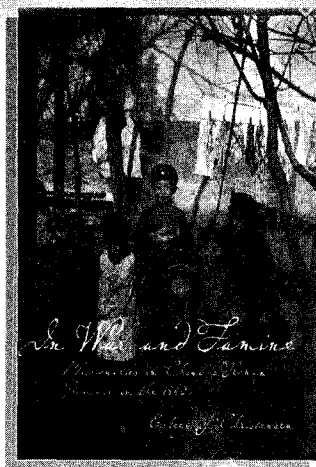


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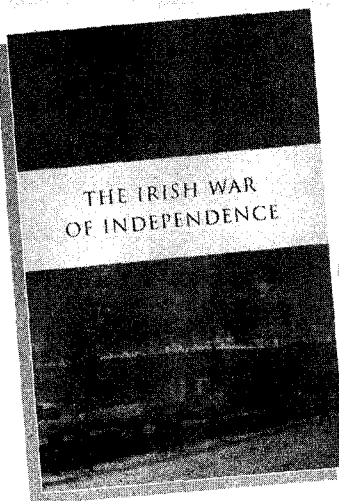
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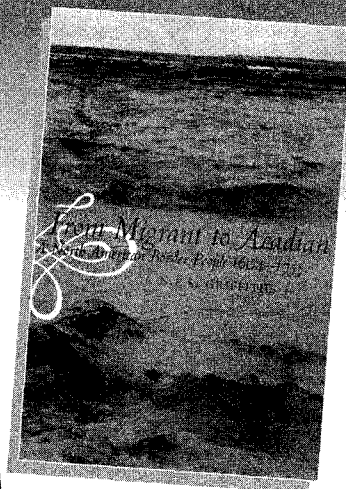
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# AHA Book Awards, 2005

**Herbert Baxter Adams Prize:** The Adams Prize is awarded annually. In 2005 it will recognize an author's first substantial book dealing with European history from 1815 through the 20th century.

**AHA Prize in Atlantic History:** This annual award recognizes an outstanding book that explores aspects of the integration of Atlantic worlds before the 20th century.

**George Louis Beer Prize:** The Beer Prize is awarded annually for the best work by a U.S. citizen or permanent resident on European international history since 1895.

**Albert J. Beveridge Award:** The Beveridge Award is conferred annually for the best work on American history from 1492 to the present (history of the United States, Canada, or Latin America).

**James Henry Breasted Prize:** The Breasted Prize is awarded annually for an outstanding book in any field of history prior to A.D. 1000.

**John B. Dunning Prize:** The Dunning Prize is awarded biennially in odd years for a book on any topic in U.S. history. Entries must be the author's first or second book.

**John E. Fagg Prize:** The Fagg Prize is awarded for the best publication in the history of Spain, Portugal, or Latin America.

**John K. Fairbank Prize in East Asian History:** The Fairbank Prize was established in 1968 by friends of John K. Fairbank for an outstanding book in the history of China proper, Vietnam, Chinese Central Asia, Mongolia, Manchuria, Korea, or Japan substantially after 1800.

**Herbert Feis Award:** Established in 1984, the Feis Award—funded by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation—is conferred annually for the best book, article(s), or policy paper by a public historian or independent scholar.

**Morris D. Forkosch Prize:** Awarded for the first time in 1993, this prize is offered for the best book in the fields of British, British Imperial, or British Commonwealth history since 1485.

**Leo Gershoy Award:** This award, established by a gift from Mrs. Ida Gershoy in memory of her husband, is given annually to the author of the most outstanding work in English on any aspect of the field of 17th- and 18th-century western European history.

**Joan Kelly Memorial Prize in Women's History:** Established in 1984 by the CCWHP/CGWH (now CCWH) and administered by the AHA, the Kelly Prize is offered annually for the best work in women's history or feminist theory.

**Littleton-Griswold Prize:** Established in 1985, this prize is awarded annually for the best book in any subject on the history of American law and society.

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**George L. Mosse Prize:** Established in 1999, the Mosse Prize will be awarded annually for a major work in European intellectual and cultural history since the Renaissance.

**Wesley-Logan Prize:** Established in 1992 by the AHA and the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History, this prize is awarded annually for an outstanding book on some aspect of the history of the dispersion, settlement, and adjustment, or return of peoples originally from Africa.

*Further information and submission guidelines are available on the AHA web site at <http://www.historians.org/prizes/>*

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*M*embers are invited to suggest names of individuals who can be nominated for the Theodore Roosevelt-Woodrow Wilson Public Service Award. Named for the two former AHA presidents who were also presidents of the United States—Theodore Roosevelt (AHA president in 1912) and Woodrow Wilson (AHA president in 1924)—this honorific award recognizes individuals outside the historical profession who have made a significant contribution to the study, teaching, and public understanding of history.

*The suggestions for possible nominees can include (but need not be restricted to), for example, persons who may have made a significant contribution to the support and encouragement of history through their actions. Such noteworthy actions may include philanthropy, supporting or working for the National History Day, helping to protect and preserve a national historical monument or park, or working in the community to develop a regard for history. First presented in 2004, the previous honorees have been Senator Robert C. Byrd (D-WVA) and Brian Lamb (C-Span President and C.E.O.).*

*The executive director and the AHA president will consider members' suggestions and other names to choose the nominees. The AHA Council will thereupon make the final selection.*

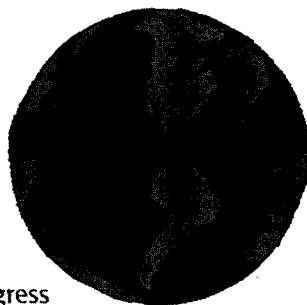
*Mail your suggestion (along with a one-page note justifying the suggestion) to the Executive Director, AHA, Attention: The Roosevelt-Wilson Award, 400 A Street, SE, Washington, DC*

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## **About the Institute:**

In an era of increasing global interaction and interdependence, those concerned with the historical, geographical, and cultural dimensions of America are actively rethinking the geographical and chronological boundaries of their subject of study. A growing body of scholarship now prompts American historians to "look...beyond the official borders of the U.S. and back again." At the same time, world historians have been producing exciting transnational studies that connect America to other world regions.

With a view to internationalizing American history at the college level, this institute will bring together teachers and experts for four weeks at the Library of Congress. Using its unparalleled collections of American and global materials, they will explore individual research interests while developing curricular ideas and materials that will encourage students to become better citizens of an America faced with a multitude of global challenges and opportunities.

The institute will be directed by Carl Guarneri and John Gillis. Guarneri has been a prominent proponent of globalizing American history and is the editor of *America Compared: American History in International Perspective*. Gillis has written extensively on comparative and transnational themes, especially relating to the Atlantic world.

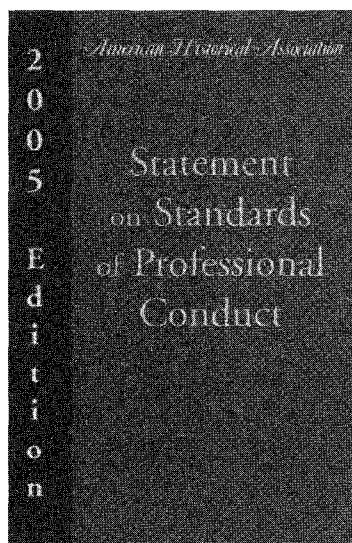
They will be joined by a distinguished guest faculty—Thomas Bender, Neal Salisbury, Karen Kupperman, Eliga Gould, Charles Bright, Michael Adas, Victoria de Grazia, and John McNeill—each of whom has made important contributions to this emerging field.

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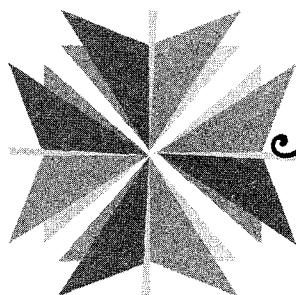
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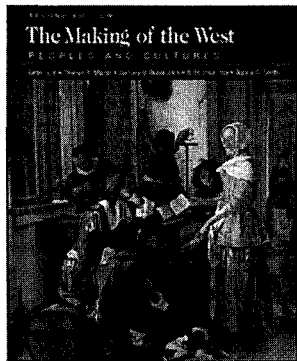
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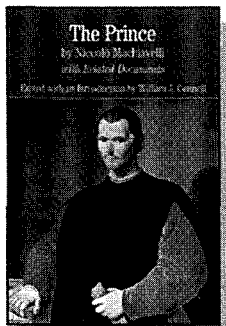
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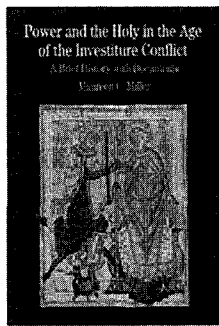
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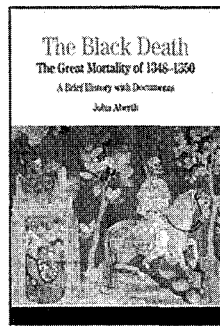
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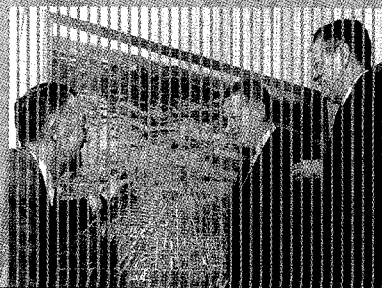
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